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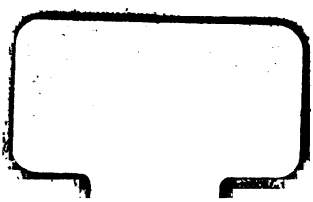
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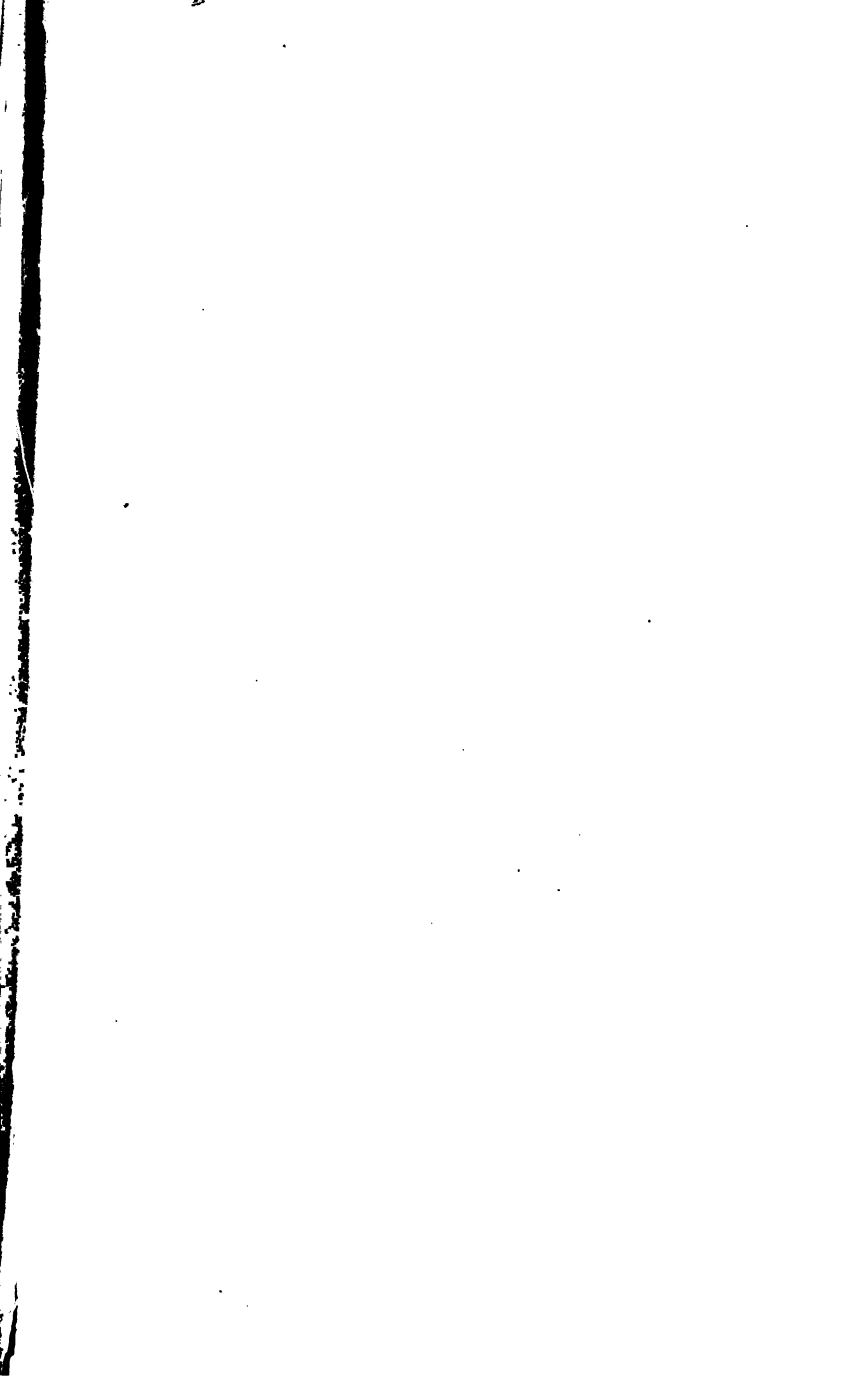
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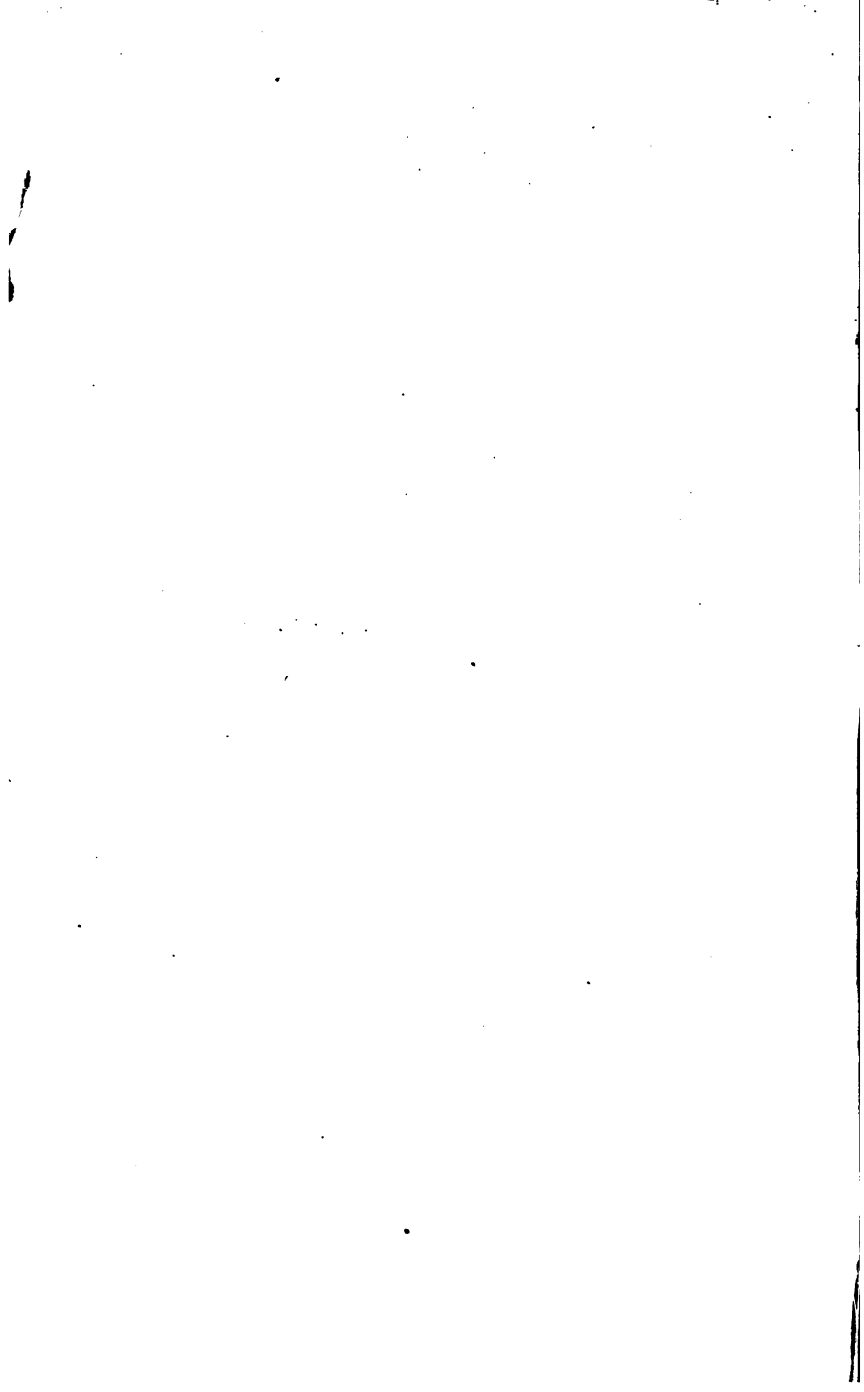




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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

I. Legendary Greece.

II. Grecian History to the Reign of  
Peisistratus at Athens.

BY

GEORGE GROTE, Esq.

VOL. I.

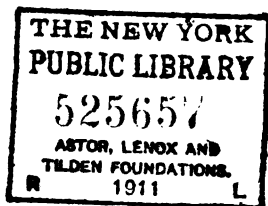
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**PART I.—LEGENDARY GREECE**

*Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων νειὸν γένος, οἱ καλέονται  
Ἥμιθεοι προτέρη γενέη. — HESIOD*

---

**PART II.—HISTORICAL GREECE.**

*... ..Πολιες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. — HOMER*



## PREFACE.

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THE first idea of this History was conceived many years ago, at a time when ancient Hellas was known to the English public chiefly through the pages of Mitford; and my purpose in writing it was to rectify the erroneous statements as to matter of fact which that History contained, as well as to present the general phenomena of the Grecian world under what I thought a juster and more comprehensive point of view. My leisure, however, was not at that time equal to the execution of any large literary undertaking; nor is it until within the last three or four years that I have been able to devote to the work that continuous and exclusive labor, without which, though much may be done to illustrate detached points, no entire or complicated subject can ever be set forth in a manner worthy to meet the public eye.

Meanwhile the state of the English literary world, in reference to ancient Hellas, has been materially changed in more ways than one. If my early friend Dr. Thirlwall's History of Greece had appeared a few years sooner, I should probably never have conceived the design of the present work at all; I should certainly not have been prompted to the task by any deficiencies, such as those which I felt and regretted in Mitford. The comparison of the two authors affords, indeed, a striking proof of the progress of sound and enlarged

views respecting the ancient world during the present generation. Having studied of course the same evidences as Dr. Thirwall, I am better enabled than others to bear testimony to the learning, the sagacity, and the candor which pervade his excellent work : and it is the more incumbent on me to give expression to this sentiment, since the particular points on which I shall have occasion to advert to it will, unavoidably, be points of dissent oftener than of coincidence.

The liberal spirit of criticism, in which Dr. Thirwall stands so much distinguished from Mitford, is his own : there are other features of superiority which belong to him conjointly with his age. For during the generation since Mitford's work, philological studies have been prosecuted in Germany with remarkable success : the stock of facts and documents, comparatively scanty, handed down from the ancient world, has been combined and illustrated in a thousand different ways : and if our witnesses cannot be multiplied, we at least have numerous interpreters to catch, repeat, amplify, and explain their broken and half-inaudible depositions. Some of the best writers in this department—Boeckh, Niebuhr, O. Müller—have been translated into our language ; so that the English public has been enabled to form some idea of the new lights thrown upon many subjects of antiquity by the inestimable aid of German erudition. The poets, historians, orators, and philosophers of Greece, have thus been all rendered both more intelligible and more instructive than they were to a student in the last century ; and the general picture of the Grecian world may now be conceived with a degree of fidelity, which, considering our imperfect materials, it is curious to contemplate.

It is that general picture which an historian of Greece is required first to embody in his own mind, and next to lay out before his readers ;—a picture not merely such as to delight the imagination by brilliancy of coloring and depth of sentiment, but also suggestive and improving to the reason Not

## PREFACE.

omitting the points of resemblance as well as of contrast with the better-known forms of modern society, he will especially study to exhibit the spontaneous movement of Grecian intellect, sometimes aided but never borrowed from without, and lighting up a small portion of a world otherwise clouded and stationary. He will develop the action of that social system, which, while insuring to the mass of freemen a degree of protection elsewhere unknown, acted as a stimulus to the creative impulses of genius, and left the superior minds sufficiently unshackled to soar above religious and political routine, to overshoot their own age, and to become the teachers of posterity.

To set forth the history of a people by whom the first spark was set to the dormant intellectual capacities of our nature,—Hellenic phenomena, as illustrative of the Hellenic mind and character,—is the task which I propose to myself in the present work; not without a painful consciousness how much the deed falls short of the will, and a yet more painful conviction, that full success is rendered impossible by an obstacle which no human ability can now remedy,—the insufficiency of original evidence. For, in spite of the valuable expositions of so many able commentators, our stock of information respecting the ancient world still remains lamentably inadequate to the demands of an enlightened curiosity. We possess only what has drifted ashore from the wreck of a stranded vessel; and though this includes some of the most precious articles amongst its once abundant cargo, yet if any man will cast his eyes over the citations in Diogenes Laërtius, Athenæus, or Plutarch, or the list of names in Vossius de Historicis Græcis, he will see with grief and surprise how much larger is the proportion which, through the enslavement of the Greeks themselves, the decline of the Roman Empire, the change of religion, and the irruption of barbarian conquerors, has been irrecoverably submerged. We are thus reduced to judge of the whole Hellenic world, eminently multiform as it was,

from a few compositions ; excellent, indeed, in themselves, but bearing too exclusively the stamp of Athens. Of Thucydides and Aristotle, indeed, both as inquirers into matter of fact, and as free from narrow local feeling, it is impossible to speak too highly ; but, unfortunately, that work of the latter which would have given us the most copious information regarding Grecian political life — his collection and comparison of one hundred and fifty distinct town constitutions — has not been preserved : and the brevity of Thucydides often gives us but a single word where a sentence would not have been too much, and sentences which we should be glad to see expanded into paragraphs.

Such insufficiency of original and trustworthy materials, as compared with those resources which are thought hardly sufficient for the historian of any modern kingdom, is neither to be concealed nor extenuated, however much we may lament it. I advert to the point here on more grounds than one. For it not only limits the amount of information which an historian of Greece can give to his readers,—compelling him to leave much of his picture an absolute blank,—but it also greatly spoils the execution of the remainder. The question of credibility is perpetually obtruding itself, and requiring a decision, which, whether favorable or unfavorable, always introduces more or less of controversy ; and gives to those outlines, which the interest of the picture requires to be straight and vigorous, a faint and faltering character. Expressions of qualified and hesitating affirmation are repeated until the reader is sickened ; while the writer himself, to whom this restraint is more painful still, is frequently tempted to break loose from the unseen spell by which a conscientious criticism binds him down,—to screw up the possible and probable into certainty, to suppress counterbalancing considerations, and to substitute a pleasing romance in place of half-known and perplexing realities. Desiring, in the present work, to set forth all which can be ascertained, together with

such conjectures and inferences as can be reasonably deduced from it, but nothing more,—I notice, at the outset, that faulty state of the original evidence which renders discussions of credibility, and hesitation in the language of the judge, unavoidable. Such discussions, though the reader may be assured that they will become less frequent as we advance into times better known, are tiresome enough, even with the comparatively late period which I adopt as the historical beginning; much more intolerable would they have proved, had I thought it my duty to start from the primitive terminus of Deukalion or Inachus, or from the unburied Pelasgi and Leleges, and to subject the heroic ages to a similar scrutiny. I really know nothing so disheartening or unrequited as the elaborate balancing of what is called evidence,—the comparison of infinitesimal probabilities and conjectures all uncertified,—in regard to these shadowy times and persons.

The law respecting sufficiency of evidence ought to be the same for ancient times as for modern; and the reader will find in this History an application, to the former, of criteria analogous to those which have been long recognized in the latter. Approaching, though with a certain measure of indulgence, to this standard, I begin the real history of Greece with the first recorded Olympiad, or 776 B. C. To such as are accustomed to the habits once universal, and still not uncommon, in investigating the ancient world, I may appear to be striking off one thousand years from the scroll of history; but to those whose canon of evidence is derived from Mr. Hallam, M. Sismondi, or any other eminent historian of modern events, I am well assured that I shall appear lax and credulous rather than exigent or sceptical. For the truth is, that historical records, properly so called, do not begin until long after this date: nor will any man, who candidly considers the extreme paucity of attested facts for two centuries after 776 B. C., be astonished to learn that the state of Greece in 900, 1000, 1100, 1200, 1300, 1400 B. C., etc.,

—or any earlier century which it may please chronologists to include in their computed genealogies,— cannot be described to him upon anything like decent evidence. I shall hope, when I come to the lives of Socrates and Plato, to illustrate one of the most valuable of their principles,— that conscious and confessed ignorance is a better state of mind, than the fancy, without the reality, of knowledge. Meanwhile, I begin by making that confession, in reference to the real world of Greece anterior to the Olympiads ; meaning the disclaimer to apply to anything like a general history,— not to exclude rigorously every individual event.

The times which I thus set apart from the region of history are discernible only through a different atmosphere,— that of epic poetry and legend. To confound together these disparate matters is, in my judgment, essentially unphilosophical. I describe the earlier times by themselves, as conceived by the faith and feeling of the first Greeks, and known only through their legends,—without presuming to measure how much or how little of historical matter these legends may contain. If the reader blame me for not assisting him to determine this,— if he ask me why I do not undraw the curtain and disclose the picture,— I reply in the words of the painter Zeuxis, when the same question was addressed to him on exhibiting his master-piece of imitative art : “ The curtain is the picture.” What we now read as poetry and legend was once accredited history, and the only genuine history which the first Greeks could conceive or relish of their past time : the curtain conceals nothing behind, and cannot, by any ingenuity, be withdrawn. I undertake only to show it as it stands,— not to efface, still less to repaint it.

Thréé-fourths of the two volumes now presented to the public are destined to elucidate this age of historical faith, as distinguished from the later age of historical reason : to exhibit its basis in the human mind,— an omnipresent religious and personal interpretation of nature ; to illustrate it by com

parison with the like mental habit in early modern Europe ; to show its immense abundance and variety of narrative matter, with little care for consistency between one story and another ; lastly, to set forth the causes which overgrew and partially supplanted the old epical sentiment, and introduced, in the room of literal faith, a variety of compromises and interpretations.

The legendary age of the Greeks receives its principal charm and dignity from the Homeric poems: to these, therefore, and to the other poems included in the ancient epic, an entire chapter is devoted, the length of which must be justified by the names of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. I have thought it my duty to take some notice of the Wolfian controversy as it now stands in Germany, and have even hazarded some speculations respecting the structure of the *Iliad*. The society and manners of the heroic age, considered as known in a general way from Homer's descriptions and allusions, are also described and criticized.

I next pass to the historical age, beginning at 776 B. C. ; prefixing some remarks upon the geographical features of Greece. I try to make out, amidst obscure and scanty indications, what the state of Greece was at this period ; and I indulge some cautious conjectures, founded upon the earliest verifiable facts, respecting the steps immediately antecedent by which that condition was brought about. In the present volumes, I have only been able to include the history of Sparta and the Peloponnesian Dorians, down to the age of Peisistratus and Croesus. I had hoped to have comprised in them the entire history of Greece down to this last-mentioned period, but I find the space insufficient.

The history of Greece falls most naturally into six compartments, of which the first may be looked at as a period of preparation for the five following, which exhaust the free life of collective Hellas.

I. Period from 776 B. C. to 560 B. C., the accession of Peisistratus at Athens and of Croesus in Lydia

II. From the accession of Peisistratus and Croesus to the repulse of Xerxes from Greece.

III. From the repulse of Xerxes to the close of the Peloponnesian war and overthrow of Athens.

IV. From the close of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuktra.

V. From the battle of Leuktra to that of Chæroneia.

VI. From the battle of Chæroneia to the end of the generation of Alexander.

The five periods, from Peisistratus down to the death of Alexander and of his generation, present the acts of an historical drama capable of being recounted in perspicuous succession, and connected by a sensible thread of unity. I shall interweave in their proper places the important but outlying adventures of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, — introducing such occasional notices of Grecian political constitutions, philosophy, poetry, and oratory, as are requisite to exhibit the many-sided activity of this people during their short but brilliant career.

After the generation of Alexander, the political action of Greece becomes cramped and degraded, — no longer interesting to the reader, or operative on the destinies of the future world. We may, indeed, name one or two incidents, especially the revolutions of Agis and Kleomenés at Sparta, which are both instructive and affecting; but as a whole, the period, between 300 B. C. and the absorption of Greece by the Romans, is of no interest in itself, and is only so far of value as it helps us to understand the preceding centuries. The dignity and value of the Greeks from that time forward belong to them only as individual philosophers, preceptors, astronomers, and mathematicians, literary men and critics, medical practioners, etc. In all these respective capacities, especially in the great schools of philosophical speculation, they still constitute the light of the Roman world; though, as communities, they have lost their own orbit, and have become satellites of more powerful neighbors.



I propose to bring down the history of the Grecian communities to the year 300 B. c., or the close of the generation which takes its name from Alexander the Great, and I hope to accomplish this in eight volumes altogether. For the next two or three volumes I have already large preparations made, and I shall publish my third (perhaps my fourth) in the course of the ensuing winter.

There are great disadvantages in the publication of one portion of a history apart from the remainder; for neither the earlier nor the later phenomena can be fully comprehended without the light which each mutually casts upon the other. But the practice has become habitual, and is indeed more than justified by the well-known inadmissibility of "long hopes" into the short span of human life. Yet I cannot but fear that my first two volumes will suffer in the estimation of many readers by coming out alone,—and that men who value the Greeks for their philosophy, their politics, and their oratory, may treat the early legends as not worth attention. And it must be confessed that the sentimental attributes of the Greek mind—its religious and poetical vein—here appear in disproportionate relief, as compared with its more vigorous and masculine capacities,—with those powers of acting, organizing, judging, and speculating, which will be revealed in the forthcoming volumes. I venture, however, to forewarn the reader, that there will occur numerous circumstances in the after political life of the Greeks, which he will not comprehend unless he be initiated into the course of their legendary associations. He will not understand the frantic terror of the Athenian public during the Peloponnesian war, on the occasion of the mutilation of the statues called *Hermæ*, unless he enters into the way in which they connected their stability and security with the domiciliation of the gods in the soil: nor will he adequately appreciate the habit of the Spartan king on military expeditions,—when he offered his daily public sacrifices on behalf of his army and his coun-

try, — “always to perform this morning service immediately before sunrise, in order that he might be beforehand in obtaining the favor of the gods,”<sup>1</sup> if he be not familiar with the Homeric conception of Zeus going to rest at night and awaking to rise at early dawn from the side of the “white-armed Hêrê.” The occasion will, indeed, often occur for remarking how these legends illustrate and vivify the political phenomena of the succeeding times, and I have only now to urge the necessity of considering them as the beginning of a series, — not as an entire work.

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Repub. Lacedæmon.* cap. xiii. 3. Ἄεὶ δὲ, ὅταν θύηται, ἀρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἐπὶ κνεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐνοίαν.

LONDON, March 5 1846.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF VOLUMES I. AND II.

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IN preparing a Second Edition of the first two volumes of my History, I have profited by the remarks and corrections of various critics, contained in Reviews, both English and foreign. I have suppressed, or rectified, some positions which had been pointed out as erroneous, or as advanced upon inadequate evidence. I have strengthened my argument in some cases where it appeared to have been imperfectly understood,—adding some new notes, partly for the purpose of enlarged illustration, partly to defend certain opinions which had been called in question. The greater number of these alterations have been made in Chapters XVI. and XXI. of Part I., and in Chapter VI. of Part II.

I trust that these three Chapters, more full of speculation, and therefore more open to criticism than any of the others, will thus appear in a more complete and satisfactory form. But I must at the same time add that they remain for the most part unchanged in substance, and that I have seen no sufficient reason to modify my main conclusions even respecting the structure of the *Iliad*, controverted though they have been by some of my most esteemed critics.

In regard to the character and peculiarity of Grecian legend, as broadly distinguished throughout these volumes from Grecian history, I desire to notice two valuable publications

with which I have only become acquainted since the date of my first edition. One of these is, *A Short Essay on Primæval History*, by John Kenrick, M. A. (London, 1846, published just at the same time as these volumes,) which illustrates with much acute reflection the general features of legend, not only in Greece but throughout the ancient world, — see especially pages 65, 84, 92, *et seq.* The other work is, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, by Colonel Sleeman, — first made known to me through an excellent notice of my *History* in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1846. The description given by Colonel Sleeman, of the state of mind now actually prevalent among the native population of Hindostan, presents a vivid comparison, helping the modern reader to understand and appreciate the legendary era of Greece. I have embodied in the notes of this Second Edition two or three passages from Colonel Sleeman's instructive work: but the whole of it richly deserves perusal.

Having now finished six volumes of this *History*, without attaining a lower point than the peace of Nikias, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, — I find myself compelled to retract the expectation held out in the preface to my First Edition, that the entire work might be completed in eight volumes. Experience proves to me how impossible it is to measure beforehand the space which historical subjects will require. All I can now promise is, that the remainder of the work shall be executed with as much regard to brevity as is consistent with the paramount duty of rendering it fit for public acceptance.

London, April 3, 1849

## NAMES OF GODS, GODDESSES, AND HEROES.

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FOLLOWING the example of Dr. Thirlwall and other excellent scholars, I call the Greek deities by their real Greek names, and not by the Latin equivalents used among the Romans. For the assistance of those readers to whom the Greek names may be less familiar, I here annex a table of the one and the other.

<i>Greek.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>
Zeus,	Jupiter.
Poseidôn,	Neptune.
Arês,	Mars.
Dionysus,	Bacchus.
Hermês,	Mercury.
Hêlios,	Sol.
Hêphæstus,	Vulcan.
Hadês,	Pluto.
 Hêrê,	 Juno.
Athênê,	Minerva.
Artemis,	Diana.
Aphroditê,	Venus.
Eôs,	Aurora.
Hestia,	Vesta.
Lêtô,	Latona.
Dêmêtêr,	Ceres.
 Hêraklês,	 Hercules.
Asklêpius,	Æsculapius.

A few words are here necessary respecting the orthography of Greek names adopted in the above table and generally throughout this history. I have approximated as nearly as I dared to the Greek letters in preference to the Latin; and on this point I venture upon an innovation which I should have little doubt of vindicating before the reason of any candid English student. For the ordinary practice of substituting, in a Greek name, the English C in place of the Greek K, is, indeed, so obviously incorrect, that

it admits of no rational justification. Our own K, precisely and in every point, coincides with the Greek K: we have thus the means of reproducing the Greek name to the eye as well as to the ear, yet we gratuitously take the wrong letter in preference to the right. And the precedent of the Latins is here against us rather than in our favor, for their C really coincided in sound with the Greek K, whereas our C entirely departs from it, and becomes an S, before *e*, *i*, *æ*, *œ*, and *y*. Though our C has so far deviated in sound from the Latin C, yet there is some warrant for our continuing to use it in writing Latin names, — because we thus reproduce the name to the eye, though not to the ear. But this is not the case when we employ our C to designate the Greek K, for we depart here not less from the visible than from the audible original; while we mar the unrivalled euphony of the Greek language by that multiplied sibilation which constitutes the least inviting feature in our own. Among German philologists, the K is now universally employed in writing Greek names, and I have adopted it pretty largely in this work, making exception for such names as the English reader has been so accustomed to hear with the C, that they may be considered as being almost Anglicised. I have, farther, marked the long *ε* and the long *ο* (*η*, *ω*), by a circumflex (*Hêrê*) when they occur in the last syllable or in the penultimate of a name.

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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

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## PART I

### LEGENDARY GREECE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### LEGENDS RESPECTING THE GODS.

THE mythical world of the Greeks opens with the gods, anterior as well as superior to man: it gradually descends, first to heroes, and next to the human race. Along with the gods are found various monstrous natures, ultra-human and extra-human, who cannot with propriety be called gods, but who partake with gods and men in the attributes of freewill, conscious agency, and susceptibility of pleasure and pain,—such as the Harpies, the Gorgons, the Grææ, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, Echidna, Sphinx, Chimæra, Chrysaor, Pegasus, the Cyclopes, the Centaurs, etc. The first acts of what may be termed the great mythical cycle describe the proceedings of these gigantic agents—the crash and collision of certain terrific and overboiling forces, which are ultimately reduced to obedience, or chained up, or extinguished, under the more orderly government of Zeus, who supplants his less capable predecessors, and acquires precedence and supremacy over gods and men—subject however to certain social restraints from the chief gods and goddesses around

him, as well as to the custom of occasionally convoking and consulting the divine agora.

I recount these events briefly, but literally, treating them simply as mythes springing from the same creative imagination, addressing themselves to analogous tastes and feelings, and depending upon the same authority, as the legends of Thebes and Troy. It is the inspired voice of the Muse which reveals and authenticates both, and from which Homer and Hesiod alike derive their knowledge—the one, of the heroic, the other, of the divine, foretime. I maintain, moreover, fully, the character of these great divine agents as Persons, which is the light in which they presented themselves to the Homeric or Hesiodic audience. Uranos, Nyx, Hypnos and Oneiros (Heaven, Night, Sleep and Dream), are Persons, just as much as Zeus and Apollo. To resolve them into mere allegories, is unsafe and unprofitable: we then depart from the point of view of the original hearers, without acquiring any consistent or philosophical point of view of our own.<sup>1</sup> For although some of the attributes and actions ascribed to these persons are often explicable by allegory the whole series and system of them never are so: the theorist who adopts this course of explanation finds that, after one or two simple and obvious steps, the path is no longer open, and he is forced to clear a way for himself by gratuitous refinements and conjectures. The allegorical persons and attributes are always found mingled with other persons and attributes not allegorical; but the two classes cannot be severed without breaking up the whole march of the mythical events, nor can any explanation which drives us to such a necessity be considered as admissible. To suppose indeed that these legends could be all traced by means of allegory into a coherent body of physical doctrine, would be inconsistent with all reasonable presumptions respecting the age or society in which they arose. Where the allegorical mark is clearly set upon any particular character, or attribute, or event, to that extent we may recognize it; but we can rarely venture to divine further, still less to alter the legends themselves on the faith of any such surmises. The theogony of the Greeks contains

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<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient, here, to state this position briefly: more will be said respecting the allegorizing interpretation in a future chapter.



some cosmogonic ideas ; but it cannot be considered as a system of cosmogony, or translated into a string of elementary, planetary, or physical changes.

In the order of legendary chronology, Zeus comes after Kronos and Uranos ; but in the order of Grecian conception, Zeus is the prominent person, and Kronos and Uranos are inferior and introductory precursors, set up in order to be overthrown and to serve as mementos of the prowess of their conqueror. To Homer and Hesiod, as well as to the Greeks universally, Zeus is the great and predominant god, "the father of gods and men," whose power none of the other gods can hope to resist, or even deliberately think of questioning. All the other gods have their specific potency and peculiar sphere of action and duty, with which Zeus does not usually interfere ; but it is he who maintains the lineaments of a providential superintendence, as well over the phænomena of Olympus as over those of earth. Zeus and his brothers Poseidôn and Hadês have made a division of power : he has reserved the æther and the atmosphere to himself — Poseidôn has obtained the sea — and Hadês the under-world or infernal regions ; while earth, and the events which pass upon earth, are common to all of them, together with free access to Olympûs.<sup>1</sup>

Zeus, then, with his brethren and colleagues, constitute the present gods, whom Homer and Hesiod recognize as in full dignity and efficiency. The inmates of this divine world are conceived upon the model, but not upon the scale, of the human. They are actuated by the full play and variety of those appetites, sympathies, passions and affections, which divide the soul of man ; invested with a far larger and indeterminate measure of power, and an exemption as well from death as (with some rare exceptions) from suffering and infirmity. The rich and diverse types thus conceived, full of energetic movement and contrast, each in his own province, and soaring confessedly above the limits of

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad*, viii. 405, 463 ; xv. 20, 130, 185. Hesiod, *Theog.* 885.

This unquestioned supremacy is the general representation of Zeus : at the same time the conspiracy of Hêrê, Poseidôn, and Athênê against him, suppressed by the unexpected apparition of Briareus as his ally, is among the exceptions. (*Iliad*, i. 400.) Zeus is at one time vanquished by Titan, but rescued by Hermês. (*Apollodôr.* i. 6, 3)

experience, were of all themes the most suitable for adventure and narrative, and operated with irresistible force upon the Grecian fancy. All nature was then conceived as moving and working through a number of personal agents, amongst whom the gods of Olympus were the most conspicuous; the reverential belief in Zeus and Apollo being only one branch of this omnipresent personifying faith. The attributes of all these agents had a tendency to expand themselves into illustrative legends — especially those of the gods, who were constantly invoked in the public worship. Out of this same mental source sprang both the divine and heroic mythes — the former being often the more extravagant and abnormous in their incidents, in proportion as the general type of the gods was more vast and awful than that of the heroes.

As the gods have houses and wives like men, so the present dynasty of gods must have a past to repose upon;<sup>1</sup> and the curious and imaginative Greek, whenever he does not find a recorded past ready to his hand, is uneasy until he has created one. Thus the Hesiodic theogony explains, with a certain degree of system and coherence, first the antecedent circumstances under which Zeus acquired the divine empire, next the number of his colleagues and descendants.

First in order of time (we are told by Hesiod) came Chaos; next Gæa, the broad, firm, and flat Earth, with deep and dark Tartarus at her base. Erôs (Love), the subduer of gods as well as men, came immediately afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

From Chaos sprung Erebus and Nyx; from these latter Æthêr and Hêmëra. Gæa also gave birth to Uranos, equal in breadth to herself, in order to serve both as an overarching vault to her, and as a residence for the immortal gods; she further produced the mountains, habitations of the divine nymphs, and Pontus, the barren and billowy sea.

Then Gæa intermarried with Uranos, and from this union came a numerous offspring — twelve Titans and Titanides, three Cyclôpes, and three Hekatoncheires or beings with a hundred

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Polit. i. l. ὥστερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ τοὺς βίους, τῶν θεῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 116. Apollodôrus begins with Uranos and Gæa (i. l.); he does not recognize Erôs, Nyx, or Erebus.

hands each. The Titans were Oceanus, Kœos, Krios, Hyperîon, Iapetos, and Kronos: the Titanides, Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnêmosynê, Phœbê, and Têthys. The Cyclôpes were Brontêas, Steropês, and Argês, — formidable persons, equally distinguished for strength and for manual craft, so that they made the thunder which afterwards formed the irresistible artillery of Zeus.<sup>1</sup> The Hekatoncheires were Kottos, Briareus, and Gygês, of prodigious bodily force.

Uranos contemplated this powerful brood with fear and horror; as fast as any of them were born, he concealed them in cavities of the earth, and would not permit them to come out. Gæa could find no room for them, and groaned under the pressure: she produced iron, made a sickle, and implored her sons to avenge both her and themselves against the oppressive treatment of their father. But none of them, except Kronos, had courage to undertake the deed: he, the youngest and the most daring, was armed with the sickle and placed in suitable ambush by the contrivance of Gæa. Presently night arrived, and Uranos descended to the embraces of Gæa: Kronos then emerged from his concealment, cut off the genitals of his father, and cast the bleeding member behind him far away into the sea.<sup>2</sup> Much of the blood was spilt upon the earth, and Gæa in consequence gave birth to the irresistible Erinnys, the vast and muscular Gigantes, and the Melian nymphs. Out of the genitals themselves, as they swam and foamed upon the sea, emerged the goddess Aphrodîtê, deriving her name from the foam out of which she had sprung. She first landed at Kythêra, and then went to Cyprus: the island felt her benign influence, and the green herb started up under her soft and delicate tread. Erôs immediately joined her, and partook with her the function of suggesting and directing the amorous impulses both of gods and men.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 140, 156. Apollod. *ut sup.*

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 160, 182. Apollod. i. 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 192. This legend respecting the birth of Aphrodite seems to have been derived partly from her name (*ἀφρός*, foam), partly from the surname *Urania*, *Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία*, under which she was so very extensively worshipped, especially both in Cyprus and Cythêra, seemingly originated in both islands by the Phœnicians. Herodot. i. 105. Compare the instructive section in Boeckh's *Metrologie*, c. iv. § 4.

Uranos being thus dethroned and disabled, Kronos and the Titans acquired their liberty and became predominant: the Cyclôpes and the Hekatoncheires had been cast by Uranos into Tartarus, and were still allowed to remain there.

Each of the Titans had a numerous offspring: Oceanus, especially, marrying his sister Têthys, begat three thousand daughters, the Oceanic nymphs, and as many sons: the rivers and springs passed for his offspring. Hyperîon and his sister Theia had for their children Hélios, Selênê, and Eôs; Koös with Phœbê begat Lêtô and Asteria; the children of Krios were Astræos, Pallas, and Persês, — from Astræos and Eôs sprang the winds Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Iapetos, marrying the Oceanic nymph Clymenê, counted as his progeny the celebrated Promêtheus, Epimêtheus, Menœtius, and Atlas. But the offspring of Kronos were the most powerful and transcendent of all. He married his sister Rhea, and had by her three daughters — Hestia, Dêmêtêr, and Hêrê — and three sons, Hadês, Poseidôn, and Zeus, the latter at once the youngest and the greatest.

But Kronos foreboded to himself destruction from one of his own children, and accordingly, as soon as any of them were born, he immediately swallowed them and retained them in his own belly. In this manner had the first five been treated, and Rhea was on the point of being delivered of Zeus. Grieved and indignant at the loss of her children, she applied for counsel to her father and mother, Uranos and Gæa, who aided her to conceal the birth of Zeus. They conveyed her by night to Lyktus in Crête, hid the new-born child in a woody cavern on Mount Ida, and gave to Kronos, in place of it, a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which he greedily swallowed, believing it to be his child. Thus was the safety of Zeus ensured.<sup>1</sup> As he grew up his vast powers fully developed themselves: at the suggestion of Gæa, he induced Kronos by stratagem to vomit up, first the stone which had been given to him, — next, the five children whom he had previously devoured. Hestia, Dêmêtêr, Hêrê, Poseidôn and Hadês, were thus allowed to grow up along with Zeus; and the stone to which the latter owed his preservation was placed near

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 452, 487. Apollod. i. 1, 6.

the temple of Delphi, where it ever afterwards stood, as a conspicuous and venerable memorial to the religious Greek.<sup>1</sup>

We have not yet exhausted the catalogue of beings generated during this early period, anterior to the birth of Zeus. Nyx, alone and without any partner, gave birth to a numerous progeny: Thanatos, Hypnos and Oneiros; Mōmus and Oisys (Grief); Klōthō, Lachesis and Atropos, the three Fates; the retributive and equalizing Nemesis; Apatē and Philotēs (Deceit and amorous Propensity), Gēras (Old Age) and Eris (Contention). From Eris proceeded an abundant offspring, all mischievous and maleficent: Ponos (Suffering), Lēthē, Limos (Famine), Phonos and Machē (Slaughter and Battle), Dysnomia and Atē (Lawlessness and reckless Impulse), and Horkos, the ever-watchful sanctioner of oaths, as well as the inexorable punisher of voluntary perjury.<sup>2</sup>

Gæa, too, intermarrying with Pontus, gave birth to Nereus, the just and righteous old man of the sea; to Thaumās, Phorkys and Kētō. From Nereus, and Doris daughter of Oceanus, proceeded the fifty Nereids or Sea-nymphs. Thaumās also married Elektra daughter of Oceanus, and had by her Iris and the two Harpies, Allō and Okypetē, — winged and swift as the winds. From Phorkys and Kētō sprung the Dragon of the Hesperides, and the monstrous Grææ and Gorgons: the blood of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, when killed by Perseus, produced Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus: Chrysaor and Kallirrhōē gave birth to Geryōn as well as to Echidna, — a creature half-nymph and half-serpent, unlike both to gods and to men. Other monsters arose from the union of Echidna with Typhaōn, — Orthros, the two-headed dog of Geryōn; Cerberus, the dog of Hadēs, with fifty heads, and the Lernean Hydra. From the latter proceeded the Chimæra, the Sphinx of Thēbes, and the Nemean lion.<sup>3</sup>

A powerful and important progeny, also, was that of Styx,

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 498. —

Τὸν μὲν Ζεὺς στήριξε κατὰ χρόνους εὐρυοδείης  
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, γυάλους ὑπὸ Παρνήσσι,  
Σῆμ' ἔμην ἔξοπίσω, θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 212-232.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 240-320. Apollodōr. i. 2, 6, 7.

daughter of Oceanus, by Pallas; she had Zélos and Niké (Imperiousness and Victory), and Kratos and Bia (Strength and Force). The hearty and early coöperation of Styx and her four sons with Zeus was one of the main causes which enabled him to achieve his victory over the Titans.

Zeus had grown up not less distinguished for mental capacity than for bodily force. He and his brothers now determined to wrest the power from the hands of Kronos and the Titans, and a long and desperate struggle commenced, in which all the gods and all the goddesses took part. Zeus convoked them to Olympus, and promised to all who would aid him against Kronos, that their functions and privileges should remain undisturbed. The first who responded to the call, came with her four sons, and embraced his cause, was Styx. Zeus took them all four as his constant attendants, and conferred upon Styx the majestic distinction of being the Horkos, or oath-sanctioner of the Gods,— what Horkos was to men, Styx was to the Gods.<sup>1</sup>

Still further to strengthen himself, Zeus released the other Uranids who had been imprisoned in Tartarus by their father,— the Cyclôpes and the Centimanes,— and prevailed upon them to take part with him against the Titans. The former supplied him with thunder and lightning, and the latter brought into the fight their boundless muscular strength.<sup>2</sup> Ten full years did the combat continue; Zeus and the Kronids occupying Olympus, and the Titans being established on the more southerly mountain-chain of Othrya. All nature was convulsed, and the distant Oceanus, though he took no part in the struggle, felt the boiling, the noise, and the shock, not less than Gæa and Pontus. The thunder of Zeus, combined with the crags and mountains torn up and hurled by the Centimanes, at length prevailed, and the Titans were defeated and thrust down into Tartarus. Iapetos, Kronos, and the remaining Titans (Oceanus excepted) were imprisoned, perpetually and irrevocably, in that subterranean dungeon, a wall of brass being built around them by Poseidôn, and the three Centimanes being planted as guards. Of the two sons of Iapetos, Menœtius was made to share this prison, while Atlas was condemned to

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 385–403.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 140, 624, 657. Apollodôr. i. 2, 4.

stand for ever at the extreme west, and to bear upon his shoulders the solid vault of heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Thus were the Titans subdued, and the Kronids with Zeus at their head placed in possession of power. They were not, however, yet quite secure; for Gæa, intermarrying with Tartarus, gave birth to a new and still more formidable monster called Typhœus, of such tremendous properties and promise, that, had he been allowed to grow into full development, nothing could have prevented him from vanquishing all rivals and becoming supreme. But Zeus foresaw the danger, smote him at once with a thunderbolt from Olympus, and burnt him up: he was cast along with the rest into Tartarus, and no further enemy remained to question the sovereignty of the Kronids.<sup>2</sup>

With Zeus begins a new dynasty and a different order of beings. Zeus, Poseidôn, and Hadês agree upon the distribution before noticed, of functions and localities: Zeus retaining the Æthêr and the atmosphere, together with the general presiding function; Poseidôn obtaining the sea, and administering subterranean forces generally; and Hadês ruling the under-world or region in which the half-animated shadows of departed men reside.

It has been already stated, that in Zeus, his brothers and his sisters, and his and their divine progeny, we find the *present* Gods; that is, those, for the most part, whom the Homeric and Hesiodic Greeks recognized and worshipped. The wives of Zeus were numerous as well as his offspring. First he married Mêtis, the wisest and most sagacious of the goddesses; but Gæa and Uranos forewarned him that if he permitted himself to have children by her, they would be stronger than himself and dethrone him. Accordingly when Mêtis was on the point of being deliv-

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<sup>1</sup> The battle with the Titans, Hesiod, Theog. 627-735. Hesiod mentions nothing about the Gigantes and the Gigantomachia: Apollodôrus, on the other hand, gives this latter in some detail, but despatches the Titans in a few words (i. 2, 4; i. 6, 1). The Gigantes seem to be only a second edition of the Titans,—a sort of duplication to which the legendary poets were often inclined.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 820-869. Apollod. i. 6, 3. He makes Typhôn very nearly victorious over Zeus. Typhœus, according to Hesiod, is father of the irregular, violent, and mischievous winds: Notus, Boreas, Argestês and Zephyrus, are of divine origin (870).

ered of Athênê, he swallowed her up, and her wisdom and sagacity thus became permanently identified with his own being.<sup>1</sup> His head was subsequently cut open, in order to make way for the exit and birth of the goddess Athênê.<sup>2</sup> By Themis, Zeus begat the Hôræ, by Eurynomê, the three Charities or Graces; by Mnêmosynê, the Muses; by Lêtô (Latona), Apollo and Artemis; and by Dêmêtêr, Persephonê. Last of all he took for his wife Hêrê, who maintained permanently the dignity of queen of the Gods; by her he had Hêbê, Arês, and Eileithyia. Hermês also was born to him by Maia, the daughter of Atlas: Hêphæstos was born to Hêrê, according to some accounts, by Zeus; according to others, by her own unaided generative force.<sup>3</sup> He was born lame, and Hêrê was ashamed of him: she wished to secrete him away, but he made his escape into the sea, and found shelter under the maternal care of the Nereids Thetis and Eurynome.<sup>4</sup> Our enumeration of the divine race, under the presidency of Zeus, will thus give us,<sup>5</sup>—

1. The twelve great gods and goddesses of Olympus,—Zeus, Poseidôn, Appollo, Arês, Hêphæstos, Hermês, Hêrê, Athênê, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hestia, Dêmêtêr.

2. An indefinite number of other deities, not included among the Olympic, seemingly because the number *twelve* was complete without them, but some of them not inferior in power and dignity to many of the twelve:—Hadês, Hêlios, Hekatê, Dionysos, Lêtô, Diônê, Persephonê, Selênê, Themis, Eôs, Harmonia, the Charities, the Muses, the Eilaithyia, the Moeræ, the Oceanids and the Nereids, Proteus, Eidothea, the Nymphs, Leukothea, Phorkys, Æolus, Némesis, etc.

3. Deities who perform special services to the greater gods:—Iris, Hêbê, the Horæ, etc.

4. Deities whose personality is more faintly and unsteadily conceived:—Atê, the Litæ, Eris, Thanatos, Hypnos, Kratos, Bia, Ossa, etc.<sup>6</sup> The same name is here employed sometimes to designate the person, sometimes the attribute or event not personi-

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 885-900.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. i. 3, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 900-944.

<sup>4</sup> Homer, Iliad, xviii. 397.

<sup>5</sup> See Burckhardt, Homer, und Hesiod. Mythologie, sect. 102. (Leipzig. 844).

<sup>6</sup> *Λιμός* — *Hunger* — is a person, in Hesiod, Opp. Di. 299.



fied,—an unconscious transition of ideas, which, when consciously performed, is called Allegory.

5. Monsters, offspring of the Gods:—the Harpies, the Gorgons, the Grææ, Pegasus, Chrysaor, Echidna, Chimæra, the Dragon of the Hesperides, Cerberus, Orthros, Geryôn, the Lernæan Hydra, the Nemean lion, Scylla and Charybdis, the Centaurs, the Sphinx, Xanthos and Balios the immortal horses, etc.

From the gods we slide down insensibly, first to heroes, and then to men; but before we proceed to this new mixture, it is necessary to say a few words on the theogony generally. I have given it briefly as it stands in the *Hesiodic Theogonia*, because that poem—in spite of great incoherence and confusion, arising seemingly from diversity of authorship as well as diversity of age—presents an ancient and genuine attempt to cast the divine foretime into a systematic sequence. Homer and Hesiod were the grand authorities in the pagan world respecting theogony; but in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* nothing is found except passing allusions and implications, and even in the *Hymns* (which were commonly believed in antiquity to be the productions of the same author as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) there are only isolated, unconnected narratives. Accordingly men habitually took their information respecting their theogonic antiquities from the *Hesiodic* poem, where it was ready laid out before them; and the legends consecrated in that work acquired both an extent of circulation and a firm hold on the national faith, such as independent legends could seldom or never rival. Moreover the scrupulous and sceptical Pagans, as well as the open assailants of Paganism in later times, derived their subjects of attack from the same source; so that it has been absolutely necessary to recount in their naked simplicity the *Hesiodic* stories, in order to know what it was that Plato deprecated and *Xenophanês* denounced. The strange proceedings ascribed to *Uranos*, *Kronos* and *Zeus*, have been more frequently alluded to, in the way of ridicule or condemnation, than any other portion of the mythical world.

But though the *Hesiodic* theogony passed as orthodox among the later Pagans,<sup>1</sup> because it stood before them as the only system anciently set forth and easily accessible, it was evidently not the

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<sup>1</sup> See Götting, *Præfat. ad Hesiod.* p. 23.

only system received at the date of the poem itself. Homer knows nothing of Uranos, in the sense of an arch-God anterior to Kronos. Uranos and Gæa, like Oceanus, Téthys and Nyx, are with him great and venerable Gods, but neither the one nor the other present the character of predecessors of Kronos and Zeus.<sup>1</sup> The Cyclôpes, whom Hesiod ranks as sons of Uranos and fabricators of thunder, are in Homer neither one nor the other; they are not noticed in the *Iliad* at all, and in the *Odyssey* they are gross gigantic shepherds and cannibals, having nothing in common with the Hesiodic Cyclops except the one round central eye.<sup>2</sup> Of the three Centimanes enumerated by Hesiod, Briareus only is mentioned in Homer, and to all appearance, not as the son of Uranos, but as the son of Poseidôn; not as aiding Zeus in his combat against the Titans, but as rescuing him at a critical moment from a conspiracy formed against him by Hêrê, Poseidôn and Athênê.<sup>3</sup> Not only is the Hesiodic Uranos (with the Uranids) omitted in Homer, but the relations between Zeus and Kronos are also presented in a very different light. No mention is made of Kronos swallowing his young children: on the contrary, Zeus is the eldest of the three brothers instead of the youngest, and the children of Kronos live with him and Rhea: there the stolen intercourse between Zeus and Hêrê first takes place without the knowledge of their parents.<sup>4</sup> When Zeus puts Kronos down into Tartarus, Rhea consigns her daughter Hêrê to the care of Oceanus: no notice do we find of any terrific battle with the Titans as accompanying that event. Kronos, Iapetos, and the remaining Titans are down in Tartarus, in the lowest depths under the earth, far removed from the genial rays of Hélios; but they are still powerful and venerable, and Hypnos makes Hêrê swear an oath in their name, as the most inviolable that he can think of.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xiv. 249; xix. 259. *Odys.* v. 184. Oceanus and Téthys seem to be presented in the *Iliad* as the primitive Father and Mother of the Gods:—

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν. (xiv. 201).

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* ix. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, i. 401.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, xiv. 203–295; xv. 204.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, viii. 482; xiv. 274–279. In the Hesiodic *Opp. et Di.*, Kronos is represented as ruling in the Islands of the Blest in the neighborhood of Oceanus (v. 168).

In Homer, then, we find nothing beyond the simple fact that Zeus thrust his father Kronos together with the remaining Titans into Tartarus; an event to which he affords us a tolerable parallel in certain occurrences even under the presidency of Zeus himself. For the other gods make more than one rebellious attempt against Zeus, and are only put down, partly by his unparalleled strength, partly by the presence of his ally the Centimane Briareus. Kronos, like Læertes or Pêleus, has become old, and has been supplanted by a force vastly superior to his own. The Homeric epic treats Zeus as present, and, like all the interesting heroic characters, a father must be assigned to him: that father has once been the chief of the Titans, but has been superseded and put down into Tartarus along with the latter, so soon as Zeus and the superior breed of the Olympic gods acquired their full development.

That antithesis between Zeus and Kronos — between the Olympic gods and the Titans — which Homer has thus briefly brought to view, Hesiod has amplified into a theogony, with many things new, and some things contradictory to his predecessor; while Eumêlus or Arktinus in the poem called *Titanomachia* (now lost) also adopted it as their special subject.<sup>1</sup> As Stasinus, Arktinus, Lêsches, and others, enlarged the Legend of Troy by composing poems relating to a supposed time anterior to the commencement, or subsequent to the termination of the *Iliad*, — as other poets recounted adventures of Odysseus subsequent to his landing in Ithaka, — so Hesiod enlarged and systematized, at the same time that he corrupted, the skeleton theogony which we find briefly indicated in Homer. There is violence and rudeness in the Homeric gods, but the great genius of Grecian epic is no way accountable for the stories of Uranos and Kronos, — the standing reproach against Pagan legendary narrative.

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<sup>1</sup> See the few fragments of the *Titanomachia*, in Düntzer, *Epic. Græc. Fragm.* p. 2; and Hyne, ad Apollodor. I. 2. Perhaps there was more than one poem on the subject, though it seems that Athenæus had only read one (viii. p. 277).

In the *Titanomachia*, the generations anterior to Zeus were still further lengthened by making Uranos the son of Æthêr (Fr. 4. Düntzer). Ægeon was also represented as son of Pontus and Gæa, and as having fought in the ranks of the Titans: in the *Iliad* he (the same who is called Briareus) is the last ally of Zeus.

A *Titanographia* was ascribed to Musæus (Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iii. 1178 compare Lactant. de Fals. Rel. i. 21).

quency in the domestic life as well as in the religious worship of Phrygia and other parts of Asia, and it even became the special qualification of a priest of the Great Mother Cybelê,<sup>1</sup> as well as of the Ephesian Artemis. The employment of the sickle ascribed to Kronos seems to be the product of an imagination familiar with the Asiatic worship and legends, which were connected with and partially resembled the Krêtan.<sup>2</sup> And this deduction becomes the more probable when we connect it with the first genesis of iron, which Hesiod mentions to have been produced for the express purpose of fabricating the fatal sickle; for metallurgy finds a place in the early legends both of the Trojan and of the Krêtan Ida, and the three Idæan Dactyls, the legendary inventors of it, are assigned sometimes to one and sometimes to the other.<sup>3</sup>

As Hesiod had extended the Homeric series of gods by prefixing the dynasty of Uranos to that of Kronos, so the Orphic theog-

named Adamas by the Thracian king Kotys, in Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 12, and the tale about the Corinthian Periander, Herod. iii. 48.

It is an instance of the habit, so frequent among the Attic tragedians, of ascribing Asiatic or Phrygian manners to the Trojans, when Sophoclés in his lost play Troilus (ap. Jul. Poll. x. 165) introduced one of the characters of his drama as having been castrated by order of Hecuba, *Σκαλῆ γὰρ ὄρχεις βασιλὶς ἐκτέμνοντο' ἐμοῦς*,—probably the Παιδαγωγός, or guardian and companion of the youthful Troilus. See Welcker, Griechisch. Tragöd. vol. i. p. 125.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 105, *ἐβνοῦχοι*. Lucian, De Deâ Syriâ, c. 50. Strabo, xiv. pp. 640–641.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. v. 64. Strabo, x. p. 460. Hoeckh, in his learned work Krêta (vol. i. books 1 and 2), has collected all the information attainable respecting the early influences of Phrygia and Asia Minor upon Krête: nothing seems ascertainable except the general fact; all the particular evidences are lamentably vague.

The worship of the Diktæan Zeus seemed to have originally belonged to the Eteokrêtes, who were not Hellenes, and were more akin to the Asiatic population than to the Hellenic. Strabo, x. p. 478. Hoeckh, Krêta, vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Theogon. 161,

*Αἴψα δὲ ποιήσασα γένος πολλοῦ ἀδάμαντος,  
Τεῶζε μέγα δρέπανον, etc.*

See the extract from the old poem *Phorónis* ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1129 and Strabo, x. p. 472.

egg lengthened it still further.<sup>1</sup> First came Chronos, or Time, as a person, after him Æthér and Chaos, out of whom Chronos produced the vast mundane egg. Hence emerged in process of time the first-born god Phanês, or Métis, or Hêrikapsoos, a person of double sex, who first generated the Kosmos, or mundane system, and who carried within him the seed of the gods. He gave birth to Nyx, by whom he begat Uranos and Gæa; as well as to Hélios and Selêne.<sup>2</sup>

From Uranos and Gæa sprang the three Moera, or Fates, the three Centimanes and the three Cyclôpes: these latter were cast by Uranos into Tartarus, under the foreboding that they would rob him of his dominion. In revenge for this maltreatment of her sons, Gæa produced of herself the fourteen Titans, seven male and seven female: the former were Kœos, Krios, Phorkys, Kronos, Oceanus, Hyperîon and Iapetos; the latter were Themis, Têthys, Mnêmosynê, Theia, Dionê, Phœbê and Rhea.<sup>3</sup> They received the name of Titans because they avenged upon Uranos the expulsion of their elder brothers. Six of the Titans, headed by Kronos the most powerful of them all, conspiring against Uranos, castrated and dethroned him: Oceanus alone stood aloof and took no part in the aggression. Kronos assumed the government and fixed his seat on Olympos; while Oceanus remained apart, master of his own divine stream.<sup>4</sup> The reign

<sup>1</sup> See the scanty fragments of the Orphic theogony in Hermann's edition of the Orphica, pp. 448, 504, which it is difficult to understand and piece together, even with the aid of Lobeck's elaborate examination (*Aglaophamus*, p. 470, etc.). The passages are chiefly preserved by Proclus and the later Platonists, who seem to entangle them almost inextricably with their own philosophical ideas.

The first few lines of the Orphic *Argonautica* contain a brief summary of the chief points of the theogony.

<sup>2</sup> See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 472-476, 490-500, *Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτὸν Ἡρικεπαῖον*; again, *Θῆλος καὶ γενέτωρ κρατερὸς θεὸς Ἡρικεπαῖος*. Compare Laotant. iv. 8, 4: Suidas, v. *Φάνης*: Athenagoras, xx. 296: Dio-dôr. i. 27.

This egg figures, as might be expected, in the cosmogony set forth by the Birds, Aristophan. Av. 695. Nyx gives birth to an egg, out of which steps the golden Erôs; from Erôs and Chaos spring the race of birds.

<sup>3</sup> Lobeck, *Ag.* p. 504. Athenagor. xv. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Lobeck, *Ag.* p. 507. Plato, *Timæus*, p. 41. In the *Διονύσου τρόφοι* of Æschylus, the old attendants of the god Dionysos were said to have been

of Kronos was a period of tranquillity and happiness, as well as of extraordinary longevity and vigor.

Kronos and Rhea gave birth to Zeus and his brothers and sisters. The concealment and escape of the infant Zeus, and the swallowing of the stone by Kronos, are given in the Orphic Theogony substantially in the same manner as by Hesiod, only in a style less simple and more mysticized. Zeus is concealed in the cave of Nyx, the seat of Phanés himself, along with Eidé and Adrasteia, who nurse and preserve him, while the armed dance and sonorous instruments of the Kurétes prevent his infant cries from reaching the ears of Kronos. When grown up, he lays a snare for his father, intoxicates him with honey, and having surprised him in the depth of sleep, enchains and castrates him.<sup>1</sup> Thus exalted to the supreme mastery, he swallowed and absorbed into himself Mêtis, or Phanés, with all the preëxisting elements of things, and then generated all things anew out of his own being and conformably to his own divine ideas.<sup>2</sup> So scanty are the remains of this system, that we find it difficult to trace individually the gods and goddesses sprung from Zeus

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cut up and boiled in a caldron, and rendered again young, by Medeia. Pherecydés and Simonidés said that Jasón himself had been so dealt with. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1321.

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck, p. 514. Porphyry, de Antro Nympharum, c. 16. *φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεὶ ἡ Νύξ, τῇ Διὶ ἐποτιθεμένη τὸν διὰ τοῦ μέλιτος ὄλον,*

*Εὗτ' ἂν δὴ μιν ἰδοῖαι ἐπὶ δρυσὶν ἐψικόμοισι  
Ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσῶν ἐριβόμβων,  
Αὐτικά μιν δῆσον.*

*Ὁ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεὶς ἐκτέμνεται, ὡς Οὐρανός.*

Compare Timæus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 983.

<sup>2</sup> The Cataposis of Phanés by Zeus one of the most memorable points of the Orphic Theogony. Lobeck, p. 519.; also Fragm. vi. p. 456 of Hermann's Orphica.

From this absorption and subsequent reproduction of all things by Zeus, flowed the magnificent string of Orphic predicates about him, —

*Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται, —*

an allusion to which is traceable even in Plato, de Legg. iv. p. 715. Plutarch, de Defectu Oracul. T. ix. p. 379. c. 48. Diogenes (i. 11) is the most ancient writer remaining to us who mentions the name of Phanés, in a line cited as proceeding from Orpheus; wherein, however, Phanés is identified with Dionysos. Compare Macrobius, Saturnal i. 18.

beyond Apollo, Dionysos, and Persephonê,—the latter being confounded with Artemis and Hekaté.

But there is one new personage, begotten by Zeus, who stands preëminently marked in the Orphic Theogony, and whose adventures constitute one of its peculiar features. Zagreus, "the horned child," is the son of Zeus by his own daughter Persephonê: he is the favorite of his father, a child of magnificent promise, and predestined, if he grow up, to succeed to supreme dominion as well as to the handling of the thunderbolt. He is seated, whilst an infant, on the throne beside Zeus, guarded by Apollo and the Kurêtes. But the jealous Hêrê intercepts his career and incites the Titans against him, who, having first smeared their faces with plaster, approach him on the throne, tempt his childish fancy with playthings, and kill him with a sword while he is contemplating his face in a mirror. They then cut up his body and boil it in a caldron, leaving only the heart, which is picked up by Athênê and carried to Zeus, who in his wrath strikes down the Titans with thunder into Tartarus; whilst Apollo is directed to collect the remains of Zagreus and bury them at the foot of Mount Parnassus. The heart is given to Semelê, and Zagreus is born again from her under the form of Dionysos.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> About the tale of Zagreus, see Lobeck, p. 552, *sqq.* Nonnus in his *Dionysiaca* has given many details about it:—

*Ζαγρέα γειναμένη κέρου βρέφος*, etc. (vi. 264).

Clemens Alexandrin. *Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 11, 12, Sylb. The story was treated both by Callimachus and by Euphoriôn, *Etymolog. Magu.* v. *Ζαγρεὺς*; Schol. *Lycophr.* 208. In the old epic poem *Alkmaônis* or *Epi-goni*, Zagreus is a surname of Hádês. See *Fragm.* 4, p. 7, ed. Düntzer. Respecting the Orphic Theogony generally, Brandis (*Handbuch der Geschichte der Griechisch-Römisch. Philosophie*, c. xvii., xviii.), K. O. Müller (*Prolegg. Mythol.* pp. 379–396), and Zoega (*Abhandlungen*, v. pp. 211–263) may be consulted with much advantage. Brandis regards this Theogony as considerably older than the first Ionic philosophy, which is a higher antiquity than appears probable: some of the ideas which it contains, such, for example, as that of the Orphic egg, indicate a departure from the string of purely personal generations which both Homer and Hesiod exclusively recount, and a resort to something like physical analogies. On the whole, we cannot reasonably claim for it more than half a century above the age of Onomakritus. The Theogony of Pherekydês of Syros seems to have

Such is the tissue of violent fancies comprehended under the title of the Orphic Theogony, and read as such, it appears, by Plato, Isokratēs and Aristotle. It will be seen that it is based upon the Hesiodic Theogony, but according to the general expansive tendency of Grecian legend, much new matter is added: Zeus has in Homer one predecessor, in Hesiod two, and in Orpheus four.

The Hesiodic Theogony, though later in date than the Iliad and Odyssey, was coeval with the earliest period of what may be called Grecian history, and certainly of an age earlier than 700 B. C. It appears to have been widely circulated in Greece, and being at once ancient and short, the general public consulted it as their principal source of information respecting divine antiquity. The Orphic Theogony belongs to a later date, and contains the Hesiodic ideas and persons, enlarged and mystically disguised: its vein of invention was less popular, adapted more to the contemplation of a sect specially prepared than to the taste of a casual audience, and it appears accordingly to have obtained currency chiefly among purely speculative men.<sup>1</sup> Among the major-

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borne some analogy to the Orphic. See Diogen. Laërt. i. 119, Sturz. Fragment. Pherekyd. § 5-6, Brandis, Handbuch, *ut sup.* c. xxii. Pherekydēs partially deviated from the mythical track or personal successions set forth by Hesiod. *ἐπεὶ οἱ γε μεμιγμένοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶ μὴ μυθικῶς ἅπαντα λέγειν, οἷον Φερεκίδης καὶ ἑτεροὶ τινες*, etc. (Aristot. Metaphys. N. p. 301, ed. Brandis). Porphyrius, *de Antro Nymphar.* c. 31, *καὶ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκίδου μυχοῦς καὶ βόθρους καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος, καὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττομένον τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν γενέσεις καὶ ἀπογενέσεις*, etc. Eudēmus the Peripatetic, pupil of Aristotle, had drawn up an account of the Orphic Theogony as well as of the doctrines of Pherekydēs, Akusilaus and others, which was still in the hands of the Platonists of the fourth century, though it is now lost. The extracts which we find seem all to countenance the belief that the Hesiodic Theogony formed the basis upon which they worked. See about Akusilaus, Plato, Sympos. p. 178. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 629.

<sup>1</sup> The Orphic Theogony is never cited in the ample Scholia on Homer, though Hesiod is often alluded to. (See Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 540). Nor can it have been present to the minds of Xenophanēs and Herakleitus, as representing any widely diffused Grecian belief: the former, who so severely condemned Homer and Hesiod, would have found Orpheus much more deserving of his censure: and the latter could hardly have omitted Orpheus from his memorable denunciation: — *Πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γάρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτίς δὲ Ξενοφάνεῦ τε καὶ Ἑκαταίον.* Diog. Laërt. ix. 1. Isokratēs treats Orpheus as the most censurable of all the poets.



ity of these latter, however, it acquired greater veneration, and above all was supposed to be of greater antiquity, than the Hesiodic. The belief in its superior antiquity (disallowed by Herodotus, and seemingly also by Aristotle<sup>1</sup>), as well as the respect for its contents, increased during the Alexandrine age and through the declining centuries of Paganism, reaching its maximum among the New-Platonists of the third and fourth century after Christ: both the Christian assailants, as well as the defenders, of paganism, treated it as the most ancient and venerable summary of the Grecian faith. Orpheus is celebrated by Pindar as the harper and companion of the Argonautic maritime heroes: Orpheus and Musæus, as well as Pamphós and Olén, the great supposed authors of theogonic, mystical, oracular, and prophetic verses and hymns, were generally considered by literary Greeks as older than either Hesiod or Homer:<sup>2</sup> and such was also the common opinion of modern scholars until a period comparatively recent. It has now been shown, on sufficient ground, that the

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See Busiris, p. 229; ii. p. 309, Bekk. The Theogony of Orpheus, as conceived by Apollonius Rhodius (i. 504) in the third century B. C., and by Nigidius in the first century B. C. (Servius ad Virgil. Eclog. iv. 10), seems to have been on a more contracted scale than that which is given in the text. But neither of them notice the tale of Zagreus, which we know to be as old as Onomakritus.

<sup>1</sup> This opinion of Herodotus is implied in the remarkable passage about Homer and Hesiod, ii. 53, though he never once names Orpheus — only alluding once to "Orphic ceremonies," ii. 81. He speaks more than once of the prophecies of Musæus. Aristotle denied the past existence and reality of Orpheus. See Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar Pyth. iv. 177. Plato seems to consider Orpheus as more ancient than Homer. Compare *Thésétét.* p. 179; Cratylus, p. 402; De Repub. ii. p. 364. The order in which Aristophanés (and Hippias of Elis, ap. Clem. Alex. Str. vi. p. 624) mentions them indicates the same view, Ranss, 1030. It is unnecessary to cite the later chronologers, among whom the belief in the antiquity of Orpheus was universal; he was commonly described as son of the Muse Calliopé. Androtion seems to have denied that he was a Thracian, regarding the Thracians as incurably stupid and illiterate. Androtion, Fragm. 36, ed. Didot. Ephorus treated him as having been a pupil of the Idæan Dactyls of Phrygia (see Diodór. v. 64), and as having learnt from them his *τελετὰς* and *μυστήρια*, which he was the first to introduce into Greece. The earliest mention which we find of Orpheus, is that of the poet Ibycus (about B. C. 530), *ὀνομάκλυτον Ὀρφεῖν*. Ibyci Fragm. 9, p. 341, ed. Schneidewin.

compositions which passed under these names emanate for the most part from poets of the Alexandrine age, and subsequent to the Christian æra; and that even the earliest among them, which served as the stock on which the later additions were engrafted, belong to a period far more recent than Hesiod; probably to the century preceding Onomakritus (B. C. 610–510). It seems, however, certain, that both Orpheus and Musæus were names of established reputation at the time when Onomakritus flourished; and it is distinctly stated by Pausanias that the latter was himself the author of the most remarkable and characteristic myths of the Orphic Theogony—the dismemberment of Zagreus by the Titans, and his resurrection as Dionysos.<sup>1</sup>

The names of Orpheus and Musæus (as well as that of Pythagoras,<sup>2</sup> looking at one side of his character) represent facts of importance in the history of the Grecian mind—the gradual influx of Thracian, Phrygian, and Egyptian, religious ceremonies and feelings, and the increasing diffusion of special mysteries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 37, 3. Τιτᾶνας δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ποιήσιν ἐσῆγαγεν Ὀμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι σφῶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταρτάρῳ· καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἡρᾷ δρῶν τὰ ἐπη· παρὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος, παραλαβὼν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα, Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια, καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργούς. Both the date, the character and the function of Onomakritus are distinctly marked by Herodotus, vii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus believed in the derivation both of the Orphic and Pythagorean regulations from Egypt—ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, τοῖσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι (ii. 81). He knows the names of those Greeks who have borrowed from Egypt the doctrine of the metempsychosis, but he will not mention them (ii. 123): he can hardly allude to any one but the Pythagoreans, many of whom he probably knew in Italy. See the curious extract from Xenophanēs respecting the doctrine of Pythagoras, Diogen. Laërt. viii. 37; and the quotation from the Silli of Timōn, Πυθαγόραν δὲ γοήτος ἀποκλίναντ' ἐπὶ δόξαν, etc. Compare Porphyry in Vit. Pythag. c. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophan. Ran. 1030.—

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι·  
Μουσαῖος τ', ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς· Ὑσίοδος δὲ,  
τῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ὀμηρος  
Ἄπὸ τοῦ τίμην καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν, πλὴν τοῦθ', ὅτι χρηστ' ἐδίδασκεν.  
Ἀρετὰς, τάξεις, ὁπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν; etc.

The same general contrast is to be found in Plato, Protagoras, p. 316; the opinion of Pausanias, ix. 30, 4. The poems of Musæus seem to have borne

schemes for religious purification, and orgies (I venture to anglicize the Greek word, which contains in its original meaning no implication of the ideas of excess to which it was afterwards diverted) in honor of some particular god—distinct both from the public solemnities and from the gentile solemnities of primitive Greece,—celebrated apart from the citizens generally, and approachable only through a certain course of preparation and initiation—sometimes even forbidden to be talked of in the presence of the uninitiated, under the severest threats of divine judgment. Occasionally such voluntary combinations assumed the form of permanent brotherhoods, bound together by periodical solemnities as well as by vows of an ascetic character: thus the Orphic life (as it was called) or regulation of the Orphic brotherhood, among other injunctions partly arbitrary and partly abstinent, forbade animal food universally, and on certain occasions, the use of woollen clothing.<sup>1</sup> The great religious and political fraternity of the Pythagoreans, which acted so powerfully on the condition of the Italian cities, was one of the many manifestations of this general tendency, which stands in striking contrast with the simple, open-hearted, and demonstrative worship of the Homeric Greeks.

Festivals at seed-time and harvest—at the vintage and at the opening of the new wine—were doubtless coeval with the earliest habits of the Greeks; the latter being a period of unusual joviality. Yet in the Homeric poems, Dionysos and Démêtér, the patrons of the vineyard and the cornfield, are seldom mentioned, and decidedly occupy little place in the imagination of the poet as compared with the other gods: nor are they of any conspicuous importance even in the Hesiodic Theogony. But during the interval between Hesiod and Onomakritus, the revolution in the religious mind of Greece was such as to place both these deities in the front rank. According to the Orphic doctrine, Zagreus, son of Persephonê, is destined to be the successor of Zeus, and although the violence of the Titans intercepts this lot,

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considerable analogy to the Melampodia ascribed to Hesiod (see Clemen. Alex. Str. vi. p. 628); and healing charms are ascribed to Orpheus as well as to Musæus. See Eurip. *Alcestitis*, 986.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 81; Euripid. *Hippol.* 957, and the curious fragment of the lost *Κοῦρες* of Euripides. Ὀρφεῖς βίος, Plato, *Legg.* vii. 782.

yet even when he rises again from his discription under the name of Dionysos, he is the colleague and coequal of his divine father.

This remarkable change, occurring as it did during the sixth and a part of the seventh century before the Christian era, may be traced to the influence of communication with Egypt (which only became fully open to the Greeks about B. C. 660), as well as with Thrace, Phrygia, and Lydia. From hence new religious ideas and feelings were introduced, which chiefly attached themselves to the characters of Dionysos and Dêmêtér. The Greeks identified these two deities with the great Egyptian Osiris and Isis, so that what was borrowed from the Egyptian worship of the two latter naturally fell to their equivalents in the Grecian system.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the worship of Dionysos (under what name cannot be certainly made out) was indigenous in Thrace,<sup>2</sup> as that of the Great Mother was in Phrygia, and in Lydia—together with those violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy, and that clashing of noisy instruments, which we find afterwards characterizing it in Greece. The great masters of the pipe—as well as the dythyramb,<sup>3</sup> and indeed the whole musical system appropriated to the worship of Dionysos, which

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 42, 59, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. v. 7, vii. 111; Euripid. Hecub. 1249, and Rhésus, 969. and the Prologue to the Bacchæ; Strabo, x. p. 470; Schol. ad Aristophan. Aves, 874; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 1069; Harpocrat. v. Σάβοι; Photius, Εἰσοὶ Σαβόλ. The "Lydiaca" of Th. Menke (Berlin, 1843) traces the early connection between the religion of Dionysos and that of Cybelé, c. 6, 7. Hoeckh's Krêta (vol. i. p. 128-134) is instructive respecting the Phrygian religion.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, Polit. viii. 7, 9. Πᾶσα γὰρ Βάκχεια καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τῶν ὁργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς· τῶν δ' ἁρμονίων ἐν τοῖς Φρυγιστὶ μέλει λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, ὅλον δ' διθύραμβος δοκεῖ ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι Φρύγιον. Eurip. Bacch. 58.—

Αἰρεσθε τάπικῳρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν

Τύμπανα, 'Ρέας τε μητρὸς ἐμὰ θ' εὐρήματα, etc.

Plutarch, El. in Delph. c. 9; Philochor. Fr. 21, ed. Didot, p. 389. The complete and intimate manner in which Euripidés identifies the Bacchic rites of Dionysos with the Phrygian ceremonies in honor of the Great Mother, is very remarkable. The fine description given by Lucretius (ii. 600-640) of the Phrygian worship is much enfeebled by his unsatisfactory allegorizing

contrasted so pointedly with the quiet solemnity of the Pæan addressed to Apollo — were all originally Phrygian.

From all these various countries, novelties, unknown to the Homeric men, found their way into the Grecian worship: and there is one amongst them which deserves to be specially noticed, because it marks the generation of the new class of ideas in their theology. Homer mentions many persons guilty of private or involuntary homicide, and compelled either to go into exile or to make pecuniary satisfaction; but he never once describes any of them to have either received or required purification for the crime.<sup>1</sup> Now in the time subsequent to Homer, purification for homicide comes to be considered as indispensable: the guilty person is regarded as unfit for the society of man or the worship of the gods until he has received it, and special ceremonies are prescribed whereby it is to be administered. Herodotus tells us that the ceremony of purification was the same among the Lydians and among the Greeks;<sup>2</sup> we know that it formed no part of the early religion of the latter, and we may perhaps reasonably suspect that they borrowed it from the former. The oldest instance known to us of expiation for homicide was contained in the epic poem of the Milesian Arktinus,<sup>3</sup> wherein Achillès is

<sup>1</sup> Schol. ad Iliad, xi. 690 — οὐ διὰ τὰ καθάρσια Ἰφίτου παρθεῖται ἡ Πύλος, ἐπεὶ τοὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μείζων Νέστορος, καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὐκ εἶδαμεν φονεὰ καθαιρόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀντιτίνοντα ἢ φυγαδεύομενον. The examples are numerous, and are found both in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Iliad, ii. 665 (*Télépholus*); xiii. 697 (*Medon*); xiii. 574 (*Epeigeus*); xxiii. 89 (*Patroclus*); Odys. xv. 224 (*Theoclymenus*); xiv. 389 (an *Ætolian*). Nor does the interesting myth respecting the functions of Atë and the Litæ harmonize with the subsequent doctrine about the necessity of purification. (Iliad, ix. 498).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 35 — ἐστὶ δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ καθάρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. One remarkable proof, amongst many, of the deep hold which this idea took of the greatest minds in Greece, that serious mischief would fall upon the community if family quarrels or homicide remained without religious expiation, is to be found in the objections which Aristotle urges against the community of women proposed in the Platonic Republic. It could not be known what individuals stood in the relation of father, son or brother: if, therefore, wrong or murder of kindred should take place, the appropriate religious atonements (*αἱ νομιζόμεναι λύσεις*) could not be applied, and the crime would go unexpiated. (Aristot. Polit. ii. i, 14. Compare Thucyd. i. 125-128).

<sup>3</sup> See the *Fragm.* of the *Æthiopis* of Arktinus, in Düntzer's Collection, p. 16.

purified by Odyseus for the murder of Thersitês : several others occurred in the later or Hesiodic epic — Hêraklês, Pôleus, Bellerophôn, Alkmæôn, Amphiktyôn, Pœmander, Triopas, — from whence they probably passed through the hands of the logographers to Apollodôrus, Diodôrus, and others.<sup>1</sup> The purification of the murderer was originally operated, not by the hands of any priest or specially sanctified man, but by those of a chief or king, who goes through the appropriate ceremonies in the manner recounted by Herodotus in his pathetic narrative respecting Crœsus and Adrastus.

The idea of a special taint of crime, and of the necessity as well as the sufficiency of prescribed religious ceremonies as a means of removing it, appears thus to have got footing in Grecian practice subsequent to the time of Homer. The peculiar rites or orgies, composed or put together by Onomakritus, Methapus,<sup>2</sup> and other men of more than the ordinary piety, were founded upon a similar mode of thinking, and adapted to the same mental exigencies. They were voluntary religious manifestations, superinduced upon the old public sacrifices of the king or chiefs on behalf of the whole society, and of the father on his own family hearth — they marked out the details of divine service proper to appease or gratify the god to whom they were addressed, and to procure for the believers who went through them his blessings and protection here or hereafter — the exact performance of the divine service in all its specialty was held necessary, and thus the priests or Hierophants, who alone were familiar with the ritual, acquired a commanding position.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking, these

<sup>1</sup> The references for this are collected in Lobeck's *Aglaophamos*. *Epi-metr.* ii. ad Orphica, p. 968.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (iv. 1, 5) — *μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς* (the Eleusinian Orgies, carried by Kankon from Eleusis into Messénia), *ἔστιν ἂν Ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελετῆς τε καὶ ὀργίων παντοίων συνθέτης*. Again, viii. 37, 3, Onomakritus Διονύσω συνέθηκεν ὄργια, etc. This is another expression designating the same idea as the Rhêsus of Euripidês, 944. —

*Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φάνας*  
*Ἐδείξεν Ὀρφεύς.*

<sup>3</sup> Télînês, the ancestor of the Syracusan despot Gelô, acquired great political power as possessing τὰ ἱρὰ τῶν χθονίων θεῶν (Herodot. vii. 153);

peculiar orgies obtained their admission and their influence at periods of distress, disease, public calamity and danger, or religious terror and despondency, which appear to have been but too frequent in their occurrence.

The minds of men were prone to the belief that what they were suffering arose from the displeasure of some of the gods, and as they found that the ordinary sacrifices and worship were insufficient for their protection, so they grasped at new suggestions proposed to them with the view of regaining the divine favor.<sup>1</sup> Such suggestions were more usually copied, either in whole or in part, from the religious rites of some foreign locality, or from some other portion of the Hellenic world; and in this manner many new sects or voluntary religious fraternities, promising to relieve the troubled conscience and to reconcile the sick or suffering with the offended gods, acquired permanent establishment as well as considerable influence. They were generally under the superintendence of hereditary families of priests, who imparted the rites of confirmation and purification to communicants generally; no one who went through the prescribed ceremonies being excluded. In many cases, such ceremonies fell into the hands of jugglers, who volunteered their services to wealthy men, and degraded their profession as well by obtrusive venality as by extravagant promises:<sup>2</sup> sometimes the price was lowered

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he and his family became hereditary Hierophants of these ceremonies. How Têlinês acquired the *Ipâ* Herodotus cannot say — *ὁθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτίσαστο, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαι*. Probably there was a traditional legend, not inferior in sanctity to that of Eleusis, tracing them to the gift of Dêmêtêr herself.

<sup>1</sup> See Josephus cont. Apion. li. c. 35.; Hesych. *Θεοὶ ξένιοι*; Strabo, x. p. 471; Plutarch, *Περὶ Δεισιδαιμον.* c. iii. p. 166; c. vii. p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Republ.* ii. p. 364; Demosthen. de Coronâ, c. 79, p. 313. The *δεισιδαίμων* of Theophrastus cannot be comfortable without receiving the Orphic communion monthly from the Orpheotelestæ (Theophr. Char. xvi.). Compare Plutarch, *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἐμμετρα*, etc., c. 25, p. 400. The comic writer Phrynichus indicates the existence of these rites of religious excitement, at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war. See the short fragment of his *Κρόνος*, ap. Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 989 —

*Ἄνῃρ χορεύει, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς·*

*Βούλει Διοπεΐθῃ μεταδράμω καὶ τύμπανα;*

Diopethês was a *χρησμύλογος*, or collector and deliverer of prophecies,

to bring them within reach of the poor and even of slaves. But the wide diffusion, and the number of voluntary communicants of these solemnities, proves how much they fell in with the feeling of the time and how much respect they enjoyed—a respect, which the more conspicuous establishments, such as Eleusis and Samothrace, maintained for several centuries. And the visit of the Kretan Epimenidēs to Athens—in the time of Solōn, and at a season of the most serious disquietude and dread of having offended the gods—illustrates the tranquillizing effect of new orgies<sup>1</sup> and rites of absolution, when enjoined by a man standing high in the favor of the gods and reputed to be the son of a nymph. The supposed Erythræan Sibyl, and the earliest collection of Sibylline prophecies,<sup>2</sup> afterwards so much multiplied and interpolated, and referred (according to Grecian custom) to an age even earlier than Homer, appear to belong to a date not long posterior to Epimenidēs. Other oracular verses, such as those of Bakis, were treasured up in Athens and other cities: the sixth century before the Christian era was fertile in these kinds of religious manifestations.

Amongst the special rites and orgies of the character just described, those which enjoyed the greatest Pan-Hellenic reputation were attached to the Idean Zeus in Krête, to Dēmêtēr at Eleusis, to the Kabeiri in Samothrace, and to Dionysos at Delphi

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which he sung (or rather, perhaps, recited) with solemnity and emphasis, in public. ὥστε ποιῶντες χρησμοὺς αὐτοὶ Διδόσας ᾄδειν Διονείδει τῷ παραμυνομένῳ. (Ameipsias ap. Schol. Aristophan. *ut sup.*, which illustrates Thucyd. ii. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Solōn, c. 12; Diogen. Laërt. i. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See Klausen, "Æneas und die Penaten:" his chapter on the connection between the Grecian and Roman Sibylline collections is among the most ingenious of his learned book. Book ii. pp. 210–240; see Steph. Byz. v. Γέφυρα.

To the same age belong the *χρησμοὶ* and *καθαρμοὶ* of Abaris and his marvellous journey through the air upon an arrow (Herodot. iv. 36).

Epimenidēs also composed *καθαρμοὶ* in epic verse; his *Κορηίων* and *Κορυβάντων γένεσις*, and his four thousand verses respecting Minōs and Rhadamanthys, if they had been preserved, would let us fully into the ideas of a religious mystic of that age respecting the antiquities of Greece. (Strabo, x. p. 474; Diogen. Laërt. i. 10). Among the poems ascribed to Hesiod were comprised not only the Melampodia, but also *ἐπη μαντικά* and *ἐξηγηταὶ ἐπὶ τέρασιν*. Pausan. ix. 31. 4.



and Thebes.<sup>1</sup> That they were all to a great degree analogous, is shown by the way in which they unconsciously run together and become confused in the minds of various authors: the ancient inquirers themselves were unable to distinguish one from the other, and we must be content to submit to the like ignorance. But we see enough to satisfy us of the general fact, that during the century and a half which elapsed between the opening of Egypt to the Greeks and the commencement of their struggle with the Persian kings, the old religion was largely adulterated by importations from Egypt, Asia Minor,<sup>2</sup> and Thrace. The rites grew to be more furious and ecstatic, exhibiting the utmost excitement, bodily as well as mental: the legends became at once more coarse, more tragical, and less pathetic. The manifestations of this frenzy were strongest among the women, whose religious susceptibilities were often found extremely unmanageable,<sup>3</sup> and who had everywhere congregative occasional ceremonies of their own, part from the men — indeed, in the case of the colonists, especially of the Asiatic colonists, the women had been originally women of the country, and as such retained to a great degree their non-Hellenic manners and feelings.<sup>4</sup> The god Diony-

<sup>1</sup> Among other illustrations of this general resemblance, may be counted an epitaph of Kallimachus upon an aged priestess, who passed from the service of Dêmêtêr to that of the Kabeiri, then to that of Cybelê, having the superintendence of many young women. Kallimachus, Epigram. 42. p. 308, ed. Ernest.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, (Defect. Oracul. c. 10, p. 415) treats these countries as the original seat of the worship of Dæmons (wholly or partially bad, and intermediate between gods and men), and their religious ceremonies as of a corresponding character: the Greeks were borrowers from them, according to him, both of the doctrine and of the ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, vii. p. 297. "Ἀπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγὸς οἰονταὶ τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐταὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδράς προκαλοῦνται ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ πλέον θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐορτῶν, καὶ ποτνιασμούς. Plato (De Legg. x. pp. 909, 910) takes great pains to restrain this tendency on the part of sick or suffering persons, especially women, to introduce new sacred rites into his city.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. i. 146. The wives of the Ionic original settlers at Miletos were Karian women, whose husbands they slew.

The violences of the Karian worship are attested by what Herodotus says of the Karian residents in Egypt, at the festival of Isis at Busiris. The Egyptians at this festival manifested their feeling by beating themselves, the Karians by cutting their faces with knives (ii. 61). The *Καρικὴ μούσα* became proverbial for funeral wailings (Plato, Legg. vii. p. 800): the un-

ses,<sup>1</sup> whom the legends described as clothed in feminine attire, and leading a troop of frenzied women, inspired a temporary ecstasy, and those who resisted the inspiration, being supposed to disobey his will, were punished either by particular judgments or by mental terrors; while those who gave full loose to the feeling, in the appropriate season and with the received solemnities, satisfied his exigencies, and believed themselves to have procured immunity from such disquietudes for the future.<sup>2</sup> Crowds of women, clothed with fawn-skins and bearing the sanctified thyrsus, flocked to the solitudes of Parnassus, or Kithærôn, or Taygetus, during the consecrated triennial period, passed the night there with torches, and abandoned themselves to demonstrations of frantic excitement, with dancing and clamorous invocation of the god: they were said to tear animals limb from limb, to devour the raw

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measured effusions and demonstrations of sorrow for the departed, sometimes accompanied by cutting and mutilation self-inflicted by the mourner, was a distinguishing feature in Asiatics and Egyptians as compared with Greeks. Plutarch, *Consolat. ad Apollon.* c. 22, p. 123. Mournful feeling was, in fact, a sort of desecration of the genuine and primitive Grecian festival, which was a season of cheerful harmony and social enjoyment, wherein the god was believed to sympathize (*εὐφροσύνη*). See Xenophanes ap. Aristot. *Rhetor.* ii. 25; Xenophan. *Fragm.* 1. ed. Schneidewin; Theognis, 776; Plutarch, *De Superstit.* p. 169. The unfavorable comments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in so far as they refer to the festivals of Greece, apply to the foreign corruptions, not to the native character, of Grecian worship.

<sup>1</sup> The Lydian Hēraklēs was conceived and worshipped as a man in female attire: this idea occurs often in the Asiatic religions. Mencke, *Lydiaca*, c. 8, p. 22. Διόνυσος ἄρῃην καὶ θῆλυς. Aristid. *Or.* iv. p. 28; Æschyl. *Fragm.* Edoni, ap. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 135. Ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννης; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή;

<sup>2</sup> Melampus cures the women (whom Dionysos has struck mad for their resistance to his rites), παραλαβὼν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν νεανίων μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινοῦ ἐνθέου χορείας. Æpollodōr. ii. 2, 7. Compare Eurip. *Bacch.* 861.

Plato (*Legg.* vii. p. 790) gives a similar theory of the healing effect of the Korybantic rites, which cured vague and inexplicable terrors of the mind by means of dancing and music conjoined with religious ceremonies — αἱ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα τελοῦσαι (the practitioners were women), αἱ τῶν ἐκφρόνων Βακχείων ἰασεις — ἡ τῶν ἐξωθεν κρατεῖ κίνησις προσφερομένη τῇ ἐντὸς φοβερὰν οὖσαν καὶ μανικὴν κίνησιν — ὀρχουμένους δὲ καὶ αὐλουμένους μετὰ θεῶν, οἷς ἂν καλλιερήσαντες ἕκαστοι θύωσιν, κατεργάσασθαι ἀντὶ μανικῶν ψμῖν διαθέσεων ἔξεις ἐμφρονας ἔχειν.

flesh, and to cut themselves without feeling the wound.<sup>1</sup> The men yielded to a similar impulse by noisy revels in the streets, sounding the cymbals and tambourine, and carrying the image of the god in procession.<sup>2</sup> It deserves to be remarked, that the Athenian women never practised these periodical mountain excursions, so common among the rest of the Greeks: they had their feminine solemnities of the Thesmophoria,<sup>3</sup> mournful in their character and accompanied with fasting, and their separate congregations at the temples of Aphrodité, but without any extreme or unseemly demonstrations. The state festival of the Dyonyisia, in the city of Athens, was celebrated with dramatic entertainments, and the once rich harvest of Athenian tragedy and comedy was thrown up under its auspices. The ceremonies of the Kurètes in Krête, originally armed dances in honor of the Idæan Zeus, seem also to have borrowed from Asia so much of fury, of self-infliction, and of mysticism, that they became at last inextricably confounded with the Phrygian Korybantes or worshippers of the Great Mother; though it appears that Grecian reserve always stopped short of the irreparable self-mutilation of Atys.

The influence of the Thracian religion upon that of the Greeks cannot be traced in detail, but the ceremonies contained in it were of a violent and fierce character, like the Phrygian, and acted upon Hellas in the same general direction as the latter. And the like may be said of the Egyptian religion, which was in this case the more operative, inasmuch as all the intellectual Greeks were naturally attracted to go and visit the wonders on the banks of the

<sup>1</sup> Described in the *Bacchæ* of Euripidés (140, 735, 1135, etc.). Ovid, *Trist.* iv. i. 41. "Utque suum Bacchis non sentit saucia vulnus, Cum furit Edonis exululata jugis." In a fragment of the poet Alkman, a Lydian by birth, the Bacchanal nymphs are represented as milking the lioness, and making cheese of the milk, during their mountain excursions and festivals. (Alkman. *Fragm.* 14. Schn. Compare Aristid. *Orat.* iv. p. 29). Clemens Alexand. *Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 9, Sylb.; Lucian, *Dionysos*, c. 3, T. iii. p. 77, Hemsterh.

<sup>2</sup> See the tale of Skylés in Heród. iv. 79, and Athenæus, x. p. 445. Herodotus mentions that the Scythians abhorred the Bacchic ceremonies, accounting the frenzy which belonged to them to be disgraceful and monstrous.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* c. 69, p. 378; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* There were however Bacchic ceremonies practised to a certain extent by the Athenian women. (Aristoph. *Lysist.* 388).

Nile; the powerful effect produced upon them is attested by many evidences, but especially by the interesting narrative of Herodotus. Now the Egyptian ceremonies were at once more licentious, and more profuse in the outpouring both of joy and sorrow, than the Greek:<sup>1</sup> but a still greater difference sprang from the extraordinary power, separate mode of life, minute observances, and elaborate organization, of the priesthood. The ceremonies of Egypt were multitudinous, but the legends concerning them were framed by the priests, and as a general rule, seemingly, known to the priests alone: at least they were not intended to be publicly talked of, even by pious men. They were "holy stories," which it was sacrilege publicly to mention, and which from this very prohibition only took firmer hold of the minds of the Greek visitors who heard them. And thus the element of secrecy and mystic silence — foreign to Homer, and only faintly glanced at in Hesiod — if it was not originally derived from Egypt, at least received from thence its greatest stimulus and diffusion. The character of the legends themselves was naturally affected by this change from publicity to secrecy: the secrets when revealed would be such as to justify by their own tenor the interdict on public divulgation: instead of being adapted, like the Homeric mythe, to the universal sympathies and hearty interest of a crowd of hearers, they would derive their impressiveness from the tragical, mournful, extravagant, or terror-striking character of the incidents.<sup>2</sup> Such a tendency, which appears explicable and probable even on general grounds, was in this particular case rendered still more certain by the coarse taste of the Egyptian priests. That any recondite doctrine, religious or philosophical, was attached to the mysteries or contained in the holy stories,

<sup>1</sup> "Ægyptiaca numina fere plangoribus gaudent, Græca plerumque chor eis, barbara autem strepitu cymbalistarum et tympanistarum et choraularum." (Apuleius, De Genio Socratis, v. ii. p. 149, Oudend).

<sup>2</sup> The legend of Dionysos and Prosymnos, as it stands in Clemens, could never have found place in an epic poem (Admonit. ad Gent. p. 22, Sylb.). Compare page 11 of the same work, where however he so confounds together Phrygian, Bacchic, and Eleusinian mysteries, that one cannot distinguish them apart.

Demetrius Phalæreus says about the legends belonging to these ceremonies — Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια λέγεται ἐν ἀλληγορίαις πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ φρίκην, ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ νυκτί. (De Interpretatione, c. 101).

has never been shown, and is to the last degree improbable though the affirmative has been asserted by many learned men.

Herodotus seems to have believed that the worship and ceremonies of Dionysos generally were derived by the Greeks from Egypt, brought over by Kadmos and taught by him to Melampus: and the latter appears in the Hesiodic Catalogue as having cured the daughters of Proetus of the mental distemper with which they had been smitten by Dionysos for rejecting his ritual. He cured them by introducing the Bacchic dance and fanatical excitement: this mythical incident is the most ancient mention of the Dionysiac solemnities presented in the same character as they bear in Euripidès. It is the general tendency of Herodotus to apply the theory of derivation from Egypt far too extensively to Grecian institutions: the orgies of Dionysos were not originally borrowed from thence, though they may have been much modified by connection with Egypt as well as with Asia. The remarkable mythe composed by Onomakritus respecting the dismemberment of Zagreus was founded upon an Egyptian tale very similar respecting the body of Osiris, who was supposed to be identical with Dionysos:<sup>1</sup> nor was it unsuitable to the reckless fury of the Bacchanals during their state of temporary excitement, which found a still more awful expression in the mythe of Pentheus, — torn in pieces by his own mother Agavè at the head of her companions in the ceremony, as an intruder upon the feminine rites as well as a scoffer at the god.<sup>2</sup> A passage in the *Iliad* (the authenticity of which has been contested, but even as an interpolation it must be old)<sup>3</sup> also recounts how Lykurgus was struck blind by Zeus for having chased away with a whip “the nurses of the mad Dionysos,” and frightened the god himself into the sea to take

<sup>1</sup> See the curious treatise of Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osirid.* c. 11–14, p. 356, and his elaborate attempt to allegorize the legend. He seems to have conceived that the Thracian Orpheus had first introduced into Greece the mysteries both of Démêtér and Dionysos, copying them from those of Isis and Osiris in Egypt. See *Fragm.* 84, from one of his lost works, tom. v. p. 891, ed. Wytténb.

<sup>2</sup> *Æschylus* had dramatized the story of Pentheus as well as that of Lykurgus: one of his tetralogies was the *Lykurgeia* (*Dindorf, Æsch. Fragm.* 115). A short allusion to the story of Pentheus appears in *Eumenid.* 25. Compare *Sophocl. Antig.* 985, and the *Scholia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 130. See the remarks of Mr. Payne Knight *ad loc.*

refuge in the arms of Thetis : and the fact, that Dionysos is so frequently represented in his mythes as encountering opposition and punishing the refractory, seems to indicate that his worship under its ecstatic form was a late phenomenon and introduced not without difficulty. The mythical Thracian Orpheus was attached as Eponymos to a new sect, who seem to have celebrated the ceremonies of Dionysos with peculiar care, minuteness and fervor, besides observing various rules in respect to food and clothing. It was the opinion of Herodotus, that these rules, as well as the Pythagorean, were borrowed from Egypt. But whether this be the fact or not, the Orphic brotherhood is itself both an evidence, and a cause, of the increased importance of the worship of Dionysos, which indeed is attested by the great dramatic poets of Athens.

The Homeric Hymns present to us, however, the religious ideas and legends of the Greeks at an earlier period, when the enthusiastic and mystic tendencies had not yet acquired their full development. Though not referable to the same age or to the same author as either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, they do to a certain extent continue the same stream of feeling, and the same mythical tone and coloring, as these poems — manifesting but little evidence of Egyptian, Asiatic, or Thracian adulterations. The difference is striking between the god Dionysos as he appears in the Homeric hymn and in the *Bacchæ* of Euripidès. The hymnographer describes him as standing on the sea-shore, in the guise of a beautiful and richly-clothed youth, when Tyrrhenian pirates suddenly approach : they seize and bind him and drag him on board their vessel. But the bonds which they employ burst spontaneously, and leave the god free. The steersman, perceiving this with affright, points out to his companions that they have unwittingly laid hands on a god, — perhaps Zeus himself, or Apollo, or Poseidôn. He conjures them to desist, and to replace Dionysos respectfully on the shore, lest in his wrath he should visit the ship with wind and hurricane : but the crew deride his scruples, and Dionysos is carried prisoner out to sea with the ship under full sail. Miraculous circumstances soon attest both his presence and his power. Sweet-scented wine is seen to flow spontaneously about the ship, the sail and mast appear adorned with vine and ivy-leaves, and the oar-pegs with garlands.

The terrified crew now too late entreat the helmsman to steer his course for the shore, and crowd round him for protection on the poop. But their destruction is at hand: Dionysos assumes the form of a lion — a bear is seen standing near him — this bear rushes with a loud roar upon the captain, while the crew leap overboard in their agony of fright, and are changed into dolphins. There remains none but the discreet and pious steersman, to whom Dionysos addresses words of affectionate encouragement, revealing his name, parentage and dignity.<sup>1</sup>

This hymn, perhaps produced at the Naxian festival of Dionysos, and earlier than the time when the dithyrambic chorus became the established mode of singing the praise and glory of that god, is conceived in a spirit totally different from that of the Bacchic *Telataë*, or special rites which the Bacchæ of Euripidês so abundantly extol, — rites introduced from Asia by Dionysos himself at the head of a thiasus or troop of enthusiastic women, — inflaming with temporary frenzy the minds of the women of Thebes, — not communicable except to those who approach as pious communicants, — and followed by the most tragical results to all those who fight against the god.<sup>2</sup> The Bacchic *Teletæ*, and the Bacchic feminine frenzy, were importations from abroad, as Euripides represents them, engrafted upon the joviality of the primitive Greek *Dionysia*; they were borrowed, in all probability, from more than one source and introduced through more than one

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, Hymn 5, *Διόνυσος ἡ Αἰστὰς*. — The satirical drama of Euripidês, the *Cyclôps*, extends and alters this old legend. Dionysos is carried away by the Tyrrhenian pirates, and Silêus at the head of the Bacchanals goes everywhere in search of him (Eur. Cyc. 112). The pirates are instigated against him by the hatred of Hêrê, which appears frequently as a cause of mischief to Dionysos (Bacchæ, 286). Hêrê in her anger had driven him mad when a child, and he had wandered in this state over Egypt and Syria; at length he came to Cybela in Phrygia, was purified (*καθαρθεῖς*) by Rhea, and received from her female attire (Apollodôr. iii. 5, 1, with Heyne's note). This seems to have been the legend adopted to explain the old verse of the *Iliad*, as well as the maddening attributes of the god generally.

There was a standing antipathy between the priestesses and the religious establishments of Hêrê and Dionysos (Plutarch, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῶν Δαιδάλων*, c. 2, tom. v. p. 755, ed. Wyt.). Plutarch ridicules the legendary reason commonly assigned for this, and provides a symbolical explanation which he thinks very satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Bacch. 325, 464, etc.

channel, the Orphic life or brotherhood being one of the varieties. Strabo ascribes to this latter a Thracian original, considering Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus as having been all Thracians.<sup>1</sup> It is curious to observe how, in the Bacchæ of Euripidês, the two distinct and even conflicting ideas of Dionysos come alternately forward; sometimes the old Grecian idea of the jolly and exhilarating god of wine—but more frequently the recent and imported idea of the terrific and irresistible god who unseats the reason, and whose æstus can only be appeased by a willing, though temporary obedience. In the fanatical impulse which inspired the votaries of the Asiatic Rhea or Cybelê, or of the Thracian Kotys, there was nothing of spontaneous joy; it was a sacred madness, during which the soul appeared to be surrendered to a stimulus from without, and accompanied by preternatural strength and temporary sense of power;<sup>2</sup>—altogether distinct from the unrestrained hilarity of the original Dionysia, as we see them in the rural demes of Attica, or in the gay city of Tarentum. There was indeed a side on which the two bore some analogy, inasmuch as,

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, x. p. 471. Compare Aristid. Or. iv. p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> In the lost *Xantrix* of Æschylus, in which seems to have been included the tale of Pentheus, the goddess *Λύσσα* was introduced, stimulating the Bacchæ, and creating in them spasmodic excitement from head to foot: *ἐκ τοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἔπέρχεται σπαραγμός τις ἀκρον κύρα*, etc. (Fragm. 155, Dindorf). His tragedy called *Edoni* also gave a terrific representation of the Bacchanals and their fury, exaggerated by the maddening music: *Πίμπλησι μέλος, Μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν* (Fr. 54).

Such also is the reigning sentiment throughout the greater part of the Bacchæ of Euripidês; it is brought out still more impressively in the mournful Atys of Catullus:—

“Dea magna, Dea Cybele, Dindymi Dea, Domina,  
Procul a meâ tuus sit furor omnis, hera, domo:  
Alios age incitatos: alios age rabidos!”

We have only to compare this fearful influence with the description of Dikæopolis and his exuberant joviality in the festival of the rural Dionysia (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1051 *seq.*; see also Plato. *Legg.* i. p. 637), to see how completely the foreign innovations recolored the old Grecian Dionysos, — *Διόνυσος πολὺν γῆθῆς*,—who appears also in the scene of Dionysos and Ariadnê in the *Symposium* of Xenophôn, c. 9. The simplicity of the ancient Dionysiac processions is dwelt upon by Plutarch, *De Cupidine Divitiarum*, p. 527; and the original dithyramb addressed by Archilochus to Dionysos is an effusion of drunken hilarity (Archiloch. *Frag.* 69, Schneid.).



according to the religious point of view of the Greeks, even the spontaneous joy of the vintage feast was conferred by the favor and enlivened by the companionship of Dionysos. It was upon this analogy that the framers of the Bacchic orgies proceeded but they did not the less disfigure the genuine character of the old Grecian Dionysia.

Dionysos is in the conception of Pindar the Paredros or companion in worship of Dêmêtêr:<sup>1</sup> the worship and religious estimate of the latter has by that time undergone as great a change as that of the former, if we take our comparison with the brief description of Homer and Hesiod: she has acquired<sup>2</sup> much of the awful and soul-disturbing attributes of the Phrygian Cybelê. In Homer, Dêmêtêr is the goddess of the corn-field, who becomes attached to the mortal man Jasiôn; an unhappy passion, since Zeus, jealous of the connection between goddesses and men, puts him to death. In the Hesiodic Theogony, Dêmêtêr is the mother of Persephonê by Zeus, who permits Hadês to carry off the latter as his wife: moreover Dêmêtêr has, besides, by Jasiôn a son called Plutos, born in Krête. Even from Homer to Hesiod, the legend of Dêmêtêr, has been expanded and her dignity exalted; according to the usual tendency of Greek legend, the expansion goes on still further. Through Jasiôn, Dêmêtêr becomes connected with the mysteries of Samothrace; through Persephonê, with those of Eleusis. The former connection it is difficult to follow out in detail, but the latter is explained and traced to its origin in the Homeric Hymn to Dêmêtêr.

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<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Isthm. vi. 3. χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον Δημήτερος, — the epithet marks the approximation of Dêmêtêr to the Mother of the Gods. ἡ κροτάλων τυπάνων ἡ λαχὴ, σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν Εὔαδεν (Homer. Hymn. xiii.), — the Mother of the Gods was worshipped by Pindar himself along with Pan; she had in his time her temple and ceremonies at Thêbes (Pyth. iii. 78; Fragm. Dithyr. 5, and the Scholia *ad l.*) as well as, probably, at Athens (Pausan. i. 3, 3).

Dionysos and Dêmêtêr are also brought together in the chorus of Sophoklês, Antigonê, 1072. μέδεις δὲ παγκοίνοις Ἑλευσινίας Ἀποῦς ἐν κόλποις; and in Kallimachos, Hymn. Cerer. 70. Bacchus or Dionysos are in the Attic tragedians constantly confounded with the Dêmêtريان Iacchos, originally so different, — a personification of the mystic word shouted by the Eleusinian communicants. See Strabo, x. p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Euripidês in his Chorus in the Helena (1320 *seq.*) assigns to Dêmêtêr all the attributes of Rhea, and blends the two completely into one.

Though we find different statements respecting the date as well as the origin of the Eleusinian mysteries, yet the popular belief of the Athenians, and the story which found favor at Eleusis, ascribed them to the presence and dictation of the goddess *Démêtêr* herself; just as the Bacchic rites are, according to the *Bacchæ* of Euripidês, first communicated and enforced on the Greeks by the personal visit of *Dionysos* to *Thêbes*, the metropolis of the Bacchic ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> In the Eleusinian legend, preserved by the author of the Homeric Hymn, she comes voluntarily and identifies herself with *Eleusis*; her past abode in *Krête* being briefly indicated.<sup>2</sup> Her visit to *Eleusis* is connected with the deep sorrow caused by the loss of her daughter *Persephonê*, who had been seized by *Hadês*, while gathering flowers in a meadow along with the Oceanic Nymphs, and carried off to become his wife in the under-world. In vain did the reluctant *Persephonê* shriek and invoke the aid of her father *Zeus*: he had consented to give her to *Hadês*, and her cries were heard only by *Hekâtê* and *Hêlios*. *Démêtêr* was inconsolable at the disappearance of her daughter, but knew not where to look for her: she wandered for nine days and nights with torches in search of the lost maiden without success. At length *Hêlios*, the "spy of gods and men," revealed to her, in reply to her urgent prayer, the rape of *Persephonê*, and the permission given to *Hadês* by *Zeus*. *Démêtêr* was smitten with anger and despair: she renounced *Zeus* and the society of *Olympus*, abstained from nectar and ambrosia, and wandered on earth in grief and fasting until her form could no longer be known. In this condition she came to *Eleusis*, then governed by the prince *Keleos*. Sitting down by a well at the wayside in the guise of an old woman, she was found by the daughters of *Keleos*, who came hither with their pails of brass for water. In reply to their questions, she told them that she had been brought by pirates from *Krête* to *Thorikos*, and had made her escape; she then solicited from them succor and employment as a servant or as a nurse. The damsels prevailed upon their mother *Metaneira* to receive her, and to entrust her with the

<sup>1</sup> Sophocl. *Antigon*. Βακχῶν μητρόπολιν Θήβαν.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, Hymn. *Cerer*. 123. The Hymn to *Démêtêr* has been translated, accompanied with valuable illustrative notes, by J. H. Voss (Heidelb. 1826).

nursing of the young Démophoôn, their late-born brother, the only son of Keleos. Démêtêr was received into the house of Metaneira, her dignified form still borne down by grief: she sat long silent and could not be induced either to smile or to taste food, until the maid-servant Iambê, by jests and playfulness, succeeded in amusing and rendering her cheerful. She would not taste wine, but requested a peculiar mixture of barley-meal with water and the herb mint.<sup>1</sup>

The child Démophoôn, nursed by Démêtêr, thrived and grew up like a god, to the delight and astonishment of his parents: she gave him no food, but anointed him daily with ambrosia, and plunged him at night in the fire like a torch, where he remained unburnt. She would have rendered him immortal, had she not been prevented by the indiscreet curiosity and alarm of Metaneira, who secretly looked in at night, and shrieked with horror at the sight of her child in the fire.<sup>2</sup> The indignant goddess, setting the infant on the ground, now revealed her true character to Metaneira: her wan and aged look disappeared, and she stood confest in the genuine majesty of her divine shape, diffusing a dazzling brightness which illuminated the whole house. "Foolish mother," she said, "thy want of faith has robbed thy son of immortal life. I am the exalted Démêtêr, the charm and comfort both of gods and men: I was preparing for thy son exemption from death and old age; now it cannot be but he must taste of both. Yet shall he be ever honored, since he has sat upon my knee and slept in my arms. Let the people of Eleusis erect for me a temple and altar on yonder hill above the fountain; I will myself prescribe to them the orgies which they must religiously perform in order to propitiate my favor."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Homer, Hymn. Cerer. 202-210.

<sup>2</sup> This story was also told with reference to the Egyptian goddess Isis in her wanderings. See Plutarch, De Isid. et Osirid. c. 16, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, Hymn. Cerer. 274.—

*Ὅρῃα δ' αὐτὴ ἐγὼν ἐποθέσσομαι, ὡς ἐν ἑστῆρα  
Εὐαγέως ἐρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἰλάσκησθε.*

The same story is told in regard to the infant Achilles. His mother Thetis was taking similar measures to render him immortal, when his father Peleus interfered and prevented the consummation. Thetis immediately left him in great wrath (Apollon. Rhod. iv. 866).

The terrified Metaneira was incapable even of lifting up her child from the ground; her daughters entered at her cries, and began to embrace and tend their infant brother, but he sorrowed and could not be pacified for the loss of his divine nurse. All night they strove to appease the goddess.<sup>1</sup>

Strictly executing the injunctions of Dêmêtêr, Keleos convoked the people of Eleusis and erected the temple on the spot which she had pointed out. It was speedily completed, and Dêmêtêr took up her abode in it,—apart from the remaining gods, still pining with grief for the loss of her daughter, and withholding her beneficent aid from mortals. And thus she remained a whole year,—a desperate and terrible year:<sup>2</sup> in vain did the oxen draw the plough, and in vain was the barley-seed cast into the furrow,—Dêmêtêr suffered it not to emerge from the earth. The human race would have been starved, and the gods would have been deprived of their honors and sacrifice, had not Zeus found means to conciliate her. But this was a hard task; for Dêmêtêr resisted the entreaties of Iris and of all the other goddesses and gods whom Zeus successively sent to her. She would be satisfied with nothing less than the recovery of her daughter. At length Zeus sent Hermês to Hadês, to bring Persephonê away: Persephonê joyfully obeyed, but Hadês prevailed upon her before she departed to swallow a grain of pomegranate, which rendered it impossible for her to remain the whole year away from him.<sup>3</sup>

With transport did Dêmêtêr receive back her lost daughter, and the faithful Hekatê sympathized in the delight felt by both at the reunion.<sup>4</sup> It was now an easier undertaking to reconcile her with the gods. Her mother Rhea, sent down expressly by Zeus, descended from Olympus on the fertile Rharan plain, then smitten with barrenness like the rest of the earth: she succeeded in appeasing the indignation of Dêmêtêr, who consented again to

<sup>1</sup> Homer, Hymn. 290.—

τοῦ δ' οὐ μελίσσεντο θυμῶς,  
Χειρότεραι γὰρ δὴ μιν ἔχον τρόφοι ἢ δὲ τιθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, H. Cer. 305.—

Αλόρατον δ' ἐνιαιτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν  
Ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις; ἰδὲ κύντατον.

<sup>3</sup> Hymn, v. 375.

<sup>4</sup> Hymn, v. 443.

put forth her relieving hand. The buried seed came up in abundance, and the earth was covered with fruit and flowers. She would have wished to retain Persephonê constantly with her, but this was impossible; and she was obliged to consent that her daughter should go down for one-third of each year to the house of Hadês, departing from her every spring at the time when the seed is sown. She then revisited Olympus, again to dwell with the gods; but before her departure, she communicated to the daughters of Keleos, and to Keleos himself, together with Triptolemus, Dioklês and Eumolpus, the divine service and the solemnities which she required to be observed in her honor.<sup>1</sup> And thus began the venerable mysteries of Eleusis, at her special command: the lesser mysteries, celebrated in February, in honor of Persephonê; the greater, in August, to the honor of Dêmêtêr herself. Both are jointly patronesses of the holy city and temple.

Such is a brief sketch of the temple legend of Eleusis, set forth at length in the Homeric Hymn to Dêmêtêr. It is interesting not less as a picture of the Mater Dolorosa (in the mouth of an Athenian, Dêmêtêr and Persephonê were always the Mother and Daughter, by excellence), first an agonized sufferer, and then finally glorified,—the weal and woe of man being dependent upon her kindly feeling,—than as an illustration of the nature and growth of Grecian legend generally. Though we now read this Hymn as pleasing poetry, to the Eleusinians, for whom it was composed, it was genuine and sacred history. They believed in the visit of Dêmêtêr to Eleusis, and in the mysteries as a revelation from her, as implicitly as they believed in her existence and power as a goddess. The Eleusinian psalmist shares this belief in common with his countrymen, and embodies it in a continuous narrative, in which the great goddesses of the place, as well as the great heroic families, figure in inseparable conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> Hymn, v. 475.—

Ἡ δὲ κίονσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι  
 Δείξεν, Τριπτολέμῳ τε, Διοκλέϊ τε πληξίπῳ,  
 Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ, Κελέῳ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν  
 Ἀργεῖοσύνῃν ἱερῶν· καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια παῖσιν  
 Πρεσβυτέρῃς Κελέοιο, etc.

Keleos is the son of the Eponymous hero Eleusis, and his daughters, with the old epic simplicity, carry their basins to the well for water. Eumolpus, Triptolemus, Dioklêa, heroic ancestors of the privileged families who continued throughout the historical times of Athens to fulfil their special hereditary functions in the Eleusinian solemnities, are among the immediate recipients of inspiration from the goddess; but chiefly does she favor Metaneira and her infant son Dêmophoôn, for the latter of whom her greatest boon is destined, and intercepted only by the weak faith of the mother. Moreover, every incident in the Hymn has a local coloring and a special reference. The well, overshadowed by an olive-tree near which Dêmêtêr had rested, the stream Kallikhoros and the temple-hill, were familiar and interesting places in the eyes of every Eleusinian; the peculiar posset prepared from barley-meal with mint was always tasted by the Mysts (or communicants) after a prescribed fast, as an article in the ceremony, — while it was also the custom, at a particular spot in the processional march, to permit the free interchange of personal jokes and taunts upon individuals for the general amusement. And these two customs are connected in the Hymn with the incidents, that Dêmêtêr herself had chosen the posset as the first interruption of her long and melancholy fast, and that her sorrowful thoughts had been partially diverted by the coarse playfulness of the servant-maid Iambê. In the enlarged representation of the Eleusinian ceremonies, which became established after the incorporation of Eleusis with Athens, the part of Iambê herself was enacted by a woman, or man in woman's attire, of suitable wit and imagination, who was posted on the bridge over the Kephisos, and addressed to the passers-by in the procession,<sup>1</sup> especially the great men of Athens, saucy jeers, probably not less piercing than those of Aristophanês on the stage. The torch-bearing Hekâtê received a portion of the worship in the nocturnal ceremonies of the Eleusinia: this too is traced, in the Hymn, to her kind and affectionate sympathy with the great goddesses.

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<sup>1</sup> Aristophanês, Vesp. 1363. Hesych. v. Γεφυρίς. Suidas, v. Γεφυρίων. Compare about the details of the ceremony, Clemens Alexandr. Admon. ad Gent. p. 13. A similar license of unrestrained jocularity appears in the rites of Dêmêtêr in Sicily (Diodôr. v. 4; see also Pausan. vii. 27, 4), and in the worship of Damia and Auxesia at Ægina (Herodot. v. 83).

Though all these incidents were sincerely believed by the Eleusinians as a true history of the past, and as having been the real initiatory cause of their own solemnities, it is not the less certain that they are simply mythes or legends, and not to be treated as history, either actual or exaggerated. They do not take their start from realities of the past, but from realities of the present, combined with retrospective feeling and fancy, which fills up the blank of the aforesaid in a manner at once plausible and impressive. What proportion of fact there may be in the legend, or whether there be any at all, it is impossible to ascertain and useless to inquire; for the story did not acquire belief from its approximation to real fact, but from its perfect harmony with Eleusinian faith and feeling, and from the absence of any standard of historical credibility. The little town of Eleusis derived all its importance from the solemnity of the Démétria, and the Hymn which we have been considering (probably at least as old as 600 B. C.) represents the town as it stood before its absorption into the larger unity of Athens, which seems to have produced an alteration of its legends and an increase of dignity in its great festival. In the faith of an Eleusinian, the religious as well as the patriotic antiquities of his native town were connected with this capital solemnity. The divine legend of the sufferings of Démêtér and her visit to Eleusis was to him that which the heroic legend of Adrastus and the Siege of Thêbes was to a Sikyonian, or that of Erechtheus and Athênê to an Athenian grouping together in the same scene and story the goddess and the heroic fathers of the town. If our information were fuller, we should probably find abundance of other legends respecting the Démétria: the Gephyræi of Athens, to whom belonged the celebrated Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and who possessed special Orgies of Démêtér the Sorrowful, to which no man foreign to their Gens was ever admitted,<sup>1</sup> would doubtless have told stories not only different but contradictory; and even in other Eleusinian mythes we discover Eumolpus as king of Eleusis, son of Poseidon, and a Thracian, completely different from the character which he bears in the Hymn before us.<sup>2</sup> Neither discrepancies nor want of

<sup>1</sup> Herodot., v. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 38, 3; Apollodôr. iii. 15, 4. Heyne in his Note admits seve-

evidence, in reference to alleged antiquities, shocked the faith of a non-historical public. What they wanted was a picture of the past, impressive to their feelings and plausible to their imagination; and it is important to the reader to remember, while he reads either the divine legends which we are now illustrating or the heroic legends to which we shall soon approach, that he is dealing with a past which never was present, — a region essentially mythical, neither approachable by the critic nor measurable by the chronologer.

The tale respecting the visit of Dêmêtêr, which was told by the ancient Gens, called the Phytalids,<sup>1</sup> in reference to another temple of Dêmêtêr between Athens and Eleusis, and also by the Megarians in reference to a Dêmêtrion near their city, acquired under the auspices of Athens still further extension. The goddess was reported to have first communicated to Triptolemus at Eleusis the art of sowing corn, which by his intervention was disseminated all over the earth. And thus the Athenians took credit to themselves for having been the medium of communication from the gods to man of all the inestimable blessings of agriculture, which they affirmed to have been first exhibited on the fertile Rharian plain near Eleusis. Such pretensions are not to be found in the old Homeric hymn. The festival of the Thesmophoria, celebrated in honor of Dêmêtêr Thesmophoros at Athens, was altogether different from the Eleusinia, in this material respect, as well as others, that all males were excluded, and women only were allowed to partake in it: the surname Thesmophorus gave occasion to new legends in which the goddess was glorified as the first authoress of laws and legal sanctions to mankind.<sup>2</sup> This festival, for women apart and alone, was also

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ral persons named Eumolpus. Compare Isokratês, Panegyri. p. 55. Philochorus the Attic antiquary could not have received the legend of the Eleusinian Hymn, from the different account which he gave respecting the rape of Persephonê (Philoch. Fragm. 46, ed. Didot), and also respecting Keleos (Fr. 28, *ibid.*).

<sup>1</sup> Phytalus, the Eponym or godfather of this gens, had received Dêmêtêr as a guest in his house, when she first presented mankind with the fruit of the fig-tree. (Pausan. i. 37, 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Kallimach. Hymn. Cerer. 19. Sophoklês, Triptolemos, Frag. 1. Cicero, Legg. ii. 14, and the note of Servius ad Virgil. *Æn.* iv. 58.



celebrated at Paros, at Ephesus, and in many other parts of Greece.<sup>1</sup>

Altogether, Dêmêtêr and Dionysos, as the Grecian counterparts of the Egyptian Isis and Osiris, seem to have been the great recipients of the new sacred rites borrowed from Egypt, before the worship of Isis in her own name was introduced into Greece: their solemnities became more frequently reclusive and mysterious than those of the other deities. The importance of Dêmêtêr to the collective nationality of Greece may be gathered from the fact that her temple was erected at Thermopylae, the spot where the Amphiktyonic assemblies were held, close by the temple of the Eponymous hero Amphiktyôn himself, and under the surname of the Amphiktyonic Dêmêtêr.<sup>2</sup>

We now pass to another and not less important celestial personage — Apollo.

The legends of Délos and Delphi, embodied in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, indicate, if not a greater dignity, at least a more widely diffused worship of that god than even of Dêmêtêr. The Hymn is, in point of fact, an aggregate of two separate compositions, one emanating from an Ionic bard at Délos, the other from Delphi. The first details the birth, the second the mature divine efficiency, of Apollo; but both alike present the unaffected charm as well as the characteristic peculiarities of Grecian mythical narrative. The hymnographer sings, and his hearers accept in perfect good faith, a history of the past; but it is a past, imagined partly as an introductory explanation to the present, partly as a means of glorifying the god. The island of Délos was the accredited birth-place of Apollo, and is also the place in which he chiefly delights, where the great and brilliant Ionic festival is periodically convened in his honor. Yet it is a rock narrow, barren, and uninviting: how came so glorious a privilege to be awarded to it? This the poet takes upon himself to explain. Lêtô, pregnant with Apollo, and persecuted by the jealous Hêrê, could find no spot wherein to give birth to her offspring. In vain did she address herself to numerous places in Greece, the Asiatic coast and the intermediate islands; all were

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vi. 16, 134. *ἑκατος Θεσμοφύρου Δήμητρος — τὰ ἐς ἑρσενα γόνον ἑβήητα λερά.*

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 200.

terrified at the wrath of Hêrê, and refused to harbor her. As a last resort, she approached the rejected and repulsive island of Dêlos, and promised that, if shelter were granted to her in her forlorn condition, the island should become the chosen resort of Apollo as well as the site of his temple with its rich accompanying solemnities.<sup>1</sup> Dêlos joyfully consented, but not without many apprehensions that the potent Apollo would despise her unworthiness, and not without exacting a formal oath from Lêtô,—who was then admitted to the desired protection, and duly accomplished her long and painful labor. Though Diônê, Rhea, Themis and Amphitritê came to soothe and succor her, yet Hêrê kept away the goddess presiding over childbirth, Eileithyia, and thus cruelly prolonged her pangs. At length Eileithyia came, and Apollo was born. Hardly had Apollo tasted, from the hands of Themis, the immortal food, nectar and ambrosia, when he burst at once his infant bands, and displayed himself in full divine form and strength, claiming his characteristic attributes of the bow and the harp, and his privileged function of announcing beforehand to mankind the designs of Zeus. The promise made by Lêtô to Dêlos was faithfully performed: amidst the numberless other temples and groves which men provided for him, he ever preferred that island as his permanent residence, and there the Ionians with their wives and children, and all their "bravery," congregated periodically from their different cities to glorify him. Dance and song and athletic contests adorned the solemnity, and the countless ships, wealth, and grace of the multitudinous Ionians had the air of an assembly of gods. The Delian maidens, servants of Apollo, sang hymns to the glory of the god, as well as of Artemis and Lêtô, intermingled with adventures of foregone men and women, to the delight of the listening crowd. The blind itinerant bard of Chios (composer of this the Homeric hymn, and confounded in antiquity with the author of the Iliad) had found honor and acceptance at this festival, and commends himself, in a

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<sup>1</sup> According to another legend, Lêtô was said to have been conveyed from the Hyperboreans to Dêlos in twelve days, in the form of a she-wolf, to escape the jealous eye of Hêrê. In connection with this legend, it was affirmed that the she-wolves always brought forth their young only during these twelve days in the year (Aristot. Hist. Animal. vii. 35).

touching farewell strain, to the remembrance and sympathy of the Delian maidens.<sup>1</sup>

But Délos was not an oracular spot: Apollo did not manifest himself there as revealer of the futurities of Zeus. A place must be found where this beneficent function, without which mankind would perish under the innumerable doubts and perplexities of life, may be exercised and rendered available. Apollo himself descends from Olympus to make choice of a suitable site: the hymnographer knows a thousand other adventures of the god which he might sing, but he prefers this memorable incident, the charter and patent of consecration for the Delphian temple. Many different places did Apollo inspect; he surveyed the country of the Magnètes and the Perrhæbians, came to Iólkos, and passed over from thence to Eubœa and the plain of Lelanton. But even this fertile spot did not please him: he crossed the Euripus to Bœotia, passed by Teuméssus and Mykaléssus, and the then inaccessible and unoccupied forest on which the city of Thêbes afterwards stood. He next proceeded to Onchêstos, but the grove of Poseidôn was already established there; next across the Kêphissus to Okalea, Haliartus, and the agreeable plain and much-frequented fountain of Delphusa, or Tilphusa. Pleased with the place, Apollo prepared to establish his oracle there, but Tilphusa was proud of the beauty of her own site, and did not choose that her glory should be eclipsed by that of the god.<sup>2</sup> She alarmed him with the apprehension that the chariots which contended in her plain, and the horses and mules which watered at her fountain would disturb the solemnity of his oracle; and she thus induced him to proceed onward to the southern side of Parnassus, overhanging the harbor of Krissa. Here he established his oracle, in the mountainous site not frequented by chariots and horses, and near to a fountain, which however was guarded by a vast and terrific serpent, once the nurse of the monster Typhaôn. This serpent Apollo slew with an arrow, and suffered its body to rot in the sun: hence the name of the place, Pythô,<sup>3</sup> and the surname of the Pythian Apollo. The plan of his temple being marked out, it was built by Trophônios and Agamédês,

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Hymn. Apoll. i. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. Hymn. 363 — *πύθροσθαι*, to rot.

aided by a crowd of forward auxiliaries from the neighborhood. He now discovered with indignation, however, that Tilphusa had cheated him, and went back with swift step to resent it. "Thou shalt not thus," he said, "succeed in thy fraud and retain thy beautiful water; the glory of the place shall be mine, and not thine alone." Thus saying, he tumbled down a crag upon the fountain, and obstructed her limped current: establishing an altar for himself in a grove hard by near another spring, where men still worship him as Apollo Tilphusios, because of his severe vengeance upon the once beautiful Tilphusa.<sup>1</sup>

Apollo next stood in need of chosen ministers to take care of his temple and sacrifice, and to pronounce his responses at Pythô. Descrying a ship, "containing many and good men," bound on traffic from the Minoian Knossus in Krête, to Pylus in Peloponnêsus, he resolved to make use of the ship and her crew for his purpose. Assuming the shape of a vast dolphin, he splashed about and shook the vessel so as to strike the mariners with terror, while he sent a strong wind, which impelled her along the coast of Peloponnêsus into the Corinthian Gulf, and finally to the harbor of Krissa, where she ran aground. The affrighted crew did not dare to disembark: but Apollo was seen standing on the shore in the guise of a vigorous youth, and inquired who they were, and what was their business. The leader of the Krêtans recounted in reply their miraculous and compulsory voyage, when Apollo revealed himself as the author and contriver of it, announcing to them the honorable function and the dignified post to which he destined them.<sup>2</sup> They followed him by his orders to the rocky Pytho on Parnassus, singing the solemn Io-Paian such as it is sung in Krête, while the god himself marched at their head, with his fine form and lofty step, playing on the harp. He showed them the temple and site of the oracle, and directed them to worship him as Apollo Delphinios, because they had first seen him in the shape of a dolphin. "But how," they inquired, "are we to live in a spot where there is neither corn, nor vine, nor pasturage?" "Ye silly mortals," answered the god, "who look only for toil and privation, know that an easier lot is yours. Ye shall live by the cattle whom crowds of pious visitors will bring to the temple: ye

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 475 seqq.

shall need only the knife to be constantly ready for sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> Your duty will be to guard my temple, and to officiate as ministers at my feasts: but if ye be guilty of wrong or insolence, either by word or deed, ye shall become the slaves of other men, and shall remain so forever. Take heed of the word and the warning."

Such are the legends of Délos and Delphi, according to the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. The specific functions of the god, and the chief localities of his worship, together with the surnames attached to them, are thus historically explained, being connected with his past acts and adventures. Though these are to us only interesting poetry, yet to those who heard them sung they possessed all the requisites of history, and were fully believed as such; not because they were partially founded in reality, but because they ran in complete harmony with the feelings; and, so long as that condition was fulfilled, it was not the fashion of the time to canvass truth or falsehood. The narrative is purely personal, without any discernible symbolized doctrine or allegory, to serve as a supposed ulterior purpose: the particular deeds ascribed to Apollo grow out of the general preconceptions as to his attributes, combined with the present realities of his worship. It is neither history nor allegory, but simple mythe or legend.

The worship of Apollo is among the most ancient, capital, and strongly marked facts of the Grecian world, and widely diffused over every branch of the race. It is older than the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, in the latter of which both Pytho and Délos are noted, though Délos is not named in the former. But the ancient Apollo is different in more respects than one from the Apollo of later times. He is in an especial manner the god of the Trojans, unfriendly to the Greeks, and especially to Achilles; he has, moreover, only two primary attributes, his bow and his prophetic powers, without any distinct connection either with the harp, or with medicine, or with the sun, all which in later times he came to comprehend. He is not only, as Apollo Karneius, the chief

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<sup>1</sup> Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 535.—

Δεξιτέρῃ μάλ' ἑκαστος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μάχαιραν  
Σφάζειν αἰεὶ μῆλα· τὰ δ' ἀφθονα πάντα κάρσεται,  
"Ὅσσα ἐμοίγ' ἀγάγουσι περίκλυτα φῦλ' ἀνδρῶπων.

god of the Doric race, but also (under the surname of *Patrôus*) the great protecting divinity of the gentile tie among the Ionians:<sup>1</sup> he is moreover the guide and stimulus to Grecian colonization, scarcely any colony being ever sent out without encouragement and direction from the oracle at Delphi: Apollo *Archêgetês* is one of his great surnames.<sup>2</sup> His temple lends sanctity to the meetings of the *Amphiktyonic* assembly, and he is always in filial subordination and harmony with his father Zeus: Delphi and Olympia are never found in conflict. In the *Iliad*, the warm and earnest patrons of the Greeks are *Hêrê*, *Athênê*, and *Poseidôn*: here too Zeus and Apollo are seen in harmony, for Zeus is decidedly well-inclined to the Trojans, and reluctantly sacrifices them to the importunity of the two great goddesses.<sup>3</sup> The worship of the *Sminthian* Apollo, in various parts of the Troad and the neighboring territory, dates before the earliest periods of *Æolic* colonization:<sup>4</sup> hence the zealous patronage of Troy ascribed to him in the *Iliad*. Altogether, however, the distribution and partialities of the gods in that poem are different from what they become in later times, — a difference which our means of information do not enable us satisfactorily to explain. Besides the Delphian temple, Apollo had numerous temples throughout Greece, and oracles at *Abæ* in *Phôkis*, on the Mount *Ptôon*, and at *Tegyra* in *Boeotia*, where he was said to have been born,<sup>5</sup> at *Branchidæ* near *Milêtus*, at *Klaros* in *Asia Minor*, and at *Patara* in *Lykia*. He was not the only oracular god: Zeus at *Dodona* and at *Olympia* gave responses also: the gods or heroes *Trophônus*, *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Mopsus*, etc., each at his own

<sup>1</sup> Harpocraton v. *Ἀπόλλων πατρώος* and *Ἐρκείος Ζεύς*. Apollo Delphinios also belongs to the Ionic Greeks generally. Strabo, iv. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. vi. 3; Kallimach. Hymn. Apoll. 56. —

*Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πόλειςσιν φιλεῖ*

*Κτίζόμεναις, αὐτὸς δὲ θεμελίωσιν Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.*

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, iv. 30–46.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, i. 38, 451; Stephan. Byz. *Ἰλιον, Τένεδος*. See also Klausen. *Æneas und die Penaten*, b. i. p. 69. The worship of Apollo Sminthios and the festival of the Sminthia at Alexandria Troas lasted down to the time of Menander the rhetor, at the close of the third century after Christ.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. *Delect. Oracul.* c. 5, p. 412; c. 8, p. 414; Steph. Byz. v. *Τεγύρα*. The temple of the *Ptôan* Apollo had acquired celebrity before the days of the poet *Asius*. Pausan. ix. 23, 3.

sanctuary and in his own prescribed manner, rendered the same service.

The two legends of Delphi and Délos, above noticed, form of course a very insignificant fraction of the narratives which once existed respecting the great and venerated Apóllo. They serve only as specimens, and as very early specimens,<sup>1</sup> to illustrate what these divine mythes were, and what was the turn of Grecian faith and imagination. The constantly recurring festivals of the gods caused an incessant demand for new mythes respecting them, or at least for varieties and reproductions of the old mythes. Even during the third century of the Christian æra, in the time of the rhêtôr Menander, when the old forms of Paganism were waning and when the stock of mythes in existence was extremely abundant, we see this demand in great force; but it was incomparably more operative in those earlier times when the creative vein of the Grecian mind yet retained its pristine and unfaded richness. Each god had many different surnames, temples, groves, and solemnities; with each of which was connected more or less of mythical narrative, originally hatched in the prolific and spontaneous fancy of a believing neighborhood, to be afterwards expanded, adorned and diffused by the song of the poet. The earliest subject of competition<sup>2</sup> at the great Pythian festival was the singing of a hymn in honor of Apollo: other *agones* were subsequently added, but the ode or hymn constitu-

<sup>1</sup> The legend which Ephorus followed about the establishment of the Delphian temple was something radically different from the Homeric Hymn (Ephori Fragm. 70, ed. Didot): his narrative went far to politicize and rationalize the story. The progeny of Apollo was very numerous, and of the most diverse attributes; he was father of the Korybantes (Pherekydes, Fragm. 6, ed. Didot), as well as of Asklépios and Aristæus (Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 500; Apollodôr. iii. 10, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 421. Menander the Rhetor (Ap. Walz. Coll. Rhett. t. ix. p. 136) gives an elaborate classification of hymns to the gods, distinguishing them into nine classes, — κλητικοί, ἀποπεμπτικοί, φυσικοί, μυθικοί, γενεολογικοί, πεπλασμένοι, εὐκτικοί, ἀπνευκτικοί, μικτοί: — the second class had reference to the temporary absences or departure of a god to some distant place, which were often admitted in the ancient religion. Sappho and Alkman in their *kletic* hymns invoked the gods from many different places, — τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτέμιον ἐκ μυρίων μὲν ὄρεων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποτάμων, ἀνακαλεῖ, — also Aphroditê and Apollo, etc. All these songs were full of adventures and details respecting the gods, — in other words of legendary matter.

ted the fundamental attribute of the solemnity: the Pythia at Sikyon and elsewhere were probably framed on a similar footing. So too at the ancient and celebrated Charitæsia, or festival of the Charites, at Orchomenos, the rivalry of the poets in their various modes of composition both began and continued as the predominant feature:<sup>1</sup> and the inestimable treasures yet remaining to us of Attic tragedy and comedy, are gleanings from the once numerous dramas exhibited at the solemnity of the Dionysia. The Ephesians gave considerable rewards for the best hymns in honor of Artemis, to be sung at her temple.<sup>2</sup> And the early lyric poets of Greece, though their works have not descended to us, devoted their genius largely to similar productions, as may be seen by the titles and fragments yet remaining.

Both the Christian and the Mahomedan religions have begun during the historical age, have been propagated from one common centre, and have been erected upon the ruins of a different pre-existing faith. With none of these particulars did Grecian Paganism correspond. It took rise in an age of imagination and feeling simply, without the restraints, as well as without the aid, of writing or records, of history or philosophy: it was, as a general rule, the spontaneous product of many separate tribes and localities, imitation and propagation operating as subordinate causes; it was moreover a primordial faith, as far as our means of information enable us to discover. These considerations explain to us two facts in the history of the early Pagan mind: first, the divine mythes, the matter of their religion, constituted also the matter of their earliest history; next, these mythes harmonized with each other only in their general types, but differed incurably in respect of particular incidents. The poet who sung a new adventure of Apollo, the trace of which he might have heard in some remote locality, would take care that it should be agreeable to the general conceptions which his hearers entertained respecting the god. He would not ascribe the cestus or amorous influences to Athênê, nor armed interference and the ægis to Aphroditê; but, provided he maintained this general keeping, he might indulge his fancy without restraint in the particular

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Olymp. xiv.; Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung der Athener, Appendix, § xx. p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Ætolus, apud Macrobius, Saturn. v. 22.



events of the story.<sup>1</sup> The feelings and faith of his hearers went along with him, and there were no critical scruples to hold them back: to scrutinize the alleged proceedings of the gods was repulsive, and to disbelieve them impious. And thus these divine mythes, though they had their root simply in religious feelings, and though they presented great discrepancies of fact, served nevertheless as primitive matter of history to an early Greek: they were the only narratives, at once publicly accredited and interesting, which he possessed. To them were aggregated the heroic mythes (to which we shall proceed presently),—indeed the two are inseparably blended, gods, heroes and men almost always appearing in the same picture,—analogous both in their structure and their genesis, and differing chiefly in the circumstance that they sprang from the type of a hero instead of from that of a god.

We are not to be astonished if we find Aphroditê, in the *Iliad*, born from Zeus and Dionê,—and in the *Theogony* of Hesiod, generated from the foam on the sea after the mutilation of Uranos; nor if in the *Odyssey* she appears as the wife of Hêphæstos, while in the *Theogony* the latter is married to Aglaia, and Aphroditê is described as mother of three children by Arês.<sup>2</sup> The Homeric hymn to Aphroditê details the legend of Aphroditê and Anchisê, which is presupposed in the *Iliad* as the parentage of Æneas: but the author of the hymn, probably sung at one of the festivals of Aphroditê in Cyprus, represents the goddess as ashamed of her passion for a mortal, and as enjoining Anchisê under severe menaces not to reveal who the mother of Æneas was;<sup>3</sup> while in the *Iliad* she has no scruple in publicly

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<sup>1</sup> The birth of Apollo and Artemis from Zeus and Lêtô is among the oldest and most generally admitted facts in the Grecian divine legends. Yet Æschylus did not scruple to describe Artemis publicly as daughter of Dêmêtêr (*Herodot.* ii. 156; *Pausan.* viii. 37, 3). Herodotus thinks that he copied this innovation from the Egyptians, who affirmed that Apollo and Artemis were the sons of Dionysos and Isis.

The number and discrepancies of the mythes respecting each god are attested by the fruitless attempts of learned Greeks to escape the necessity of rejecting any of them by multiplying homonymous personages,—three per sons named Zeus; five named Athênê; six named Apollo, etc. (*Cicero, de Natur. Deor.* iii. 21: *Clemen. Alexand. Admon. ad Gent.* p. 17).

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 188, 934, 945; Homer, *Iliad*, v. 371; *Odyss.* viii. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, *Hymn. Vener.* 248, 286; Homer, *Iliad*, v. 320, 386.

owning him, and he passes everywhere as her acknowledged son. Aphroditê is described in the hymn as herself cold and unimpressible, but ever active and irresistible in inspiring amorous feelings to gods, to men, and to animals. Three goddesses are recorded as memorable exceptions to her universal empire, — Athênê, Artemis, and Hestia or Vesta. Aphroditê was one of the most important of all the goddesses in the mythical world; for the number of interesting, pathetic and tragical adventures deducible from misplaced or unhappy passion was of course very great; and in most of these cases the intervention of Aphroditê was usually prefixed, with some legend to explain why she manifested herself. Her range of action grows wider in the later epic and lyric and tragic poets than in Homer.<sup>1</sup>

Athênê, the man-goddess,<sup>2</sup> born from the head of Zeus, without a mother and without feminine sympathies, is the antithesis partly of Aphroditê, partly of the effeminate or womanized god Dionysos — the latter is an importation from Asia, but Athênê is a Greek conception — the type of composed, majestic and unrelenting force. It appears however as if this goddess had been conceived in a different manner in different parts of Greece. For we find ascribed to her, in some of the legends, attributes of industry and home-keeping; she is represented as the companion

<sup>1</sup> A large proportion of the Hesiodic epic related to the exploits and adventures of the heroic women, — the Catalogus of Women and the Eoiai embodied a string of such narratives. Hesiod and Stesichorus explained the conduct of Helen and Klytæmnestra by the anger of Aphroditê, caused by the neglect of their father Tyndareus to sacrifice to her (Hesiod, *Fragm.* 59, ed. Duntzer; Stesichor. *Fragm.* 9, ed. Schneidewin): the irresistible ascendancy of Aphroditê is set forth in the *Hippolytus* of Euripidês not less forcibly than that of Dionysos in the *Bacchæ*. The character of Daphnis the herdsman, well-known from the first Idyll of Theocritus, and illustrating the destroying force of Aphroditê, appears to have been first introduced into Greek poetry by Stesichorus (see Klausen, *Æneas*, und die *Penaten*, vol. i. pp. 526–529). Compare a striking piece among the *Fragmenta Incerta* of Sophoklês (Fr. 63, Brunck) and Euripid. *Troad.* 946, 995, 1048. Even in the *Opp. et Di.* of Hesiod, Aphroditê is conceived rather as a disturbing and injurious influence (v. 65).

Adonis owes his renown to the Alexandrine poets and their contemporary sovereigns (see Bion's Idyll and the *Adoniazusæ* of Theocritus). The favorites of Aphroditê, even as counted up by the diligence of Clemens Alexandrinus, are however very few in number. (*Admonitio ad Gent.* p. 12, Sylb.)

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνδροθέα δῶρον . . . . . Ἀθάνα Simmias Rhodius; Πέλεκυς, ap. He-  
phæstion. c. 9. p. 54, Gaisford.

of Hêphæstos, patronizing handicraft, and expert at the loom and the spindle: the Athenian potters worshipped her along with Promêtheus. Such traits of character do not square with the formidable ægis and the massive and crushing spear which Homer and most of the mythes assign to her. There probably were at first at least two different types of Athênê, and their coalescence has partially obliterated the less marked of the two.<sup>1</sup> Athênê is the constant and watchful protectress of Hêraklês: she is also locally identified with the soil and people of Athens, even in the *Iliad*: Erechtheus, the Athenian, is born of the earth, but Athênê brings him up, nourishes him, and lodges him in her own temple, where the Athenians annually worship him with sacrifice and solemnities.<sup>2</sup> It was altogether impossible to make Erechtheus son of Athênê,—the type of the goddess forbade it; but the Athenian mythe-creators, though they found this barrier impassable, strove to approach to it as near as they could, and the description which they give of the birth of Erichthonios, at once un-Homeric and unseemly, presents something like the phantom of maternity.<sup>3</sup>

The huntress Artemis, in Arcadia and in Greece proper generally, exhibits a well-defined type with which the legends respecting her are tolerably consistent. But the Ephesian as well as the Tauric Artemis partakes more of the Asiatic character, and has borrowed the attributes of the Lydian Great Mother as well as of an indigenous Tauric Virgin:<sup>4</sup> this Ephesian Arte-

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. ap. Schol. ad Sophokl. *Œdip.* vol. 57; Pausan. i. 24, 3; ix. 26, 3; Diodôr. v. 73; Plato, *Legg.* xi. p. 920. In the *Opp. et Di.* of Hesiod, the carpenter is the servant of Athênê (429): see also Pherekleos the τέκτων in the *Iliad*, v. 61: compare viii. 385; *Odyss.* viii. 493; and the Homeric Hymn, to Aphroditê, v. 12. The learned article of O. Müller (in the *Encyclopædia* of Ersch and Gruber, since republished among his *Kleine Deutsche Schriften*, p. 134 seq.), *Pallas Athênê*, brings together all that can be known about this goddess.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 546; viii. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 4, 6. Compare the vague language of Plato, *Kritias*, c. iv., and Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 757.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. iv. 103; Strabo, xii. p. 534; xiii. p. 650. About the Ephesian Artemis, see Guhl, *Ephesiaca* (Berlin, 1843), p. 79 sqq.; Aristoph. *Nub.* 590; Autokrates in *Tympanistis* apud Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* xii. 9; and Spanheim ad Kallimach. *Hymn. Dian.* 36. The dances in honor of Artemis sometimes appear to have approached to the frenzied style of Bacchic movement. See the words of Timotheus ap. Plutarch. *de Audiend. Poet.* p. 22, c. 4, and *περὶ Δαισίδ.* c. 10, p. 170, also Aristoph. *Lysist.* 1314. They seem

mis passed to the colonies of Phokæa and Milêtus.<sup>1</sup> The Homeric Artemis shares with her brother Apollo in the dexterous use of the far-striking bow, and sudden death is described by the poet as inflicted by her gentle arrow. The jealousy of the gods at the withholding of honors and sacrifices, or at the presumption of mortals in contending with them, — a point of character so frequently recurring in the types of the Grecian gods, — manifests itself in the legends of Artemis: the memorable Kalydônian boar is sent by her as a visitation upon CENEUS, because he had omitted to sacrifice to her, while he did honor to other gods.<sup>2</sup> The Arcadian heroine Atalanta is however a reproduction of Artemis, with little or no difference, and the goddess is sometimes confounded even with her attendant nymphs.

The mighty Poseidôn, the earth-shaker and the ruler of the sea, is second only to Zeus in power, but has no share in those imperial and superintending capacities which the Father of gods and men exhibits. He numbers a numerous heroic progeny, usually men of great corporeal strength, and many of them belonging to the Æolic race: the great Neleid family of Pylus trace their origin up to him; and he is also the father of Polyphémus the Cyclôpa, whose well-earned suffering he cruelly revenges upon Odysseus. The island of Kalaureia is his Délos,<sup>3</sup> and there was held in it an old local Amphiktyony, for the purpose of rendering to him joint honor and sacrifice: the isthmus of Corinth, Helikê in Achaia, and Onchêstos in Bœotia, are also residences which he much affects, and where he is solemnly worshipped. But the abode which he originally and specially selected for himself was the Acropolis of Athens, where by a blow of his trident he produced a well of water in the rock: Athênê came afterwards and claimed the spot for herself, planting in token of possession the olive-tree which stood in the sacred grove of Pandrosos: and the decision either of the autochthonous

to have been often celebrated in the solitudes of the mountains, which were the favorite resort of Artemis (Kallimach. Hymn. Dian. 19), and these *ὑπερβάσεις* were always causes predisposing to fanatical excitement.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv. p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, ix. 529.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 374. According to the old poem called Eumolpia, ascribed to Musæus, the oracle of Delphi originally belonged to Poseidôn and Gæa, jointly: from Gæa it passed to Themis, and from her to Apollo, to whom Poseidôn also made over his share as a compensation for the surrender of Kalaureia to him. (Pausan. x. 5. 3).

Cecrops, or of Erechtheus, awarded to her the preference, much to the displeasure of Poseidôn. Either on this account, or on account of the death of his son Eumolpus, slain in assisting the Eleusinians against Erechtheus, the Attic mythes ascribed to Poseidôn great enmity against the Erechtheid family, which he is asserted to have ultimately overthrown: Theseus, whose glorious reign and deeds succeeded to that family, is said to have been really his son.<sup>1</sup> In several other places, — in Ægina, Argos and Naxos, — Poseidôn had disputed the privileges of patron-god with Zeus, Hêrê and Dionysos: he was worsted in all, but bore his defeat patiently.<sup>2</sup> Poseidôn endured a long slavery, in common with Apollo, gods as they were,<sup>3</sup> under Laomedôn, king of Troy, at the command and condemnation of Zeus: the two gods rebuilt the walls of the city, which had been destroyed by Hêraklês. When their time was expired, the insolent Laomedôn withheld from them the stipulated reward, and even accompanied its refusal with appalling threats; and the subsequent animosity of the god against Troy was greatly determined by the sentiment of this injustice.<sup>4</sup> Such periods of servitude, inflicted upon individual gods, are among the most remarkable of all the incidents in the divine legends. We find Apollo on another occasion condemned to serve Admêtus, king of Phœræ, as a punishment for having killed the Cyclôpes, and Hêraklês also is sold as a slave to Omphalê. Even the fierce Arês, overpowered and imprisoned for a long time by the two Alôids,<sup>5</sup> is ultimately liberated only by extraneous aid. Such narratives attest the discursive range of Grecian fancy in reference to the gods, as well as the perfect commingling of things and persons, divine and human, in their conceptions of the past. The god who serves is for the time degraded: but the supreme god who commands the servitude is in the like proportion exalted, whilst the idea of some sort of order and government among these superhuman beings was never lost sight of. Nevertheless the mythes respecting the servitude of the gods became obnoxious afterwards, along with many others, to severe criticism on the part of philosophers.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 14, 1; iii. 15, 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Sympos. viii. 6, p. 741.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad, ii. 716, 766; Euripid. Alkestis, 2. See Panyasis, Fragg. 12, p. 24, ed. Düntzer.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad, vii. 452; xxi. 459.

<sup>5</sup> Iliad, v. 386.

The proud, jealous, and bitter Hêrê,—the goddess of the once-wealthy Mykênæ, the *fax et focus* of the Trojan war, and the ever-present protectress of Jasôn in the Argonautic expedition,<sup>1</sup> — occupies an indispensable station in the mythical world. As the daughter of Kronos and wife of Zeus, she fills a throne from whence he cannot dislodge her, and which gives her a right perpetually to grumble and to thwart him.<sup>2</sup> Her unmeasured jealousy of the female favorites of Zeus, and her antipathy against his sons, especially against Hêrâklês, has been the suggesting cause of innumerable mythes: the general type of her character stands here clearly marked, as furnishing both stimulus and guide to the mythopœic fancy. The “Sacred Wedding,” or marriage of Zeus and Hêrê, was familiar to epithalamic poets long before it became a theme for the spiritualizing ingenuity of critics.

Hêphæstos is the son of Hêrê without a father, and stands to her in the same relation as Athênê to Zeus: her pride and want of sympathy are manifested by her casting him out at once in consequence of his deformity.<sup>3</sup> He is the god of fire, and especially of fire in its practical applications to handicraft, and is indispensable as the right-hand and instrument of the gods. His skill and his deformity appear alternately as the source of mythical stories: wherever exquisite and effective fabrication is intended to be designated, Hêphæstos is announced as the maker, although in this function the type of his character is reproduced in Dædalos. In the Attic legends he appears intimately united both with Promêtheus and with Athênê, in conjunction with whom he was worshipped at Kolônus near Athens. Lemnos was the favorite residence of Hêphæstos; and if we possessed more knowledge of this island and its town Hêphæstias, we should doubtless find abundant legends detailing his adventures and interventions.

The chaste, still, and home-keeping Hestia, goddess of the family hearth, is far less fruitful in mythical narratives, in spite of her very superior dignity, than the knavish, smooth-tongued, keen, and acquisitive Hermês. His function of messenger of the

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, iv. 51; Odyss. xii. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, i. 544; iv. 29–38: viii. 408.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad, xviii. 306.

gods brings him perpetually on the stage, and affords ample scope for portraying the features of his character. The Homeric hymn to Hermês describes the scene and circumstances of his birth, and the almost instantaneous manifestation, even in infancy, of his peculiar attributes; it explains the friendly footing on which he stood with Apollo, — the interchange of gifts and functions between them, — and lastly, the inviolate security of all the wealth and offerings in the Delphian temple, exposed as they were to thieves without any visible protection. Such was the innate cleverness and talent of Hermês, that on the day he was born he invented the lyre, stringing the seven chords on the shell of a tortoise:<sup>1</sup> and he also stole the cattle of Apollo in Pieria, dragging them backwards to his cave in Arcadia, so that their track could not be detected. To the remonstrances of his mother Maia, who points out to him the danger of offending Apollo, Hermês replies, that he aspires to rival the dignity and functions of Apollo among the immortals, and that if his father Zeus refuses to grant them to him, he will employ his powers of thieving in breaking open the sanctuary at Delphi, and in carrying away the gold and the vestments, the precious tripods and vessels.<sup>2</sup> Presently Apollo discovers the loss of his cattle, and after some trouble finds his way to the Kyllênian cavern, where he sees Hermês asleep in his cradle. The child denies the theft with effrontery, and even treats the surmise as a ridiculous impossibility: he persists in such denial even before Zeus, who however detects him at once, and compels him to reveal the place where the cattle are concealed. But the lyre was as yet unknown to Apollo, who has heard nothing except the voice of the Muses and the sound of the pipe. So powerfully is he fascinated by hearing the tones of the lyre from Hermês, and so eager to become possessed of it, that he is willing at once to pardon the past

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<sup>1</sup> Homer. Hymn. Mercur. 18. —

Ἦφος γεγὼνός, μέσῳ ἡματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,  
Ἐσπέριος βοὺς κλέψεν ἐκὼς βόλου Ἀπόλλωνος, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Homer. Hymn. Merc. 177. —

Εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐς Πύθωνα, μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορῆσων,  
Ἐνθεν ἄλκις τρίποδας περικαλλέας, ἧδὲ λέβητας  
Πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, etc.

theft, and even to conciliate besides the friendship of *Hermês*.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly a bargain is struck between the two gods and sanctioned by Zeus. *Hermês* surrenders to Apollo the lyre, inventing for his own use the syrinx or panspipe, and receiving from Apollo in exchange the golden rod of wealth, with empire over flocks and herds as well as over horses and oxen and the wild animals of the woods. He presses to obtain the gift of prophecy, but Apollo is under a special vow not to impart that privilege to any god whatever: he instructs *Hermês* however how to draw information, to a certain extent, from the *Mœræ* or Fates themselves; and assigns to him, over and above, the function of messenger of the gods to *Hadês*.

Although Apollo has acquired the lyre, the particular object of his wishes, he is still under apprehension that *Hermês* will steal it away from him again, together with his bow, and he exacts a formal oath by *Styx* as security. *Hermês* promises solemnly that he will steal none of the acquisitions, nor ever invade the sanctuary of Apollo; while the latter on his part pledges himself to recognize *Hermês* as his chosen friend and companion, amongst all the other sons of Zeus, human or divine.<sup>2</sup>

So came to pass, under the sanction of Zeus, the marked favor shown by Apollo to *Hermês*. But *Hermês* (concludes the hymnographer, with frankness unusual in speaking of a god) "does very little good: he avails himself of the darkness of night to cheat without measure the tribes of mortal men."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Homer. Hymn. Merc. 442-454.

<sup>2</sup> Homer. Hymn. Merc. 504-520. —

Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρμῆς  
 Λητοῖδην ἐφίλησε διαμπερὲς, ὥς ἐτι καὶ νῦν, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

Καὶ τόγε Μαλαδὸς υἱὸς ὑποσχόμενος κατένευσε  
 Μὴ ποτ' ἀποκλέψῃν, δο' Ἐκήβολος ἐκτεύτισται,  
 Μηδὲ ποτ' ἐμπελάσειν πυκίνῳ δόμῳ· αἴτ' αὖρ Ἀπόλλων  
 Λητοῖδης κατένευσεν ἐκ' ἀρθμῶ καὶ φιλότῃτι  
 Μὴ τίνα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἐσεσθαι  
 Μῆτε θάδν, μῆτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Homer. Hymn. Merc. 574. —

Παῦρα μὲν οὖν ἐνίχῃσι, τὸ δ' ἀκριτον ἡπεροκτεύει  
 Νέκτα δι' ὀφθαίην φύλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.



Here the general types of Hermès and Apollo, coupled with the present fact that no thief ever approached the rich and seemingly accessible treasures of Delphi, engender a string of expository incidents cast into a quasi-historical form and detailing how it happened that Hermès had bound himself by especial convention to respect the Delphian temple. The types of Apollo seem to have been different in different times and parts of Greece: in some places he was worshipped as Apollo Nomios,<sup>1</sup> or the patron of pasture and cattle; and this attribute, which elsewhere passed over to his son Aristæus, is by our hymnographer voluntarily surrendered to Hermès, combined with the golden rod of fruitfulness. On the other hand, the lyre did not originally belong to the Far-striking King, nor is he at all an inventor: the hymn explains both its first invention and how it came into his possession. And the value of the incidents is thus partly expository, partly illustrative, as expanding in detail the general preconceived character of the Kyllénian god.

To Zeus more amours are ascribed than to any of the other gods, — probably because the Grecian kings and chieftains were especially anxious to trace their lineage to the highest and most glorious of all, — each of these amours having its representative progeny on earth.<sup>2</sup> Such subjects were among the most promising and agreeable for the interest of mythical narrative, and Zeus as a lover thus became the father of a great many legends, branching out into innumerable interferences, for which his sons, all of them distinguished individuals, and many of them persecuted by Hérê, furnished the occasion. But besides this, the commanding functions of the supreme god, judicial and administrative, extending both over gods and men, was a potent stimulus to the mythopœic activity. Zeus has to watch over his own dignity, — the first of all considerations with a god: moreover as Horkios, Xenios, Ktésios, Meilichios, (a small proportion of his thousand surnames,) he guaranteed oaths and punished perjurers, he enforced the observance of hospitality, he guarded the family hoard and the crop realized for the year, and he granted expia-

<sup>1</sup> Kallimach. Hymn. Apoll. 47

<sup>2</sup> Kallimach. Hymn. Jov. 79. Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆς, etc.

tion to the repentant criminal.<sup>1</sup> All these different functions created a demand for mythes, as the means of translating a dim, but serious, presentiment into distinct form, both self-explaining and communicable to others. In enforcing the sanctity of the oath or of the tie of hospitality, the most powerful of all arguments would be a collection of legends respecting the judgments of Zeus Horkios or Xenios; the more impressive and terrific such legends were; the greater would be their interest, and the less would any one dare to disbelieve them. They constituted the natural outpourings of a strong and common sentiment, probably without any deliberate ethical intention: the preconceptions of the divine agency, expanded into legend, form a product analogous to the idea of the divine features and symmetry embodied in the bronze or the marble statue.

But it was not alone the general type and attributes of the gods which contributed to put in action the mythopœic propensities. The rites and solemnities forming the worship of each god, as well as the details of his temple and its locality, were a fertile source of mythes, respecting his exploits and sufferings, which to the people who heard them served the purpose of past history. The exegetes, or local guide and interpreter, belonging to each temple, preserved and recounted to curious strangers these traditional narratives, which lent a certain dignity even to the minutiae of divine service. Out of a stock of materials thus ample, the poets extracted individual collections, such as the "Causes" (*Aitia*) of Kallimachus, now lost, and such as the *Fasti* of Ovid are for the Roman religious antiquities.<sup>2</sup>

It was the practice to offer to the gods in sacrifice the bones of the victim only, inclosed in fat: how did this practice arise?

<sup>1</sup> See Herodot. i. 44. Xenoph. Anab. vii. 8, 4. Plutarch, Théséus, c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 211, about the festivals of Apollo:—

"Priscique imitamina facti

*Æra Deæ comites raucaque terga movent."*

And Lactantius, v. 19, 15. "Ipsos ritus ex rebus gestis (deorum) vel ex casibus vel etiam ex mortibus, natos:" to the same purpose Augustin. *De Civ. D.* vii. 18; Diodôr. iii. 56. Plutarch's *Quæstiones Græcæ et Romæ* are full of similar tales, professing to account for existing customs, many of them religious and liturgic. See Lobeck, *Orphica*, p. 675.

The author of the Hesiodic Theogony has a story which explains it: Promêtheus tricked Zeus into an imprudent choice, at the period when the gods and mortal men first came to an arrangement about privileges and duties (in Mekônê). Promêtheus, the tutelary representative of man, divided a large steer into two portions: on the one side he placed the flesh and guts, folded up in the omentum and covered over with the skin: on the other, he put the bones enveloped in fat. He then invited Zeus to determine which of the two portions the gods would prefer to receive from mankind. Zeus "with both hands" decided for and took the white fat, but was highly incensed on finding that he had got nothing at the bottom except the bones.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the choice of the gods was now irrevocably made: they were not entitled to any portion of the sacrificed animal beyond the bones and the white fat; and the standing practice is thus plausibly explained.<sup>2</sup> I select this as one amongst a thousand instances to illustrate the genesis of legend out of religious practices. In the belief of the people, the event narrated in the legend was the real producing cause of the practice: but when we come to apply a sound criticism, we are compelled to treat the event as existing only in its narrative legend, and the legend itself as having been, in the greater number of cases, engendered by the practice,—thus reversing the supposed order of production.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 550. —

Φῆ βα δολοφρονέων · Ζεὺς δ' ἀφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς  
Γινῶ β' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον · κακὰ δ' ὅσσετο θυμῷ  
Θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ καὶ τελέεσθαι ἐμελλεν.  
Χερσὶ δ' ὅγ' ἀγχοτέρησιν ἀνείλετο λευκὰν ἀλειψαρ.  
Χώσατο δὲ φρένας, ἀμφὶ χόλος δέ μιν ἴκετο θυμὸν,  
Ὅς ἴδεν ὅσσεα λευκὰ βοδὸς δολίῃ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ.

In the second line of this citation, the poet tells us that Zeus saw through the trick, and was imposed upon by his own consent, foreknowing that after all the mischievous consequences of the proceeding would be visited on man. But the last lines, and indeed the whole drift of the legend, imply the contrary of this: Zeus was really taken in, and was in consequence very angry. It is curious to observe how the religious feelings of the poet drive him to save in words the prescience of Zeus, though in doing so he contradicts and nullifies the whole point of the story.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 557. —

Ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων  
Καίουσ' ὅσσεα λευκὰ θνηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

In dealing with Grecian mythes generally, it is convenient to distribute them into such as belong to the Gods and such as belong to the Heroes, according as the one or the other are the prominent personages. The former class manifests, more palpably than the latter, their real origin, as growing out of the faith and the feelings, without any necessary basis, either of matter of fact or allegory: moreover, they elucidate more directly the religion of the Greeks, so important an item in their character as a people. But in point of fact, most of the mythes present to us Gods, Heroes and Men, in juxtaposition one with the other, and the richness of Grecian mythical literature arises from the infinite diversity of combinations thus opened out; first by the three class-types, God, Hero, and Man; next by the strict keeping with which each separate class and character is handled. We shall now follow downward the stream of mythical time, which begins with the Gods, to the Heroic legends, or those which principally concern the Heroes and Heroines; for the latter were to the full as important in legend as the former.

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## CHAPTER II.

### LEGENDS RELATING TO HEROES AND MEN.

THE Hesiodic theogony gives no account of anything like a creation of man, nor does it seem that such an idea was much entertained in the legendary vein of Grecian imagination; which commonly carried back the present men by successive generations to some primitive ancestor, himself sprung from the soil, or from a neighboring river or mountain, or from a god, a nymph, etc. But the poet of the Hesiodic "Works and Days" has given us a narrative conceived in a very different spirit respecting the origin of the human race, more in harmony with the sober and melancholy ethical tone which reigns through that poem.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, as cited in the *Etymologicon Magnum* (probably the Hesiodic

— First (he tells us) the Olympic gods made the golden race, — good, perfect, and happy men, who lived from the spontaneous abundance of the earth, in ease and tranquillity like the gods themselves: they suffered neither disease nor old age, and their death was like a gentle sleep. After death they became, by the award of Zeus, guardian terrestrial dæmons, who watch unseen over the proceedings of mankind — with the regal privilege of dispensing to them wealth, and taking account of good and bad deeds.<sup>1</sup>

— Next, the gods made the silver race, — unlike and greatly inferior, both in mind and body, to the golden. The men of this race were reckless and mischievous towards each other, and disdainful of the immortal gods, to whom they refused to offer either worship or sacrifice. Zeus in his wrath buried them in the earth: but there they still enjoy a secondary honor, as the Blest of the under-world.<sup>2</sup>

— Thirdly, Zeus made the brazen race, quite different from the silver. They were made of hard ash-wood; pugnacious and terrible; they were of immense strength and adamant soul, nor did they raise or touch bread. Their arms, their houses, and their implements were all of brass: there was then no iron. This race, eternally fighting, perished by each other's hands, died out, and descended without name or privilege to Hades.<sup>3</sup>

Catalogue of Women, as Marktscheffel considers it, placing it *Fragm.* 133), gives the parentage of a certain *Erōtos*, who must probably be intended as the first of men: *Ἐρώτος, ὃς μὲν Εὐήμερος ὁ Μεσσηνίως, ἀπὸ Βρότου τινος ἀντάχθωνος · ὃ δὲ Ἡσιόδος, ἀπὸ Βρότου τοῦ Αἰθιόρος καὶ Ἡμέρας.*

<sup>1</sup> *Opp. Di.* 120. —

Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν  
Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς  
Ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
Οἱ βα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,  
Ἥερα ἐσόμενοι, πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐκ' αἶαν  
Πλουτόδοται · καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆϊον ἔσχον.

<sup>2</sup> *Opp. Di.* 140. —

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,  
Τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται  
Δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἐμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ἀπαιδεῖ.

<sup>3</sup> The ash was the wood out of which spear-handles were made (*Iliad*, xvi 142): the *Νύμφαι Μέλαιαι* are born along with the *Gigantes* and the *Erin*

Next, Zeus made a fourth race, far juster and better than the last preceding. These were the Heroes or demigods, who fought at the sieges of Troy and Thêbes. But this splendid stock also became extinct: some perished in war, others were removed by Zeus to a happier state in the islands of the Blest. There they dwell in peace and comfort, under the government of Kronos, reaping thrice in the year the spontaneous produce of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The fifth race, which succeeds to the Heroes, is of iron: it is the race to which the poet himself belongs, and bitterly does he regret it. He finds his contemporaries mischievous, dishonest, unjust, ungrateful, given to perjury, careless both of the ties of consanguinity and of the behests of the gods: Nemesis and Ædôa (Ethical Self-reproach) have left earth and gone back to Olympus. How keenly does he wish that his lot had been cast either earlier or later!<sup>2</sup> This iron race is doomed to continual guilt, care, and suffering, with a small infusion of good; but the time will come when Zeus will put an end to it. The poet does not venture to predict what sort of race will succeed.

Such is the series of distinct races of men, which Hesiod, or the author of the "Works and Days," enumerates as having existed down to his own time. I give it as it stands, without placing much confidence in the various explanations which critics have offered. It stands out in more than one respect from the general tone and sentiment of Grecian legend: moreover the sequence of races is neither natural nor homogeneous,—the heroic race not having any metallic denomination, and not occupying any legitimate place in immediate succession to the brazen. Nor is the conception of the dæmons in harmony either with Homer or with the Hesiodic theogony. In Homer, there is scarcely any distinction between gods and dæmons, while the gods

nyes (Theogon. 187), — "gensque virûm truncis et duro robore nata" (Virgil, Æneid, viii. 315), — *hearts of oak*.

<sup>1</sup> Opp. Di. 157. —

Ἀνδρῶν Ἡρώων θεῶν γένος, οἱ καλέονται  
Ἡμίθεοι προτέρῃ γενέῃ κατ' ἀκείρονα γαῖαν.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. Di. 173. —

Μήκερ' ἐπειρ' ὀφειλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι  
'Ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν, ἢ ἐπειτα γενέσθαι.  
Νῦν γὰρ ὃν γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον. . . . .

are stated to go about and visit the cities of men in various disguises for the purpose of inspecting good and evil proceedings.<sup>1</sup> But in the poem now before us, the distinction between gods and dæmons is generic. The latter are invisible tenants of earth, remnants of the once happy golden race whom the Olympic gods first made: the remnants of the second or silver race are not dæmons, nor are they tenants of earth, but they still enjoy an honorable posthumous existence as the Blest of the under-world. Nevertheless the Hesiodic dæmons are in no way authors or abettors of evil: on the contrary, they form the unseen police of the gods, for the purpose of repressing wicked behavior in the world.

We may trace, I think, in this quintuple succession of earthly races, set forth by the author of the "Works and Days," the confluence of two veins of sentiment, not consistent one with the other, yet both coëxisting in the author's mind. The drift of his poem is thoroughly didactic and ethical: though deeply penetrated with the injustice and suffering which darken the face of human life, he nevertheless strives to maintain, both in himself and in others, a conviction that on the whole the just and laborious man will come off well,<sup>2</sup> and he enforces in considerable detail the lessons of practical prudence and virtue. This ethical sentiment, which dictates his appreciation of the present, also guides his imagination as to the past. It is pleasing to him to bridge over the chasm between the gods and degenerate man, by

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xvii. 486.

<sup>2</sup> There are some lines, in which he appears to believe that, under the present wicked and treacherous rulers, it is not the interest of any man to be just (Opp. Di. 270):—

Νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μῆτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος  
 εἶην, μῆτ' ἐμὸς νόος· ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἐστὶ δίκαιον  
 ἔμμεναι, εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἔξει·  
 Ἀλλὰ τόδ' ὅπως ἔολπα τελεῖν Δία τερπικέρανον.

On the whole, however, his conviction is to the contrary.

Plutarch rejects the above four lines, seemingly on no other ground than because he thought them immoral and unworthy of Hesiod (see Proclus *ad loc.*). But they fall in perfectly with the temper of the poem: and the rule of Plutarch is inadmissible, in determining the critical question of what is genuine or spurious.

the supposition of previous races, — the first altogether pure, the second worse than the first, and the third still worse than the second; and to show further how the first race passed by gentle death-sleep into glorious immortality; how the second race was sufficiently wicked to drive Zeus to bury them in the under-world, yet still leaving them a certain measure of honor; while the third was so desperately violent as to perish by its own animosities, without either name or honor of any kind. The conception of the golden race passing after death into good guardian dæmons, which some suppose to have been derived from a comparison with oriental angels, presents itself to the poet partly as approximating this race to the gods, partly as a means of constituting a triple gradation of post-obituary existence, proportioned to the character of each race whilst alive. The denominations of gold and silver, given to the first two races, justify themselves, like those given by Simonidēs of Amorgos and by Phokylidēs to the different characters of women, derived from the dog, the bee, the mare, the ass, and other animals; and the epithet of brazen is specially explained by reference to the material which the pugnacious third race so plentifully employed for their arms and other implements.

So far we trace intelligibly enough the moralizing vein: we find the revolutions of the past so arranged as to serve partly as an ethical lesson, partly as a suitable preface to the present.<sup>1</sup> But fourth in the list comes "the divine race of Heroes:" and here a new vein of thought is opened by the poet. The symmetry of his ethical past is broken up, in order to make way for these cherished beings of the national faith. For though the author of the "Works and Days" was himself of a didactic cast of thought,

<sup>1</sup> Aratus (Phænomen. 107) gives only three successive races, — the golden, silver, and brazen; Ovid superadds to these the iron race (Metamorph. i. 89-144): neither of them notice the heroic race.

The observations both of Buttmann (*Mythos der ältesten Menschengeschlechter*, t. ii. p. 12 of the *Mythologus*) and of Völcker (*Mythologie des Japetischen Geschlechts*, § 6, pp. 250-279) on this series of distinct races, are ingenious, and may be read with profit. Both recognize the disparate character of the fourth link in the series, and each accounts for it in a different manner. My own view comes nearer to that of Völcker, with some considerable differences; amongst which one is, that he rejects the verses respecting the dæmons, which seem to me capital parts of the whole scheme.



like Phokylidês, or Solôn, or Theognis, yet he had present to his feelings, in common with his countrymen, the picture of Grecian foretime, as it was set forth in the current mythes, and still more in Homer and those other epical productions which were then the only existing literature and history. It was impossible for him to exclude, from his sketch of the past, either the great persons or the glorious exploits which these poems ennobled; and even if he himself could have consented to such an exclusion, the sketch would have become repulsive to his hearers. But the chiefs who figured before Thêbes and Troy could not be well identified either with the golden, the silver, or the brazen race: moreover it was essential that they should be placed in immediate contiguity with the present race, because their descendants, real or supposed, were the most prominent and conspicuous of existing men. Hence the poet is obliged to assign to them the fourth place in the series, and to interrupt the descending ethical movement in order to interpolate them between the brazen and the iron race, with neither of which they present any analogy. The iron race, to which the poet himself unhappily belongs, is the legitimate successor, not of the heroic, but of the brazen. Instead of the fierce and self-annihilating pugnacity which characterizes the latter, the iron race manifests an aggregate of smaller and meaner vices and mischiefs. It will not perish by suicidal extinction — but it is growing worse and worse, and is gradually losing its vigor, so that Zeus will not vouchsafe to preserve much longer such a race upon the earth.

We thus see that the series of races imagined by the poet of the "Works and Days" is the product of two distinct and incongruous veins of imagination,—the didactic or ethical blending with the primitive mythical or epical. His poem is remarkable as the most ancient didactic production of the Greeks, and as one of the first symptoms of a new tone of sentiment finding its way into their literature, never afterwards to become extinct. The tendency of the "Works and Days" is anti-heroic: far from seeking to inspire admiration for adventurous enterprise, the author inculcates the strictest justice, the most unremitting labor and frugality, and a sober, not to say anxious, estimate of all the minute specialties of the future. Prudence and probity are his means,—practical comfort and

happiness his end. But he deeply feels, and keenly exposes, the manifold wickedness and short-comings of his contemporaries, in reference to this capital standard. He turns with displeasure from the present men, not because they are too feeble to hurl either the spear of Achilles or some vast boundary-stone, but because they are rapacious, knavish, and unprincipled.

The dæmons first introduced into the religious atmosphere of the Grecian world by the author of the "Works and Days," as generically different from the gods, but as essentially good, and as forming the intermediate agents and police between gods and men, — are deserving of attention as the seed of a doctrine which afterwards underwent many changes, and became of great importance, first as one of the constituent elements of pagan faith, then as one of the helps to its subversion. It will be recollected that the buried remnants of the half-wicked silver race, though they are not recognized as dæmons, are still considered as having a substantive existence, a name, and dignity, in the under-world. The step was easy, to treat them as dæmons also, but as dæmons of a defective and malignant character : this step was made by Empedoclès and Xenocratès, and to a certain extent countenanced by Plato.<sup>1</sup> There came thus to be admitted among the pagan philosophers dæmons both good and bad, in every degree : and these dæmons were found available as a means of explaining many phænomena for which it was not convenient to admit the agency of the gods. They served to relieve the gods from the odium of physical and moral evils, as well as from the necessity of constantly meddling in small affairs ; and the objectionable ceremonies of the pagan world were defended upon the ground that in no other way could the exigencies of such malignant beings be appeased. They were most frequently noticed as causes of evil, and thus the name (*dæmon*) came insensibly to convey with it a bad sense, — the idea of an evil being as contrasted with the goodness of a god. So it was found by the Christian writers when they commenced their controversy with paganism. One branch of their argument led them to identify the pagan gods with dæmons in the evil sense, and the insensible change in the received meaning of the word lent them a specious assistance. For they could easily

<sup>1</sup> See this subject further mentioned — *infra*, chap. xvi. p. 565.

show that not only in Homer, but in the general language of early pagans, all the gods generally were spoken of as *dæmons*—and therefore, verbally speaking, Clemens and Tatian seemed to affirm nothing more against Zeus or Apollo than was employed in the language of paganism itself. Yet the audience of Homer or Sophoklés would have strenuously repudiated the proposition, if it had been put to them in the sense which the word *dæmon* bore in the age and among the circle of these Christian writers.

In the imagination of the author of the "Works and Days," the *dæmons* occupy an important place, and are regarded as being of serious practical efficiency. When he is remonstrating with the rulers around him upon their gross injustice and corruption, he reminds them of the vast number of these immortal servants of Zeus who are perpetually on guard amidst mankind, and through whom the visitations of the gods will descend even upon the most potent evil doers.<sup>1</sup> His supposition that the *dæmons* were not gods, but departed men of the golden race, allowed him to multiply their number indefinitely, without too much cheapening the divine dignity.

As this poet has been so much enslaved by the current legends as to introduce the Heroic race into a series to which it does not legitimately belong, so he has under the same influence inserted in another part of his poem the mythe of Pandora and Prometheus,<sup>2</sup> as a means of explaining the primary diffusion, and actual abundance, of evil among mankind. Yet this mythe can in no way consist with his quintuple scale of distinct races, and is in fact a totally distinct theory to explain the same problem,—the transition of mankind from a supposed state of antecedent happiness to one of present toil and suffering. Such an inconsistency is not a sufficient reason for questioning the genuineness of either passage; for the two stories, though one contradicts the other, both harmonize with that central purpose which governs the author's mind,—a querulous and didactic appreciation of the present. That such was his purpose appears not only from the whole tenor of his poem, but also from the remarkable fact that his own personality, his own adventures and kindred, and his own sufferings, figure in it conspicuously. And this introduction of self

<sup>1</sup> Opp. Di. 252. *Τρις γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Opp. Di. 50-105.

imparts to it a peculiar interest. The father of Hesiod came over from the Æolic Kymê, with the view of bettering his condition, and settled at Askra in Bœotia, at the foot of Mount Helicon. After his death his two sons divided the family inheritance: but Hesiod bitterly complains that his brother Persês cheated and went to law with him, and obtained through corrupt judges an unjust decision. He farther reproaches his brother with a preference for the suits and unprofitable bustle of the agora, at a time when he ought to be laboring for his subsistence in the field. Askra indeed was a miserable place, repulsive both in summer and winter. Hesiod had never crossed the sea, except once from Anlis to Eubœa, whither he went to attend the funeral games of Amphidamas, the chief of Chalkis: he sung a hymn, and gained as prize a tripod, which he consecrated to the muses in Helicon.<sup>1</sup>

These particulars, scanty as they are, possess a peculiar value, as the earliest authentic memorandum respecting the doing or suffering of any actual Greek person. There is no external testimony at all worthy of trust respecting the age of the "Works and Days." Herodotus treats Hesiod and Homer as belonging to the same age, four hundred years before his own time; and there are other statements besides, some placing Hesiod at an earlier date than Homer, some at a later. Looking at the internal evidences, we may observe that the pervading sentiment, tone and purpose of the poem is widely different from that of the Iliad and Odyssey, and analogous to what we read respecting the compositions of Archilochus and the Amorgian Simonidês. The author of the "Works and Days" is indeed a preacher and not a satirist: but with this distinction, we find in him the same predominance of the present and the positive, the same disposition to turn the muse into an exponent of his own personal wrongs, the same employment of Æsopic fable by way of illustration, and the same unfavorable estimate of the female sex,<sup>2</sup> all of which

<sup>1</sup> Opp. Di. 630-650, 37-45.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the fable (*αἶψος*) in the "Works and Days," v. 200, with those in Archilochus, Fr. xxxviii. and xxxix., Gaisford, respecting the fox and the ape; and the legend of Pandôr (v. 95 and v. 705) with the fragment of Simonidês of Amorgos respecting women (Fr. viii. ed. Welcker, v. 95-115); also Phokylidês ap. Stobæum Florileg. lxxi.

Isokratês assimilates the character of the "Works and Days" to that of Theognis and Phokylidês (ad Nikokl. Or. ii. p. 23).

may be traced in the two poets above mentioned; placing both of them in contrast with the Homeric epic. Such an internal analogy, in the absence of good testimony, is the best guide which we can follow in determining the date of the "Works and Days," which we should accordingly place shortly after the year 700 B. C. The style of the poem might indeed afford a proof that the ancient and uniform hexameter, though well adapted to continuous legendary narrative or to solemn hymns, was somewhat monotonous when called upon either to serve a polemical purpose or to impress a striking moral lesson. When poets, then the only existing composers, first began to apply their thoughts to the cut and thrust of actual life, aggressive or didactic, the verse would be seen to require a new, livelier and smarter metre; and out of this want grew the elegiac and the iambic verse, both seemingly contemporaneous, and both intended to supplant the primitive hexameter for the short effusions then coming into vogue.

### CHAPTER III.

#### LEGEND OF THE IAPETIDS.

THE sons of the Titan god Iapetus, as described in the Hesiodic theogony, are Atlas, Menœtius, Promêtheus and Epimêtheus.<sup>1</sup> Of these, Atlas alone is mentioned by Homer in the *Odyssey*, and even he not as the son of Iapetus: the latter himself is named in the *Iliad* as existing in Tartarus along with Kronos. The Homeric Atlas "knows the depths of the whole sea, and keeps by himself those tall pillars which hold the heaven apart from the earth."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 510.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *Odys.* i. 120.—

Ἄτλαντος θυγατὴρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅσπερ θαλάσσης  
Πάσης βένθεα οἶδε, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς  
Μακρὰς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ ἔθρανόν ἄμφω ἔχουσιν.

As the Homeric theogony generally appears much expanded in Hesiod, so also does the family of Iapetus, with their varied adventures. Atlas is here described, not as the keeper of the intermediate pillars between heaven and earth, but as himself condemned by Zeus to support the heaven on his head and hands;<sup>1</sup> while the fierce Menestius is thrust down to Erebus as a punishment for his ungovernable insolence. But the remaining two brothers, Promêtheus and Epimêtheus, are among the most interesting creations of Grecian legend, and distinguished in more than one respect from all the remainder.

First, the main battle between Zeus and the Titan gods is a contest of force purely and simply — mountains are hurled and thunder is launched, and the victory remains to the strongest. But the competition between Zeus and Promêtheus is one of craft and stratagem: the victory does indeed remain to the former, but the honors of the fight belong to the latter. Secondly, Promêtheus and Epimêtheus (the fore-thinker and the after-thinker<sup>2</sup>) are characters stamped at the same mint and by the same effort, the express contrast and antithesis of each other. Thirdly, mankind are here expressly brought forward, not indeed as active partners in the struggle, but as the grand and capital subjects interested, — as gainers or sufferers by the result. Promêtheus appears in the exalted character of champion of the human race, even against the formidable superiority of Zeus.

In the primitive or Hesiodic legend, Promêtheus is not the creator or moulder of man; it is only the later additions which invest him with this character.<sup>3</sup> The race are supposed as exist-

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 516.—

Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ἐν' ἀνάγκῃς  
Ἑσθιῆος, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτοισι χέρεσσι.

Hesiod stretches far beyond the simplicity of the Homeric conception.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar extends the family of Epimêtheus and gives him a daughter, Πρόφασσις (Pyth. v. 25), *Excuse*, the offspring of After-thought.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. i. 7. 1. Nor is he such either in Æschylus, or in the Platonic fable (Protag. c. 30), though this version became at last the most popular. Some hardened lumps of clay, remnants of that which had been employed by Promêtheus in moulding man, were shown to Pausanias at Panopeus in Phokis (Paus. x. 4, 3).

The first Epigram of Erinna (Anthol. i. p. 58, ed. Brunck) seems to allude

ing, and Prométheus, a member of the dispossessed body of Titan gods, comes forward as their representative and defender. The advantageous bargain which he made with Zeus on their behalf, in respect to the partition of the sacrificial animals, has been recounted in the preceding chapter. Zeus felt that he had been outwitted, and was exceeding wroth. In his displeasure he withheld from mankind the inestimable comfort of fire, so that the race would have perished, had not Prométheus stolen fire, in defiance of the command of the Supreme Ruler, and brought it to men in the hollow of a ferule.<sup>1</sup>

Zeus was now doubly indignant, and determined to play off a still more ruinous stratagem. Héphaestos, by his direction, moulded the form of a beautiful virgin; Athênê dressed her, Aphroditê and the Charities bestowed upon her both ornament and fascination, while Hermês infused into her the mind of a dog, a deceitful spirit, and treacherous words.<sup>2</sup> The messenger of the gods conducted this "fascinating mischief" to mankind, at a time when Prométheus was not present. Now Epimétheus had received from his brother peremptory injunctions not to accept from the hands of Zeus any present whatever; but the beauty of Pandôra (so the newly-formed female was called) was not to be resisted. She was received and admitted among men, and from that moment their comfort and tranquillity was exchanged for suffering of every kind.<sup>3</sup> The evils to which mankind are liable had been before enclosed in a cask in their own keeping: Pandôra in her malice removed the lid of the cask, and out flew these thousand evils and calamities, to exercise forever their destroying force. Hope alone remained imprisoned, and therefore without efficacy, as before — the inviolable lid being replaced before she could escape. Before this incident (says the legend) men had lived without disease or suffering; but now both earth and sea are full of mischiefs, while maladies of every description stalk abroad by day as well as by night,<sup>4</sup> without any hope for man of relief to come.

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to Prométheus as moulder of man. The expression of Aristophanês (Aves, 689) — *πλάσματα πηλοῦ* — does not necessarily refer to Prométheus.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theog. 566; Opp. Di. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Theog. 580; Opp. Di. 50-65.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. Di. 81-90.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. Di. 93. Pandôra does not bring with her the cask, as the common

The Theogony gives the legend here recounted, with some variations—leaving out the part of Epimætheus altogether, as well as the cask of evils. Pandôra is the ruin of man, simply as the mother and representative of the female sex.<sup>1</sup> And the variations are thus useful, as they enable us to distinguish the essential from the accessory circumstances of the story.

“Thus (says the poet, at the conclusion of his narrative) it is not possible to escape from the purposes of Zeus.”<sup>2</sup> His myth, connecting the calamitous condition of man with the malevolence of the supreme god, shows, first, by what cause such an unfriendly feeling was raised; next, by what instrumentality its deadly results were brought about. The human race are not indeed the creation, but the protected flock of Promætheus, one of the elder or dispossessed Titan gods: when Zeus acquires supremacy, mankind along with the rest become subject to him, and are to make the best bargain they can respecting worship and service to be yielded. By the stratagem of their advocate Promætheus, Zeus

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version of this story would have us suppose: the cask exists fast closed in the custody of Epimætheus, or of man himself, and Pandôra commits the fatal treachery of removing the lid. The case is analogous to that of the closed bag of unfavorable winds which Æolus gives into the hands of Odysseus, and which the guilty companions of the latter force open, to the entire ruin of his hopes (Odys. x. 19–50). The idea of the two casks on the threshold of Zeus, lying ready for dispensation—one full of evils the other of benefits—is Homeric (Iliad, xxiv. 527):—

*Δοίῳ γάρ τε πύθοι κατακείται ἐν Διὶς οὐδεῖ, etc.*

Plutarch assimilates to this the πύθος opened by Pandôra, Consolat. ad Apollon. c. 7. p. 105. The explanation here given of the Hesiodic passage relating to Hope, is drawn from an able article in the Wiener Jahrbucher, vol. 109 (1845), p. 220, Ritter; a review of Schömann's translation of the Promætheus of Æschylus. The diseases and evils are inoperative so long as they remain shut up in the cask: the same mischief-making influence which lets them out to their calamitous work, takes care that Hope shall still continue a powerless prisoner in the inside.

<sup>1</sup> Theog. 590.—

*Ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων,  
Τῆς γὰρ ὁλώων ἐστὶ γένος καὶ φύλα γυναικῶν  
Πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσι ναιετάουσι, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Opp Di 105.—

*Ὅτως οὐτι πῇ ἐστὶ Διὶς νόον ἐξαλέασθαι.*



is cheated into such a partition of the victims as is eminently unprofitable to him; whereby his wrath is so provoked, that he tries to subtract from man the use of fire. Here however his scheme is frustrated by the theft of Prométhéus: but his second attempt is more successful, and he in his turn cheats the unthinking Epiméthéus into the acceptance of a present (in spite of the peremptory interdict of Prométhéus) by which the whole of man's happiness is wrecked. This legend grows out of two feelings; partly as to the relations of the gods with man, partly as to the relation of the female sex with the male. The present gods are unkind towards man, but the old gods, with whom man's lot was originally cast, were much kinder — and the ablest among them stands forward as the indefatigable protector of the race. Nevertheless, the mere excess of his craft proves the ultimate ruin of the cause which he espouses. He cheats Zeus out of a fair share of the sacrificial victim, so as both to provoke and justify a retaliation which he cannot be always at hand to ward off: the retaliation is, in his absence, consummated by a snare laid for Epiméthéus and voluntarily accepted. And thus, though Hesiod ascribes the calamitous condition of man to the malevolence of Zeus, his piety suggests two exculpatory pleas for the latter: mankind have been the first to defraud Zeus of his legitimate share of the sacrifice — and they have moreover been consenting parties to their own ruin. Such are the feelings, as to the relation between the gods and man, which have been one of the generating elements of this legend. The other element, a conviction of the vast mischief arising to man from women, whom yet they cannot dispense with, is frequently and strongly set forth in several of the Greek poets — by Simonidés of Amorgos and Phokylidés, not less than by the notorious misogynist Euripidés.

But the miseries arising from woman, however great they might be, did not reach Prométhéus himself. For him, the rash champion who had ventured "to compete in sagacity"<sup>1</sup> with Zeus, a different punishment was in store. Bound by heavy chains to a pillar, he remained fast imprisoned for several generations: every day did an eagle prey upon his liver, and every night did the liver grow afresh for the next day's suffering. At

<sup>1</sup> Theog. 534. Οὐνεκ' ἐρίζετο βουλᾷς ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίῳ.

length Zeus, eager to enhance the glory of his favorite son Hēracles, permitted the latter to kill the eagle and rescue the captive.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the Promêthean mythe as it stands in the Hesiodic poems; its earliest form, as far as we can trace. Upon it was founded the sublime tragedy of Æschylus, "The Enchained Promêtheus," together with at least one more tragedy, now lost, by the same author.<sup>2</sup> Æschylus has made several important alterations; describing the human race, not as having once enjoyed and subsequently lost a state of tranquillity and enjoyment, but as originally feeble and wretched. He suppresses both the first trick played off by Promêtheus upon Zeus respecting the partition of the victim — and the final formation and sending of Pandôra — which are the two most marked portions of the Hesiodic story; while on the other hand he brings out prominently and enlarges upon the theft of fire,<sup>3</sup> which in Hesiod is but slightly touched. If he has thus relinquished the antique simplicity of the story, he has rendered more than ample compensation by imparting to it a grandeur of *idéa*, a large reach of thought combined with appeals to our earnest and admiring sympathy, and a pregnancy of suggestion in regard to the relations between the gods and man, which soar far above the Hesiodic level — and which render his tragedy the most impressive, though not the most artistically composed, of all Grecian dramatic productions. Promêtheus there appears not only as the heroic champion and sufferer in the cause and for the protection of the human race, but also as the gifted teacher of all the arts, helps, and ornaments of life, amongst which fire is only one: all this against the will and in defiance of the purpose of Zeus, who, on acquiring his empire, wished to destroy the human race and to

<sup>1</sup> Theog. 521-532.

<sup>2</sup> Of the tragedy called Προμηθεὺς Ἀνόμενος some few fragments yet remain: Προμηθεὺς Πύρφορος was a satyric drama, according to Dindorf Welcker recognizes a third tragedy, Προμηθεὺς Πύρφορος, and a satyric drama, Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς (Die Griechisch. Tragödien, vol. i. p. 30). The story of Promêtheus had also been handled by Sapphō in one of her lost songs (Servius ad Virgil. Eclog. vi. 42).

<sup>3</sup> Apollodōrus too mentions only the theft of fire (i. 7. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Æsch. Prom. 442-506.—

Πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως.

beget some new breed.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, new relations between Prometheus and Zeus are superadded by Æschylus. At the commencement of the struggle between Zeus and the Titan gods, Prometheus had vainly attempted to prevail upon the latter to conduct it with prudence; but when he found that they obstinately declined all wise counsel, and that their ruin was inevitable, he abandoned their cause and joined Zeus. To him and to his advice Zeus owed the victory: yet the monstrous ingratitude and tyranny of the latter is now manifested by nailing him to a rock, for no other crime than because he frustrated the purpose of extinguishing the human race, and furnished to them the means of living with tolerable comfort.<sup>2</sup> The new ruler Zeus, insolent with his victory over the old gods, tramples down all right, and sets at naught sympathy and obligation, as well towards gods as towards man. Yet the prophetic Prometheus, in the midst of intense suffering, is consoled by the foreknowledge that the time will come when Zeus must again send for him, release him, and invoke his aid, as the sole means of averting from himself dangers otherwise insurmountable. The security and means of continuance for mankind have now been placed beyond the reach of Zeus — whom Prometheus proudly defies, glorying in his generous and successful championship,<sup>3</sup> despite the terrible price which he is doomed to pay for it.

As the Æschylean Prometheus, though retaining the old lineaments, has acquired a new coloring, soul and character, so he has also become identified with a special locality. In Hesiod, there is no indication of the place in which he is imprisoned; but Æschylus places it in Scythia,<sup>4</sup> and the general belief of the Greeks supposed it to be on Mount Caucasus. So long and so firmly did

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. Prom. 231.—

βροτῶν δὲ τῶν ταλαιπῶρων λόγον  
οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδέν', ἀλλ' αἰσιώσας γένος  
τὸ πᾶν, ἔχρηξεν ἄλλο φεῦσαι νέον.

<sup>2</sup> Æsch. Prom. 198—222. 123.—

διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Æsch. Prom. 169—770.

<sup>4</sup> Prometh. 2. See also the Fragments of the Prometheus Solutus, 177—179, ed. Dindorf, where Caucasus is specially named; but v. 719 of the Prometheus Vincitus seems to imply that Mount Caucasus is a place different from that to which the suffering prisoner is chained.

this belief continue, that the Roman general Pompey, when in command of an army in Kolchis, made with his companion, the literary Greek Theophrastus, a special march to view the spot in Caucasus where Prometheus had been transfixed.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER IV.

### HEROIC LEGENDS.—GENEALOGY OF ARGOS.

HAVING briefly enumerated the gods of Greece, with their chief attributes as described in legend, we come to those genealogies which connected them with historical men.

In the retrospective faith of a Greek, the ideas of worship and ancestry coalesced. Every association of men, large or small, in whom there existed a feeling of present union, traced back that union to some common initial progenitor; that progenitor being either the common god whom they worshipped, or some semi-divine person closely allied to him. What the feelings of the community require is, a continuous pedigree to connect them with this respected source of existence, beyond which they do not think of looking back. A series of names, placed in filiation or fraternity, together with a certain number of family or personal adventures ascribed to some of the individuals among them, constitute the ante-historical past through which the Greek looks back to his gods. The names of this genealogy are, to a great degree, gentile or local names familiar to the people,—rivers, mountains, springs, lakes, villages, demes, etc.,—embodied as persons, and introduced as acting or suffering. They are moreover called kings or chiefs, but the existence of a body of subjects surrounding them is tacitly implied rather than distinctly set forth; for their own personal exploits or family proceedings constitute for the most part the whole matter of narrative. And thus the gene-

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<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. Mithridat.* c. 103.

alogy was made to satisfy at once the appetite of the Greeks for romantic adventure, and their demand for an unbroken line of filiation between themselves and the gods. The eponymous personage, from whom the community derive their name, is sometimes the begotten son of the local god, sometimes an indigenous man sprung from the earth, which is indeed itself divinized.

It will be seen from the mere description of these genealogies that they included elements human and historical, as well as elements divine and extra-historical. And if we could determine the time at which any genealogy was first framed, we should be able to assure ourselves that the men then represented as present, together with their fathers and grandfathers, were real persons of flesh and blood. But this is a point which can seldom be ascertained; moreover, even if it could be ascertained, we must at once set it aside, if we wish to look at the genealogy in the point of view of the Greeks. For to them, not only all the members were alike real, but the gods and heroes at the commencement were in a certain sense the most real; at least, they were the most esteemed and indispensable of all. The value of the genealogy consisted, not in its length, but in its continuity; not (according to the feeling of modern aristocracy) in the power of setting out a prolonged series of human fathers and grandfathers, but in the sense of ancestral union with the primitive god. And the length of the series is traceable rather to humility, inasmuch as the same person who was gratified with the belief that he was descended from a god in the fifteenth generation, would have accounted it criminal insolence to affirm that a god was his father or grandfather. In presenting to the reader those genealogies which constitute the supposed primitive history of Hellas, I make no pretence to distinguish names real and historical from fictitious creations; partly because I have no evidence upon which to draw the line, and partly because by attempting it I should altogether depart from the genuine Grecian point of view.

Nor is it possible to do more than exhibit a certain selection of such as were most current and interesting; for the total number of them which found place in Grecian faith exceeds computation. As a general rule, every deme, every gens, every aggregate of men accustomed to combined action, religious or political, had its own. The small and unimportant demes into which Attica was

divided had each its ancestral god and heroes, just as much as the great Athens herself. Even among the villages of Phokia, which Pausanias will hardly permit himself to call towns, deductions of legendary antiquity were not wanting. And it is important to bear in mind, when we are reading the legendary genealogies of Argos, or Sparta, or Thêbes, that these are merely samples amidst an extensive class, all perfectly analogous, and all exhibiting the religious and patriotic retrospect of some fraction of the Hellenic world. They are no more matter of historical tradition than any of the thousand other legendary genealogies which men delighted to recall to memory at the periodical festivals of their gens, their deme, or their village.

With these few prefatory remarks, I proceed to notice the most conspicuous of the Grecian heroic pedigrees, and first, that of Argos.

The earliest name in Argeian antiquity is that of Inachus, the son of Oceanus and Têthys, who gave his name to the river flowing under the walls of the town. According to the chronological computations of those who regarded the mythical genealogies as substantive history, and who allotted a given number of years to each generation, the reign of Inachus was placed 1986 B. C., or about 1100 years prior to the commencement of the recorded Olympiads.<sup>1</sup>

The sons of Inachus were Phorôneus and Ægialeus; both of whom however were sometimes represented as autochthonous men, the one in the territory of Argos, the other in that of Sikyôn. Ægialeus gave his name to the north-western region of the Peloponnêsus, on the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf.<sup>2</sup> The name of Phorôneus was of great celebrity in the Argeian mythical genealogies, and furnished both the title and the subject of the ancient poem called Phorônîs, in which he is styled "the father of mortal men."<sup>3</sup> He is said to have imparted to

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 1. Mr. Fynes Clinton does not admit the historical reality of Inachus; but he places Phorôneus seventeen generations, or 570 years prior to the Trojan war, 978 years earlier than the first recorded Olympiad. See *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. c. 1. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 5, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Düntzer, *Fragm. Epic. Græc.* p. 57. The Argeian author *Akusilaos*, treated Phorôneus as the first of men, *Fragm.* 14. Didot ap. Clem. Alex.

mankind, who had before him lived altogether isolated, the first notion and habits of social existence, and even the first knowledge of fire: his dominion extended over the whole Peloponnésus. His tomb at Argos, and seemingly also the place called the Phorôníc city, in which he formed the first settlement of mankind, were still shown in the days of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> The offspring of Phorôneus, by the nymph Teledikê, were Apis and Niobé. Apis, a harsh ruler, was put to death by Thélxiôn and Telchin, having given to Peloponnésus the name of Apia;<sup>2</sup> he was succeeded by Argos, the son of his sister Niobé by the god Zeus. From this sovereign Peloponnésus was denominated Argos. By his wife Evadnê, daughter of Strymôn,<sup>3</sup> he had four sons, Ekbasus, Peiras, Epidaurus, and Kriasus. Ekbasus was succeeded by his son Agênôr, and he again by his son Argos Panoptês,—a

Stromat. i. p. 321. Φορωνήες, a synonym for Argeians; Theocrit. Idyll. xxv. 200.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 1, 1; Pausan. ii. 15, 5; 19, 5; 20, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Apis in Æschylus is totally different: *λατρόμαντις* or medical charmer, son of Apollo, who comes across the gulf from Naupactus, purifies the territory of Argos from noxious monsters, and gives to it the name of Apia (Æschyl. Suppl. 265). Compare Steph. Byz. v. 'Απίη; Soph. Œdip. Colon. 1303. The name 'Απίε for Peloponnésus remains still a mystery, even after the attempt of Buttmann (Lexilogus, s. 19) to throw light upon it.

Eusebius asserts that Niobé was the wife of Inachus and mother of Phorôneus, and pointedly contradicts those who call her daughter of Phorôneus — *φασὶ δὲ τινες Νιόβην Φορωνέως εἶναι θυγατέρα, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀληθές* (Chronicon. p. 23, ed. Scalig.): his positive tone is curious, upon such a matter.

Hellanicus in his Argolica stated that Phorôneus had three sons, Pelasgus, Iasus and Agênôr, who at the death of their father divided his possessions by lot. Pelasgus acquired the country near the river Erasinus, and built the citadel of Larissa: Iasus obtained the portion near to Elis. After their decease, the younger brother Agênôr invaded and conquered the country, at the head of a large body of horse. It was from these three persons that Argos derived three epithets which are attached to it in the Homeric poems — 'Αργος Πελασγικὸν, 'Ιασσον, 'Ιππόβοτον (Hellanic. Fr. 38, ed. Didot; Phavorin. v. 'Αργος). This is a specimen of the way in which legendary persons as well as legendary events were got up to furnish an explanation of Homeric epithets: we may remark as singular, that Hellanicus seems to apply Πελασγικὸν 'Αργος to a portion of Peloponnésus, while the Homeric Catalogue applies it to Thessaly.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. l. c. The mention of Strymôn seems connected with Æschylus. Suppl. 255.

very powerful prince who is said to have had eyes distributed over all his body, and to have liberated Peloponnésus from several monsters and wild animals which infested it:<sup>1</sup> Akusilaus and Æschylus make this Argos an earth-born person, while Pherekydês reports him as son of Arestôr. Iasus was the son of Argos Panoptês by Ismênê, daughter of Asôpus. According to the authors whom Apollodôrus and Pausanias prefer, the celebrated Iô was his daughter: but the Hesiodic epic (as well as Akusilaus) represented her as daughter of Peiras, while Æschylus and Kastor the chronologist affirmed the primitive king Inachus to have been her father.<sup>2</sup> A favorite theme, as well for the ancient genealogical poets as for the Attic tragedians, were the adventures of Iô, of whom, while priestess of Hêrê, at the ancient and renowned Hêræon between Mykênæ and Argos, Zeus became amorous. When Hêrê discovered the intrigue and taxed him with it, he denied the charge, and metamorphosed Iô into a white cow. Hêrê, requiring that the cow should be surrendered to her, placed her under the keeping of Argos Panoptês; but this guardian was slain by Hermês, at the command of Zeus: and Hêrê then drove the cow Iô away from her native land by means of the incessant stinging of a gad-fly, which compelled her to wander without repose or sustenance over an immeasurable extent of foreign regions. The wandering Iô gave her name to the Ionian Gulf, traversed Epirus and Illyria, passed the chain of Mount Hæmus and the lofty summits of Caucasus, and swam across the Thracian or Cimmerian Bosphorus (which also from her derived its appellation) into Asia. She then went through Scythia, Cimmeria, and many Asiatic regions, until she arrived in Egypt, where Zeus at length bestowed upon her rest, restored her to her original form, and enabled her to give birth to his black son Epaphos.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Akusil. Fragm. 17, ed. Didot; Æsch. Prometh. 568; Pherekyd. Fragm. 22, ed. Didot; Hesiod. Ægimius. Fr. 2, p. 56, ed. Düntzer: among the varieties of the story, one was that Argos was changed into a peacock (Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 102). Macrobius (l. 19) considers Argos as an allegorical expression of the starry heaven; an idea which Panofska also upholds in one of the recent Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy, 1837, p. 121 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. ii. 1, 1; Pausan. ii. 16, 1; Æsch. Prom. v. 590-663.

<sup>3</sup> Æschyl. Prom. v. 790-850; Apollod. ii. 1. Æschylus in the Supplices



Such is a general sketch of the adventures which the ancient poets, epic, lyric, and tragic, and the logographers after them, connect with the name of the Argeian Iô, — one of the numerous tales which the fancy of the Greeks deduced from the amorous dispositions of Zeus and the jealousy of Hêrê. That the scene should be laid in the Argeian territory appears natural, when we recollect that both Argos and Mykênæ were under the special guardianship of Hêrê, and that the Hêræon between the two was one of the oldest and most celebrated temples in which she was worshipped. It is useful to compare this amusing fiction with the representation reported to us by Herodotus, and derived by him as well from Phœnician as from Persian antiquarians, of the circumstances which occasioned the transit of Iô from Argos to Egypt, — an event recognized by all of them as historical matter of fact. According to the Persians, a Phœnician vessel had arrived at the port near Argos, freighted with goods intended for sale to the inhabitants of the country. After the vessel had remained a few days, and disposed of most of her cargo, several

gives a different version of the wanderings of Iô from that which appears in the *Promêtheus*: in the former drama he carries her through Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Pamphylia and Cilicia into Egypt (*Supplic.* 544-566): nothing is there said about *Promêtheus*, or *Caucasus* or *Scythia*, etc.

The track set forth in the *Supplices* is thus geographically intelligible: that in the *Promêtheus* (though the most noticed of the two) defies all comprehension, even as a consistent fiction; nor has the erudition of the commentators been successful in clearing it up. See *Schutz*, *Excurs. iv. ad Prometh. Vinc.* pp. 144-149; *Welcker*, *Æschylische Trilogie*, pp. 127-146, and especially *Völcker*, *Mythische Geographie der Griech. und Römer*, part i. pp. 3-13.

The Greek inhabitants at Tarsus in Cilicia traced their origin to Argos: their story was, that *Triptolemus* had been sent forth from that town in quest of the wandering Iô, that he had followed her to Tyre, and then renounced the search in despair. He and his companions then settled partly at Tarsus, partly at Antioch (*Strabo*, xiv. 679; xv. 750). This is the story of *Kadmos* and *Europê* inverted, as happens so often with the Grecian mythes.

Homer calls *Hermês* *Ἀργεῖφόντης*; but this epithet hardly affords sufficient proof that he was acquainted with the mythes of Iô, as *Völcker* supposes: it cannot be traced higher than *Hesiod*. According to some authors, whom *Cicero* copies, it was on account of the murder of Argos that *Hermês* was obliged to leave Greece and go into Egypt: then it was that he taught the Egyptians laws and letters (*De Natur. Deor.* iii. 22).

Argæian women, and among them Iô the king's daughter, coming on board to purchase, were seized and carried off by the crew, who sold Iô in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The Phœnician antiquarians, however, while they admitted the circumstance that Iô had left her own country in one of their vessels, gave a different color to the whole by affirming that she emigrated voluntarily, having been engaged in an amour with the captain of the vessel, and fearing that her parents might come to the knowledge of her pregnancy. Both Persians and Phœnicians described the abduction of Iô as the first of a series of similar acts between Greeks and Asiatics, committed each in revenge for the preceding. First came the rape of Eurôpê from Phœnicia by Grecian adventurers, — perhaps, as Herodotus supposed, by Krêtans: next, the abduction of Mêdeia from Kolchis by Jasôn, which occasioned the retaliatory act of Paris, when he stole away Helena from Menelaos. Up to this point the seizures of women by Greeks from Asiatics, and by Asiatics from Greeks, had been equivalents both in number and in wrong. But the Greeks now thought fit to equip a vast conjoint expedition to recover Helen, in the course of which they took and sacked Troy. The invasions of Greece by Darius and Xerxes were intended, according to the Persian antiquarians, as a long-delayed retribution for the injury inflicted on the Asiatics by Agamemnôn and his followers.<sup>2</sup>

The account thus given of the adventures of Iô, when contrasted with the genuine legend, is interesting, as it tends to illus-

<sup>1</sup> The story in Parthênios (Narrat. 1) is built upon this version of Iô's adventures.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 1-6. Pausanias (ii. 15, 1) will not undertake to determine whether the account given by Herodotus, or that of the old legend, respecting the cause which carried Iô from Argos to Egypt, is the true one: Ephorus (ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 168) repeats the abduction of Iô to Egypt, by the Phœnicians, subjoining a strange account of the Etymology of the name Bosphorus. The remarks of Plutarch on the narrative of Herodotus are curious: he adduces as one proof of the *κακότης* (bad feeling) of Herodotus, that the latter inserts so discreditable a narrative respecting Iô, daughter of Inachus, "whom all Greeks believe to have been divinized by foreigners, to have given name to seas and straits, and to be the source of the most illustrious regal families." He also blames Herodotus for rejecting Epaphus, Iô, Iasus and Argos, as highest members of the Perseid-genealogy. He calls Herodotus *φιλοβάρβαρος* (Plutarch, De Malign. Herodoti, c. xi. xii. xiv. pp. 856, 857).

trate the phenomenon which early Grecian history is constantly presenting to us, — the way in which the epical furniture of an unknown past is recast and newly colored so as to meet those changes which take place in the retrospective feelings of the present. The religious and poetical character of the old legend disappears: nothing remains except the names of persons and places, and the voyage from Argos to Egypt: we have in exchange a sober, quasi-historical narrative, the value of which consists in its bearing on the grand contemporary conflicts between Persia and Greece, which filled the imagination of Herodotus and his readers.

To proceed with the genealogy of the kings of Argos, Iasus was succeeded by Krotôpus, son of his brother Agênôr; Krotôpus by Sthenelas, and he again by Gelanôr.<sup>1</sup> In the reign of the latter, Danaos came with his fifty daughters from Egypt to Argos; and here we find another of those romantic adventures which so agreeably decorate the barrenness of the mythical genealogies. Danaos and Ægyptos were two brothers descending from Epaphos, son of Iô: Ægyptos had fifty sons, who were eager to marry the fifty daughters of Danaos, in spite of the strongest repugnance of the latter. To escape such a necessity, Danaos placed his fifty daughters on board of a penteconter (or vessel with fifty oars) and sought refuge at Argos; touching in his voyage at the island of Rhodes, where he erected a statue of Athênê at Lindos, which was long exhibited as a memorial of his

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<sup>1</sup> It would be an unprofitable fatigue to enumerate the multiplied and irreconcilable discrepancies in regard to every step of this old Argæian genealogy. Whoever desires to see them brought together, may consult Schubart, *Questiones in Antiquitatem Heroicam*, Marburg, 1832, capp. 1 and 2.

The remarks which Schnbart makes (p. 35) upon Petit-Radel's Chronological Tables will be assented to by those who follow the unceasing string of contradictions, without any sufficient reason to believe that any one of them is more worthy of trust than the remainder, which he has cited: — "*Videant alii, quomodo genealogias heroicas, et chronologias rationes, in concordiam redigant. Ipse abstineo, probe persuasus, stemmata vera, historię fide comprobata, in systema chronologię redigi posse: at ore per sæcula tradita, a poetis recta, sæpe mutata, prout fabula postulare videbatur, ab historiarum deinde conditoribus restituta, scilicet, brevi, qualia prostant stemmata — chronologię secundum annos distributę vincula semper recusatura esse.*"

passage. *Ægyptos* and his sons followed them to *Argos* and still pressed their suit, to which *Danaos* found himself compelled to assent; but on the wedding night he furnished each of his daughters with a dagger, and enjoined them to murder their husbands during the hour of sleep. His orders were obeyed by all, with the single exception of *Hypermnêstra*, who preserved her husband *Lynkeus*, incurring displeasure and punishment from her father. He afterwards, however, pardoned her; and when, by the voluntary abdication of *Gelanôr*, he became king of *Argos*, *Lynkeus* was recognized as his son-in-law and ultimately succeeded him. The remaining daughters, having been purified by *Athênê* and *Hermês*, were given in marriage to the victors in a gymnastic contest publicly proclaimed. From *Danaos* was derived the name of *Danai*, applied to the inhabitants of the *Argeian* territory,<sup>1</sup> and to the *Homeric* Greeks generally.

From the legend of the *Danaïdes* we pass to two barren names of kings, *Lynkeus* and his son *Abas*. The two sons of *Abas* were *Akrisios* and *Proetos*, who, after much dissension, divided between them the *Argeian* territory; *Akrisios* ruling at *Argos*, and *Proetos* at *Tiryns*. The families of both formed the theme of romantic stories. To pass over for the present the legend of *Bellerophôn*, and the unrequited passion which the wife of *Proetos* conceived for him, we are told that the daughters of *Proetos*, beautiful, and solicited in marriage by suitors from all Greece, were smitten with leprosy and driven mad, wandering in unseemly guise throughout *Peloponnêsus*. The visitation had overtaken them, according to *Hesiod*, because they refused to take part in the *Bacchic* rites; according to *Pherekydês* and the *Argeian* *Akusilaos*,<sup>2</sup> because they had treated scornfully the wooden statue

<sup>1</sup> *Apollod.* ii. 1. The *Supplikes* of *Æschylus* is the commencing drama of a trilogy on this subject of the *Danaïdes*, — *Isakides*, *Alkyonides*, *Danaides*. Welcker, *Griechisch. Tragödien*, vol. i. p. 48: the two latter are lost. The old epic poem called *Danaï* or *Danaïdes*, which is mentioned in the *Tabula Iliaca* as containing 5000 verses, has perished, and is unfortunately very little alluded to: see *Düntzer*, *Epic. Græc. Fragm.* p. 3; Welcker, *Der Episch. Kyklus*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Apollod.* i. c.; *Pherekyd.* ap. *Schol. Hom. Odys.* xv. 225; *Hesiod.* *Fragm. Marktsch.* Fr. 36, 37, 38. These fragments belong to the *Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*: *Apollodôrus* seems to refer to some other of the numerous *Hesiodic* poems. *Diodôrus* (iv. 68) assigns the anger of *Dionysos* as the cause.

and simple equipments of Hêrê: the religious character of the old legend here displays itself in a remarkable manner. Unable to cure his daughters, Prœtos invoked the aid of the renowned Pylian prophet and leech, Melampus son of Amythaôn, who undertook to remove the malady on condition of being rewarded with the third part of the kingdom. Prœtos indignantly refused these conditions: but the state of his daughters becoming aggravated and intolerable, he was compelled again to apply to Melampus; who, on the second request, raised his demands still higher, and required another third of the kingdom for his brother Bias. These terms being acceded to, he performed his part of the covenant. He appeased the wrath of Hêrê by prayer and sacrifice; or, according to another account, he approached the deranged women at the head of a troop of young men, with shouting and ecstatic dance, — the ceremonies appropriate to the Bacchic worship of Dionysos, — and in this manner effected their cure. Melampus, a name celebrated in many different Grecian mythes, is the legendary founder and progenitor of a great and long-continued family of prophets. He and his brother Bias became kings of separate portions of the Argeian territory: he is recognized as ruler there even in the *Odyssey*, and the prophet Theoklymenos, his grandson, is protected and carried to Ithaca by Telemachus.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus also alludes to the cure of the women, and to the double kingdom of Melampus and Bias in the Argeian land: he recognizes Melampus as the first person who introduced to the knowledge of the Greeks the name and worship of Dionysos, with its appropriate sacrifices and phallic processions. Here again he historicizes various features of the old legend in a manner not unworthy of notice.<sup>2</sup>

But Danaë, the daughter of Akrisios, with her son Perseus

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* xv. 240-256.

<sup>2</sup> *Herod.* ix. 34; ii. 49: compare *Pausan.* ii. 18, 4. Instead of the Proetides, or daughters of Prœtos, it is the Argeian women generally whom he represents Melampus as having cured, and the Argeians generally who send to Pylus to invoke his aid: the heroic personality which pervades the primitive story has disappeared.

Kallimachus notices the Proetid virgins as the parties suffering from madness, but he treats Artemis as the healing influence (*Hymn. ad Dianam*, 235).

acquired still greater celebrity than her cousins the Præetides. An oracle had apprized Akrisios that his daughter would give birth to a son by whose hand he would himself be slain. To guard against this danger, he imprisoned Danaë in a chamber of brass under ground. But the god Zeus had become amorous of her, and found means to descend through the roof in the form of a shower of gold: the consequence of his visits was the birth of Perseus. When Akrisios discovered that his daughter had given existence to a son, he enclosed both the mother and the child in a coffer, which he cast into the sea.<sup>1</sup> The coffer was carried to the isle of Seriphos, where Diktys, brother of the king Polydektēs, fished it up, and rescued both Danaë and Perseus. The exploits of Perseus, when he grew up, against the three Phorkides or daughters of Phorkys, and the three Gorgons, are among the most marvellous and imaginative in all Grecian legend: they bear a stamp almost Oriental. I shall not here repeat the details of those unparalleled hazards which the special favor of Athênê enabled him to overcome, and which ended in his bringing back from Libya the terrific head of the Gorgon Medusa, endued with the property of turning every one who looked upon it into stone. In his return, he rescued Andromeda, daughter of Kêphens, who had been exposed to be devoured by a sea-monster, and brought her back as his wife. Akrisios trembled to see him after this victorious expedition, and retired into Thessaly to avoid him; but Perseus followed him thither, and having succeeded in calming his apprehensions, became competitor in a gymnastic contest where his grandfather was among the spectators. By an incautious swing of his quoit, he unintentionally struck Akrisios, and caused his death: the predictions of the oracle were thus at last fulfilled. Stung with remorse at the catastrophe, and unwilling to return to Argos, which had been the principality of Akrisios, Perseus made an exchange with Megapenthês, son of Prætos king of Tiryns. Megapenthês became king of Argos, and Perseus of Tiryns: moreover, the latter founded, within ten miles of Argos, the far-famed city of Mykênæ. The massive walls of this city,

<sup>1</sup> The beautiful fragment of Simonidēs (Fragm. vii. ed. Gaisford. Poet. Min.), describing Danaë and the child thus exposed, is familiar to every classical reader.

like those of Tiryns, of which remains are yet to be seen, were built for him by the Lykian Cyclôpes.<sup>1</sup>

We here reach the commencement of the Perseid dynasty of Mykênæ. It should be noticed, however, that there were among the ancient legends contradictory accounts of the foundation of this city. Both the *Odyssey* and the Great *Eoiai* enumerated, among the heroines, Mykênê, the Eponyma of the city; the former poem classifying her with Tyrô and Alkmênê, the latter describing her as the daughter of Inachus and wife of Arestôr. And Akusilaus mentioned an Eponymus Mykênæus, the son of Spartôn and grandson of Phorôneus.<sup>2</sup>

The prophetic family of Melampus maintained itself in one of the three parts of the divided Argeian kingdom for five generations, down to Amphiaræos and his sons Alkmæôn and Amphilochos. The dynasty of his brother Bias, and that of Megapenthês, son of Prôtos, continued each for four generations: a list of barren names fills up the interval.<sup>3</sup> The Perseids of Mykênæ boasted a descent long and glorious, heroic as well as historical, continuing down to the last sovereigns of Sparta.<sup>4</sup> The issue of Perseus was numerous: his son Alkæos was father of Amphitryôn; another of his sons, Elektryôn, was father of Alkmênê;<sup>5</sup> a third, Sthenelos, father of Eurystheus.

After the death of Perseus, Alkæos and Amphitryôn dwelt at Tiryns. The latter became engaged in a quarrel with Elektryôn

<sup>1</sup> Pans. ii. 15, 4; ii. 16, 5. Apollod. ii. 2. Pherekyd. Fragm. 26, Dind.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. ii. 120. Hesiod. Fragment. 154. Marktscheff. — Akusil. Fragm. 16. Pausan. ii. 16, 4. Hekataeus derived the name of the town from the *μύκης* of the sword of Persens (Fragm. 360, Dind.). The Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 1247, mentions Mykênæus as son of Spartôn, but grandson of Phêgeus the brother of Phorôneus.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 18, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. vi. 53.

<sup>5</sup> In the Hesiodic Shield of Hêraklês, Alkmênê is distinctly mentioned as daughter of Elektryôn; the genealogical poet, Asios, called her the daughter of Amphiaræos and Eriphyle (Asii Fragm. 4, ed. Markt. p. 412). The date of Asios cannot be precisely fixed; but he may be probably assigned to an epoch between the 30th and 40th Olympiad.

Asios must have adopted a totally different legend respecting the birth of Hêraklês and the circumstances preceding it, among which the deaths of her father and brothers are highly influential. Nor could he have accepted the received chronology of the sieges of Thêbes and Troy.

respecting cattle, and in a fit of passion killed him:<sup>1</sup> moreover the piratical Taphians from the west coast of Akarnania invaded the country, and slew the sons of Elektryôn, so that Alkmênê alone was left of that family. She was engaged to wed Amphitryôn; but she bound him by oath not to consummate the marriage until he had avenged upon the Téléboæ the death of her brothers. Amphitryôn, compelled to flee the country as the murderer of his uncle, took refuge in Thêbes, whither Alkmênê accompanied him: Sthenelos was left in possession of Tiryns. The Kadmeians of Thêbes, together with the Locrians and Phocians, supplied Amphitryôn with troops, which he conducted against the Téléboæ and the Taphians:<sup>2</sup> yet he could not have subdued them without the aid of Komæthô, daughter of the Taphian king Pterelaus, who conceived a passion for him, and cut off from her father's head the golden lock to which Poseidôn had attached the gift of immortality.<sup>3</sup> Having conquered and expelled his enemies, Amphitryôn returned to Thêbes, impatient to consummate his marriage: but Zeus on the wedding-night assumed his form and visited Alkmênê before him: he had determined to produce from her a son superior to all his prior offspring, — "a specimen of invincible force both to gods and men."<sup>4</sup> At the proper time, Alkmênê was delivered of twin sons: Hêraklês the offspring of Zeus, — the inferior and unhonored Iphiklês, offspring of Amphitryôn.<sup>5</sup>

When Alkmênê was on the point of being delivered at Thêbes, Zeus publicly boasted among the assembled gods, at the instigation of the mischief-making Atê, that there was on that day about

<sup>1</sup> So runs the old legend in the Hesiodic Shield of Hêraklês (12-82). Apollodôrus (or Pherekydês, whom he follows) softens it down, and represents the death of Elektryôn as accidentally caused by Amphitryôn. (Apollod. ii. 4, 6. Pherekydês, Fragm. 27, Dind.)

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Scut. Herc. 24. Theocrit. Idyll. xxiv. 4. Teleboas, the Eponym of these marauding people, was son of Poseidôn (Anaximander ap. Athenæ. xi. p. 498).

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. ii. 4, 7. Compare the fable of Nisus at Megara, *infra*, chap. xii. p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod, Scut. Herc. 29. δόρα θεοῖσιν Ἀνδράσι τ' ἀλφειοῦσιν ἄρ' ἑλκτῆρα φρενέσιν.

<sup>5</sup> Hesiod. Sc. H. 50-56.



to be born on earth, from his breed, a son who should rule over all his neighbors. Hērē treated this as an empty boast, calling upon him to bind himself by an irremissible oath that the prediction should be realized. Zeus incautiously pledged his solemn word; upon which Hērē darted swiftly down from Olympus to the Achaic Argos, where the wife of Sthenelos (son of Perseus, and therefore grandson of Zeus) was already seven months gone with child. By the aid of the Eileithyiaē, the special goddesses of parturition, she caused Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelos, to be born before his time on that very day, while she retarded the delivery of Alkmēnē. Then returning to Olympus, she announced the fact to Zeus: "The good man Eurystheus, son of the Perseid Sthenelos, is this day born of thy loins: the sceptre of the Argeians worthily belongs to him." Zeus was thunderstruck at the consummation which he had improvidently bound himself to accomplish. He seized Atē his evil counsellor by the hair, and hurled her forever away from Olympus: but he had no power to avert the ascendancy of Eurystheus and the servitude of Hēraklēs. "Many a pang did he suffer, when he saw his favorite son going through his degrading toil in the tasks imposed upon him by Eurystheus."<sup>1</sup>

The legend, of unquestionable antiquity, here transcribed from the *Iliad*, is one of the most pregnant and characteristic in the Grecian mythology. It explains, according to the religious ideas familiar to the old epic poets, both the distinguishing attributes and the endless toil and endurances of Hēraklēs,—the most renowned and most ubiquitous of all the semi-divine personages worshipped by the Hellēnes,—a being of irresistible force, and especially beloved by Zeus, yet condemned constantly to labor for others and to obey the commands of a worthless and cowardly persecutor. His recompense is reserved to the close of his career; when his afflicting trials are brought to a close: he is then admitted to the godhead and receives in marriage Hēbē.<sup>2</sup> The

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Homer, *Iliad*, xix. 90-133; also viii. 361. —

Τὴν αἰεὶ στενάχεσθ', ὅθ' ἐὼν φίλον υἷον ὄρωτο  
Ἔργον ἀεικέλς ἔχοντα, ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως ἀέθλων.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 951, *τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους.* Hom. *Odys.* xi. 620; Hesiod, *Eosm.* *Fragm.* 24, Düntzer, p. 36, *πονηρότατον καὶ ἀριστον*

twelve labors, as they are called, too notorious to be here detailed, form a very small fraction of the exploits of this mighty being, which filled the Hêrakteian epics of the ancient poets. He is found not only in most parts of Hellas, but throughout all the other regions then known to the Greeks, from Gadès to the river Thermôdôn in the Euxine and to Scythia, overcoming all difficulties and vanquishing all opponents. Distinguished families are everywhere to be traced who bear his patronymic, and glory in the belief that they are his descendants. Among Achæans, Kadmeians, and Dôrians, Hêrâklês is venerated: the latter especially treat him as their principal hero, — the Patron Hero-God of the race: the Hêrakteids form among all Dôrians a privileged gens, in which at Sparta the special lineage of the two kings was included.

His character lends itself to mythes countless in number as well as disparate in their character. The irresistible force remains constant, but it is sometimes applied with reckless violence against friends as well as enemies, sometimes devoted to the relief of the oppressed. The comic writers often brought him out as a coarse and stupid glutton, while the Athênian philosopher Prodikos, without at all distorting the type, extracted from it the simple, impressive, and imperishable apologue still known as the Choice of Hercules.

After the death and apotheosis of Hêrâklês, his son Hyllos and his other children were expelled and persecuted by Eurystheus: the fear of his vengeance deterred both the Trachinian king Kêyx and the Thêbans from harboring them, and the Athênians alone were generous enough to brave the risk of offering them shelter. Eurystheus invaded Attica, but perished in the attempt by the hand of Hyllos, or by that of Iolaos, the old companion and nephew of Hêrâklês.<sup>1</sup> The chivalrous courage which the Athênians had on this occasion displayed in behalf of oppressed innocence, was a favorite theme for subsequent eulogy by Attic poets and orators.

All the sons of Eurystheus lost their lives in the battle along with him, so that the Perseid family was now represented only by the Hêrakteids, who collected an army and endeavored to

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<sup>1</sup> Apollod. ii. 8, 1; Hecatæ. ap. Longin. c. 27; Diodôr. iv. 57.

recover the possessions from which they had been expelled. The united forces of Îonians, Achæans, and Arcadians, then inhabiting Peloponnêsus, met the invaders at the isthmus, when Hyllos, the eldest of the sons of Hêraklês, proposed that the contest should be determined by a single combat between himself and any champion of the opposing army. It was agreed, that if Hyllos were victorious, the Hêracleids should be restored to their possessions—if he were vanquished, that they should forego all claim for the space of a hundred years, or fifty years, or three generations,—for in the specification of the time, accounts differ. Echemos, the hero of Tegea in Arcadia, accepted the challenge, and Hyllos was slain in the encounter; in consequence of which the Hêracleids retired, and resided along with the Dôrians under the protection of Ægimios, son of Dôrus.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the stipulated period of truce had expired, they renewed their attempt upon Peloponnêsus conjointly with the Dôrians, and with complete success: the great Dôrian establishments of Argos, Sparta, and Messénia were the result. The details of this victorious invasion will be hereafter recounted.

Sikyôn, Phlios, Epidauros, and Trœzen<sup>2</sup> all boasted of respected eponyms and a genealogy of dignified length, not exempt from the usual discrepancies—but all just as much entitled to a place on the tablet of history as the more renowned Æolids or Hêracleids. I omit them here because I wish to impress upon the reader's mind the salient features and character of the legendary world,—not to load his memory with a full list of legendary names.

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ix. 26; Diodôr. iv. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 5, 5; 12, 5; 26, 3. His statements indicate how much the predominance of a powerful neighbor like Argos tended to alter the genealogies of these inferior towns.

## CHAPTER V.

## DEUKALION, HELLEN, AND SONS OF HELLEN.

IN the Hesiodic Theogony, as well as in the "Works and Days," the legend of Promêtheus and Epimêtheus presents an import religious, ethical, and social, and in this sense it is carried forward by Æschylus; but to neither of the characters is any genealogical function assigned. The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women brought both of them into the stream of Grecian legendary lineage, representing Deukaliôn as the son of Promêtheus and Pandôra, and seemingly his wife Pyrrha as daughter of Epimêtheus.<sup>1</sup>

Deukaliôn is important in Grecian mythical narrative under two points of view. First, he is the person specially saved at the time of the general deluge: next, he is the father of Hellên, the great eponym of the Hellenic race; at least this was the more current story, though there were other statements which made Hellên the son of Zeus.

The name of Deukaliôn is originally connected with the Lokrian towns of Kynos and Opus, and with the race of the Leleges, but he appears finally as settled in Thessaly, and ruling in the portion of that country called Phthiôtis.<sup>2</sup> According to what seems to have been the old legendary account, it is the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. ad Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 1085. Other accounts of the genealogy of Deukaliôn are given in the Schol. ad Homer. Odyss. x. 2, on the author ity both of Hesiod and Akusilaus.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiodic Catalog. Fragm. xi.; Gaisf. lxx. Düntzer —

Ἦτοι γὰρ Δοκρὸς Δελέγων ἡγήσατο λαῶν,  
Τούς β'ά ποτε Κρονίδης Ζεὺς, ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδὼς,  
Δεκτοδὲ ἐκ γαίης λάας πόρε Δευκαλίωνι.

The reputed lineage of Deukaliôn continued in Phthia down to the time of Dikæarchus, if we may judge from the old Phthiot Pherekratês, whom he introduced in one of his dialogues as a disputant, and whom he expressly announced as a descendant of Deukaliôn (Cicero, Tuscul. Disp. i. 10).

deluge which transferred him from the one to the other; but according to another statement, framed in more historicizing times, he conducted a body of Kurêtes and Leleges into Thessaly, and expelled the prior Pelasgian occupants.<sup>1</sup>

The enormous iniquity with which earth was contaminated—as Apollodorus says, by the then existing brazen race, or as others say, by the fifty monstrous sons of Lykaôn—provoked Zeus to send a general deluge.<sup>2</sup> An unremitting and terrible rain laid the whole of Greece under water, except the highest mountain-tops, whereon a few stragglers found refuge. Deukalion was saved in a chest or ark, which he had been forewarned by his father Promêtheus to construct. After floating for nine days on the water, he at length landed on the summit of Mount Parnassus. Zeus having sent Hermês to him, promising to grant whatever he asked, he prayed that men and companions might be sent to him in his solitude: accordingly Zeus directed both him and Pyrrha to cast stones over their heads: those cast by Pyrrha became women, those by Deukaliôn men. And thus the “stony race of men” (if we may be allowed to translate an etymology which the Greek language presents exactly, and which has not been disdained by Hesiod, by Pindar, by Epicharmus, and by Virgil) came to tenant the soil of Greece.<sup>3</sup> Deukaliôn

<sup>1</sup> The latter account is given by Dionys. Halic. i. 17; the former seems to have been given by Hellanikus, who affirmed that the ark after the deluge stopped upon Mount Othrys, and not upon Mount Parnassus (Schol. Pind. *ut. sup.*) the former being suitable for a settlement in Thessaly.

Pyrrha is the eponymous heroine of Pyrrhæa or Pyrrha, the ancient name of a portion of Thessaly (Rhianus, *Fragm.* 18. p. 71, ed. Düntzer).

Hellanikus had written a work, now lost, entitled *Δευκαλιώνεια*: all the fragments of it which are cited have reference to places in Thessaly, Lokris and Phokis. See Preller, ad *Hellanitum*, p. 12 (Dörpt. 1840). Probably Hellanikus is the main source of the important position occupied by Deukaliôn in Grecian legend. Thrasybulus and Akestodôrus represented Deukaliôn as having founded the oracle of Dôdôna, immediately after the deluge (Etm. Mag. v. *Δωδωναίος*).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôrus connects this deluge with the wickedness of the brazen race in Hesiod, according to the practice general with the logographers of stringing together a sequence out of legends totally unconnected with each other (i. 7, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Fragm.* 135. ed. Markts. ap. Strabo. vii. p. 322, where the word *λάας*, proposed by Heyne as the reading of the unintelligible text, appears to

on landing from the ark sacrificed a grateful offering to Zeus Phyxios, or the God of escape; he also erected altars in Thessaly to the twelve great gods of Olympus.<sup>1</sup>

The reality of this deluge was firmly believed throughout the historical ages of Greece: the chronologers, reckoning up by genealogies, assigned the exact date of it, and placed it at the same time as the conflagration of the world by the rashness of Phaëton, during the reign of Krotôpas king of Argus, the seventh from Inachus.<sup>2</sup> The meteorological work of Aristotle admits and reasons upon this deluge as an unquestionable fact, though he alters the locality by placing it west of Mount Pindus, near Dôdôna and the river Achelôus.<sup>3</sup> He at the same time treats it as a physical phenomenon, the result of periodical cycles in the atmosphere, thus departing from the religious character of the old legend, which described it as a judgment inflicted by Zeus upon a wicked race. Statements founded upon this event were in circulation throughout Greece even to a very late date. The Megarians affirmed that Megaros, their hero, son of Zeus by a local nymph, had found safety from the waters on the lofty sum-

me preferable to any of the other suggestions. Pindar, Olymp. ix. 47. Ἄρερ δ' Εὐνᾶς ὁμόδαμον Κτησαύσαν λίθινον γόνον. Δαοὶ δ' ὠνόμασθεν. Virgil, Georgic i. 63. "Unde homines nati, durum genus." Epicharmus ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. ix. 56. Hygin. f. 153. Philochorus retained the etymology, though he gave a totally different fable, nowise connected with Deukaliôn, to account for it; a curious proof how pleasing it was to the fancy of the Greek (see Schol. ad Pind. l. c. 68).

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. i. 7, 2. Hellanic. Fragm. 15. Didot. Hellanikus affirmed that the ark rested on Mount Othrys, not on Mount Parnassus (Fragm. 16. Didot). Servius (ad Virgil. Eclog. vi. 41) placed it on Mount Athôs — Hyginus (f. 153) on Mount Ætna.

<sup>2</sup> Tatian adv. Græc. c. 60, adopted both by Clemens and Eusebius. The Parian marble placed this deluge in the reign of Kranaos at Athens, 752 years before the first recorded Olympiad, and 1528 years before the Christian æra; Apollodôrus also places it in the reign of Kranaos, and in that of Nyctimus in Arcadia (iii. 8, 2; 14, 5).

The deluge and the *ekpyrosis* or conflagration are connected together also in Servius ad Virgil. Bucol. vi. 41: he refines both of them into a "mutationem temporum."

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Meteorol. i. 14. Justin rationalizes the fable by telling us that Deukaliôn was king of Thessaly, who provided shelter and protection to the fugitives from the deluge (ii. 6, 11)

mit of their mountain Geraneia, which had not been completely submerged. And in the magnificent temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens, a cavity in the earth was shown, through which it was affirmed that the waters of the deluge had retired. Even in the time of Pausanias, the priests poured into this cavity holy offerings of meal and honey.<sup>1</sup> In this, as in other parts of Greece, the idea of the Deukalionian deluge was blended with the religious impressions of the people and commemorated by their sacred ceremonies.

The offspring of Deukaliôn and Pyrrha were two sons, Hellên and Amphiktyôn, and a daughter, Prôtogeneia, whose son by Zeus was Aëthlius: it was however maintained by many, that Hellên was the son of Zeus and not of Deukaliôn. Hellên had by a nymph three sons, Dôrus, Xuthus, and Æolus. He gave to those who had been before called Greeks,<sup>2</sup> the name of Hellenênes, and partitioned his territory among his three children. Æolus reigned in Thessaly; Xuthus received Peloponnêsus, and had by Creûsa as his sons, Achæus and Iôn; while Dôrus occupied the country lying opposite to the Peloponnêsus, on the northern side of the Corinthian Gulf. These three gave to the inhabitants of their respective countries the names of Æolians, Achæans and Iônians, and Dôrians.<sup>3</sup>

Such is the genealogy as we find it in Apollodôrus. In so far as the names and filiation are concerned, many points in it are given differently, or implicitly contradicted, by Euripidês and other writers. Though as literal and personal history it deserves

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 18, 7; 40, 1. According to the Parian marble (s. 5), Deukaliôn had come to Athens after the deluge, and had there himself founded the temple of the Olympian Zeus. The etymology and allegorization of the names of Deukaliôn and Pyrrha, given by Völcker in his ingenious *Mythologie des Iapetischen Geschlechts* (Giessen, 1824), p. 343, appears to me not at all convincing.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the statement of Apollodôrus (i. 7, 3); but I cannot bring myself to believe that the name (*Ἑλλῆνες*) Greeks is at all old in the legend, or that the passage of Hesiod, in which Græcus and Latinus purport to be mentioned, is genuine.

See Hesiod, *Theogon.* 1013. and *Catalog. Fragm.* xxix. ed. Götting. with the note of Götting; also Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterth.* i. l. p. 311, and Bernhardt, *Griech. Literat.* vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. i. 7, 4.

no notice, its import is both intelligible and comprehensive. It expounds and symbolizes the first fraternal aggregation of Hellenic men, together with their territorial distribution and the institutions which they collectively venerated.

There were two great holding-points in common for every section of Greeks. One was the Amphiktyonic assembly, which met half-yearly, alternately at Delphi and at Thermopylæ; originally and chiefly for common religious purposes, but indirectly and occasionally embracing political and social objects along with them. The other was, the public festivals or games, of which the Olympic came first in importance; next, the Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian, — institutions which combined religious solemnities with recreative effusion and hearty sympathies, in a manner so imposing and so unparalleled. Amphiktyôn represents the first of these institutions, and Aëthlius the second. As the Amphiktyonic assembly was always especially connected with Thermopylæ and Thessaly, Amphiktyôn is made the son of the Thesalian Deukaliôn; but as the Olympic festival was nowise locally connected with Deukaliôn, Aëthlius is represented as having Zeus for his father, and as touching Deukaliôn only through the maternal line. It will be seen presently, that the only matter predicated respecting Aëthlius is, that he settled in the territory of Elis, and begat Endymiên: this brings him into local contact with the Olympic games, and his function is then ended.

Having thus got Hellas as an aggregate with its main cementing forces, we march on to its subdivision into parts, through Æolus, Dôrus and Xuthus, the three sons of Hellen; <sup>1</sup> a distribution which is far from being exhaustive: nevertheless, the genealogists whom Apollodôrus follows recognize no more than three sons.

The genealogy is essentially post-Homeric; for Homer knows Hellas and the Hellênes only in connection with a portion of

<sup>1</sup> How literally and implicitly even the ablest Greeks believed in eponymous persons, such as Hellên and Iôn, as the real progenitors of the races called after him, may be seen by this, that Aristotle gives this common descent as the definition of γένος (Metaphysic. iv. p. 118, Brandis):—

Γένος λέγεται, τὸ μὲν . . . . . τὸ δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ὡς πρῶτον κινήσαντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ λέγονται οἱ μὲν, Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ, Ἴωνες· τῶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἴωνος, εἶναι πρῶτον γεννήσαντος.



Achaia Phthiôtis. But as it is recognized in the Hesiodic Catalogue<sup>1</sup>—composed probably within the first century after the commencement of recorded Olympiads, or before 676 B. C.—the peculiarities of it, dating from so early a period, deserve much attention. We may remark, first, that it seems to exhibit to us Dôrus and Æolus as the only pure and genuine offspring of Hellên. For their brother Xuthus is not enrolled as an eponymus; he neither founds nor names any people; it is only his sons Achæus and Iôn, after his blood has been mingled with that of the Erechtheid Kreüsa, who become eponyms and founders, each of his own separate people. Next, as to the territorial distribution, Xuthus receives Peloponnêsus from his father, and unites himself with Attica (which the author of this genealogy seems to have conceived as originally unconnected with Hellên) by his marriage with the daughter of the indigenous hero, Erechtheus. The issue of this marriage, Achæus and Iôn, present to us the population of Peloponnêsus and Attica conjointly as related among themselves by the tie of brotherhood, but as one degree more distant both from Dôrians and Æolians. Æolus reigns over the regions about Thessaly, and called the people in those parts Æolians; while Dôrus occupies “the country over against Peloponnêsus on the opposite side of the Corinthian Gulf,” and calls the inhabitants after himself, Dôrians.<sup>2</sup> It is at once evident that

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Fragm.* 8. p. 278, ed. Marktsch.—

Ἑλλήνος δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστόπολοι βασιλῆες  
Δῶρός τε, Ξοῦθός τε, καὶ Αἰολὸς ἱπποχάρμης  
Αἰολίδαι δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστόπολοι βασιλῆες  
Κρηθεὺς ἡδ' Ἀθάμας καὶ Σίσυφος αἰολομήτης  
Σαλμωνεύς τ' ἄδικος καὶ ὑπέρθυμος Περιήρης.

<sup>2</sup> *Apollod.* i. 7, 3. Ἑλλήνος δὲ καὶ Νύμφης Ὀρσῆϊδος (\*), Δῶρος, Ξοῦθος, Αἰολός. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς καλουμένους Γραικοὺς προσηγόρευσεν Ἑλλήνας, τοῖς δὲ παῖσιν ἐμέρισε τὴν χώραν. Καὶ Ξοῦθος μὲν λαβὼν τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος Ἀχαιὼν ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες καλοῦνται. Δῶρος δὲ, τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου λαβὼν, τοὺς κατοίκους ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Δωριεῖς ἐκάλεσεν. Αἰολός δὲ, βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ Θετταλίαν τόπων, τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Αἰολεῖς προσηγόρευσε.

Strabo (viii. p. 383) and Conôn (Narr. 27), who evidently copy from the same source, represent Dôrus as going to settle in the territory properly known as Dôris.

this designation is in no way applicable to the confined district between Parnassus and Ceta, which alone is known by the name of Dôris, and its inhabitants by that of Dôrians, in the historical ages. In the view of the author of this genealogy, the Dôrians are the original occupants of the large range of territory north of the Corinthian Gulf, comprising Ætôlia, Phôkis, and the territory of the Ozolian Lokrians. And this farther harmonizes with the other legend noticed by Apollodôrus, when he states that Ætolus, son of Endymniôn, having been forced to expatriate from Peloponnêsus, crossed into the Kurêtid territory,<sup>1</sup> and was there hospitably received by Dôrus, Laodokus and Polypoetês, sons of Apollo and Phthia. He slew his hosts, acquired the territory, and gave to it the name of Ætôlia: his son Pleurôn married Xanthippê, daughter of Dôrus; while his other son, Kalydôn, marries Æolia, daughter of Amythaôn. Here again we have the name of Dôrus, or the Dôrians, connected with the tract subsequently termed Ætôlia. That Dôrus should in one place be called the son of Apollo and Phthia, and in another place the son of Hellên by a nymph, will surprise no one accustomed to the fluctuating personal nomenclature of these old legends: moreover the name of Phthia is easy to reconcile with that of Hellên, as both are identified with the same portion of Thessaly, even from the days of the Iliad.

This story, that the Dôrians were at one time the occupants, or the chief occupants, of the range of territory between the river Achelôus and the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, is at least more suitable to the facts attested by historical evidence than the legends given in Herodotus, who represents the Dôrians as originally in the Phthiôtid; then as passing under Dôrus, the son of Hellên, into the Histiaëtîd, under the mountains of Ossa and Olympus; next, as driven by the Kadmeians into the regions of Pindus; from thence passing into the Dryopid territory, on Mount Ceta; lastly, from thence into Peloponnêsus.<sup>2</sup> The received

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. i. 7, 6. Αἰτωλὸς . . . . .φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Κουρητίδα χώραν, κτείνας τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους Φθίας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος υἱοὺς, Δῶρον καὶ Λαόδοκον καὶ Πολυποίτην, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν Αἰτωλίαν ἐκάλεσε. Again, i. 8, 1. Πλεῶρων (son of Ætôlus) γήμας Ξανθίππην τὴν Δῶρου, παῖδα ἐγέννησεν Ἀγήνορα.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 56.

story was, that the great Dorian establishments in Peloponnēsus were formed by invasion from the north, and that the invaders crossed the gulf from Naupaktus, — a statement which, however disputable with respect to Argos, seems highly probable in regard both to Sparta and Messēnia. That the name of Dorians comprehended far more than the inhabitants of the insignificant tetrapolis of Dōris Proper, must be assumed, if we believe that they conquered Sparta and Messēnia: both the magnitude of the conquest itself, and the passage of a large portion of them from Naupaktus, harmonize with the legend as given by Apollodōrus, in which the Dorians are represented as the principal inhabitants of the northern shore of the gulf. The statements which we find in Herodotus, respecting the early migrations of the Dorians, have been considered as possessing greater historical value than those of the fabulist Apollodōrus. But both are equally matter of legend, while the brief indications of the latter seem to be most in harmony with the facts which we afterwards find attested by history.

It has already been mentioned that the genealogy which makes Æolus, Xuthus and Dōrus sons of Hellēn, is as old as the Hesiodic Catalogue; probably also that which makes Hellēn son of Deukaliōn. Aëthlius also is an Hesiodic personage: whether Amphiktyōn be so or not, we have no proof.<sup>1</sup> They could not have been introduced into the legendary genealogy until after the Olympic games and the Amphiktyonic council had acquired an

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<sup>1</sup> Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv. 57. Τὸν δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα Ἡσίοδος μὲν Ἀεθλίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλῆκης παῖδα λέγει . . . . . Καὶ Πείσανδρος δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φησι, καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος, καὶ Φερεκύδης, καὶ Νικάνδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτωλικῶν, καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Ἐποποιίαις.

Respecting the parentage of Hellēn, the references to Hesiod are very confused. Compare Schol. Homer. Odys. x. 2, and Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iii. 1086. See also Hellanic. Frag. 10. Didot.

Apollodōrus, and Pherekydēs before him (Frag. 51. Didot), called Protōgeneia daughter of Deukaliōn; Pindar (Olymp. ix. 64) designated her as daughter of Opus. One of the stratagems mentioned by the Scholiast to get rid of this genealogical discrepancy was, the supposition that Deukaliōn had two names (διώνυμος); that he was also named Opus. (Schol. Pind. Olymp. ix. 85).

That the Deukalidæ or posterity of Deukaliōn reigned in Thessaly, was mentioned both by Hesiod and Hekataeus, ap. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv. 265.

established ascendancy and universal reverence throughout Greece.

Respecting Dôrus the son of Hellên, we find neither legends nor legendary genealogy; respecting Xuthus, very little beyond the tale of Kreüsa and Iôn, which has its place more naturally among the Attic fables. Achæus however, who is here represented as the son of Xuthus, appears in other stories with very different parentage and accompaniments. According to the statement which we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Achæus, Phthius and Pelasgus are sons of Poseidôn and Larissa. They migrate from Peloponnêsus into Thessaly, and distribute the Thessalian territory between them, giving their names to its principal divisions: their descendants in the sixth generation were driven out of that country by the invasion of Deukaliôn at the head of the Kurêtes and the Leleges.<sup>1</sup> This was the story of those who wanted to provide an eponymus for the Achæans in the southern districts of Thessaly: Pausanias accomplishes the same object by different means, representing Achæus, the son of Xuthus as having gone back to Thessaly and occupied the portion of it to which his father was entitled. Then, by way of explaining how it was that there were Achæans at Sparta and at Argos, he tells us that Archander and Architelês, the sons of Archæus, came back from Thessaly to Peloponnêsus, and married two daughters of Danaus: they acquired great influence at Argos and Sparta, and gave to the people the name of Achæans after their father Achæus.<sup>2</sup>

Euripidês also deviates very materially from the Hesiodic

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. H. A. R. i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. vii. 1, 1-3. Herodotus also mentions (ii. 97) Archander, son of Phthius and grandson of Achæus, who married the daughter of Danaus. Larcher (*Essai sur la Chronologie d'Herodote*, ch. x. p. 321) tells us that this cannot be the Danaus who came from Egypt, the father of the fifty daughters, who must have lived two centuries earlier, as may be proved by chronological arguments: this must be another Danaus, according to him.

Strabo seems to give a different story respecting the Achæans in Peloponnêsus: he says that they were the original population of the peninsula, that they came in from Phthia with Pelops, and inhabited Laconia, which was from them called Argos Achaicum, and that on the conquest of the Dôrians, they moved into Achaia properly so called, expelling the Iônians therefrom (Strabo, viii. p. 365). This narrative is, I presume, borrowed from Ephorus

genealogy in respect to these eponymous persons. In the drama called *Iôn*, he describes *Iôn* as son of *Kreüsa* by *Apollo*, but adopted by *Xuthus*: according to him, the real sons of *Xuthus* and *Kreüsa* are *Dôrus* and *Achæus*,<sup>1</sup> — eponyms of the *Dôrians* and *Achæans* in the interior of *Peloponnêsus*. And it is a still more capital point of difference, that he omits *Hellên* altogether — making *Xuthus* an *Achæan* by race, the son of *Æolus*, who is the son of *Zeus*.<sup>2</sup> This is the more remarkable, as in the fragments of two other dramas of *Euripidês*, the *Melanippê* and the *Æolus*, we find *Hellên* mentioned both as father of *Æolus* and son of *Zeus*.<sup>3</sup> To the general public even of the most instructed city of Greece, fluctuations and discrepancies in these mythical genealogies seem to have been neither surprising nor offensive.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ÆOLIDS, OR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ÆOLUS.

IF two of the sons of *Hellên*, *Dôrus* and *Xuthus*, present to us families comparatively unnoticed in mythical narrative, the third son, *Æolus*, richly makes up for the deficiency. From him we pass to his seven sons and five daughters, amidst a great abundance of heroic and poetical incident.

In dealing however with these extensive mythical families, it is necessary to observe, that the legendary world of Greece, in the manner in which it is presented to us, appears invested with a degree of symmetry and coherence which did not originally belong to it. For the old ballads and stories which were sung or

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<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Ion*, 1590.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. *Ion*, 64.

<sup>3</sup> See the Fragments of these two plays in *Matthiæ's* edition; compare *Welcker*, *Griechisch. Tragöd.* v. ii. p. 842. If we may judge from the Fragments of the Latin *Melanippê* of *Ennius* (see *Fragm.* 2, ed. *Bothe*), *Hellên* was introduced as one of the characters of the piece.

recounted at the multiplied festivals of Greece, each on its own special theme, have been lost : the religious narratives, which the Exegêtês of every temple had present to his memory, explanatory of the peculiar religious ceremonies and local customs in his own town or Dême, have passed away : all these primitive elements, originally distinct and unconnected, are removed out of our sight, and we possess only an aggregate result, formed by many confluent streams of fable, and connected together by the agency of subsequent poets and logographers. Even the earliest agents in this work of connecting and systematizing — the Hesiodic poets — have been hardly at all preserved. Our information respecting Grecian mythology is derived chiefly from the prose logographers who followed them, and in whose works, since a continuous narrative was above all things essential to them, the fabulous personages are woven into still more comprehensive pedigrees, and the original isolation of the legends still better disguised. Hekataëus, Pherekydês, Hellanikus, and Akusilaus lived at a time when the idea of Hellas as one great whole, composed of fraternal sections, was deeply rooted in the mind of every Greek ; and when the fancy of one or a few great families, branching out widely from one common stem, was more popular and acceptable than that of a distinct indigenous origin in each of the separate districts. These logographers, indêed, have themselves been lost ; but Apollodôrus and the various scholiasts, our great immediate sources of information respecting Grecian mythology, chiefly borrowed from them : so that the legendary world of Greece is in fact known to us through them, combined with the dramatic and Alexandrine poets, their Latin imitators, and the still later class of scholiasts — except indeed such occasional glimpses as we obtain from the Iliad and the Odyssey, and the remaining Hesiodic fragments, which exhibit but too frequently a hopeless diversity when confronted with the narratives of the logographers.

Though Æolus (as has been already stated) is himself called the son of Hellên along with Dôrus and Xuthus, yet the legends concerning the Æolids, far from being dependent upon this genealogy, are not all even coherent with it : moreover the name of Æolus in the legend is older than that of Hellên, inasmuch as

it occurs both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>1</sup> Odysseus sees in the under-world the beautiful Tyrô, daughter of Salmôneus, and wife of Krêtheus, son of Æolus.

Æolus is represented as having reigned in Thessaly: his seven sons were Krêtheus, Sisyphus, Athamas, Salmôneus, Deïôn, Magnês and Periêrês: his five daughters, Canacê, Alcyonê, Peisidikê, Calycê and Perimêdê. The fables of this race seem to be distinguished by a constant introduction of the god Poseidôn, as well as by an unusual prevalence of haughty and presumptuous attributes among the Æolid heroes, leading them to affront the gods by pretences of equality, and sometimes even by defiance. The worship of Poseidôn must probably have been diffused and preëminent among a people with whom these legends originated.

#### SECTION I.—SONS OF ÆOLUS.

Salmôneus is not described in the *Odyssey* as son of Æolus, but he is so denominated both in the *Hesiodic Catalogue*, and by the subsequent logographers. His daughter Tyrô became enamoured of the river Enipeus, the most beautiful of all streams that traverse the earth: she frequented the banks assiduously, and there the god Poseidôn found means to indulge his passion for her, assuming the character of the river god himself. The fruit of this alliance were the twin brothers, Pelias and Nêleus: Tyrô afterwards was given in marriage to her uncle Krêtheus, another son of Æolus, by whom she had Æsôn, Pherês and Amythaôn—all names of celebrity in the heroic legends.<sup>2</sup> The adventures of Tyro formed the subject of an affecting drama of Sophoklês, now lost. Her father had married a second wife, named Sidêrô, whose cruel counsels induced him to punish and torture his daughter on account of her intercourse with Poseidôn. She was shorn of her magnificent hair, beaten and ill-used in

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 154. Σίσυφος Αιολίδης, etc.

Again *Odys.* xi. 234. —

Ἐνθ' ἦτοι πρῶτην Τυρῶ ἰδὼν εὐπατέρειαν,

Ἥ φάτο Σαλμωνῆος ἀμύμονος ἐκγονὸς εἶναι,

ἣ δὲ Κρηθῆος γυνὴ ἔμμεναι Αἰολίδαο.

<sup>2</sup> *Homer, Odys.* xi. 234–257; xv. 226.

various ways, and confined in a loathsome dungeon. Unable to take care of her two children, she had been compelled to expose them immediately on their birth in a little boat on the river Enipeus; they were preserved by the kindness of a herdsman, and when grown up to manhood, rescued their mother, and revenged her wrongs by putting to death the iron-hearted Siderô.<sup>1</sup> This pathetic tale respecting the long imprisonment of Tyrô is substituted by Sophoklês in place of the Homeric legend, which represented her to have become the wife of Krêtheus and mother of a numerous offspring.<sup>2</sup>

Her father, the unjust Salmôneus, exhibited in his conduct the most insolent impiety towards the gods. He assumed the name and title even of Zeus, and caused to be offered to himself the sacrifices destined for that god: he also imitated the thunder and lightning, by driving about with brazen caldrons attached to his chariot and casting lighted torches towards heaven. Such wickedness finally drew upon him the wrath of Zeus, who smote him with a thunderbolt, and effaced from the earth the city which he had founded, with all its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

Pelias and Nêleus, "both stout vassals of the great Zeus," became engaged in dissension respecting the kingdom of Iôlkos in

<sup>1</sup> Diodôrus, iv. 68. Sophoklês, *Fragm.* 1. *Τυρώ. Σαφῶς Σιδηρῶ καὶ φέρονσα τοῖνομα.* The genius of Sophoklês is occasionally seduced by this play upon the etymology of a name, even in the most impressive scenes of his tragedies. See *Ajax*, 425. Compare *Hellanic*, *Fragm.* p. 9, ed. Preller. There was a first and second edition of the Tyrô — *τῆς δευτέρας Τυρούς*. *Schol. ad Aristoph. Av.* 276. See the few fragments of the lost drama in *Dindorf's Collection*, p. 53. The plot was in many respects analogous to the *Antiope* of Euripidês.

<sup>2</sup> A third story, different both from Homer and from Sophoklês, respecting Tyrô, is found in Hyginus (*Fab. ix.*): it is of a tragical cast, and borrowed, like so many other tales in that collection, from one of the lost Greek dramas.

<sup>3</sup> *Apollod.* i. 9, 7. *Σαλμωνεύς τ' ἄδικος καὶ ὑπέρθυμος Περίηρης.* *Hesiod, Fragm. Catal.* 8. *Marktscheffel.*

Where the city of Salmôneus was situated, the ancient investigators were not agreed; whether in the Pisatid, or in Elis, or in Thessaly (see *Strabo*, viii. p. 356). Euripidês in his *Æolus* placed him on the banks of the Alpheius (*Eurip. Fragm. Æol.* 1). A village and fountain in the Pisatid bore the name of Salmônê; but the mention of the river Enipeus seems to mark Thessaly as the original seat of the legend. But the *natveté* of the tale preserved by Apollodôrus (*Virgil* in the *Æneid*, vi. 586, has retouched it)



Thessaly. Pelias got possession of it, and dwelt there in plenty and prosperity; but he had offended the goddess Hêrê by killing Sidêrô upon her altar, and the effects of her wrath were manifested in his relations with his nephew Jason.<sup>1</sup>

Nêleus quitted Thessaly, went into Peloponnêsus, and there founded the kingdom of Pylos. He purchased by immense marriage presents, the privilege of wedding the beautiful Chlôria, daughter of Amphiôn, king of Orchomenos, by whom he had twelve sons and but one daughter<sup>2</sup>—the fair and captivating Pêrô, whom suitors from all the neighborhood courted in marriage. But Nêleus, "the haughtiest of living men,"<sup>3</sup> refused to entertain the pretensions of any of them: he would grant his daughter only to that man who should bring to him the oxen of Iphiklos, from Phylakê in Thessaly. These precious animals were carefully guarded, as well by herdsmen as by a dog whom neither man nor animal could approach. Nevertheless, Bias, the son of Amythaôn, nephew of Nêleus, being desperately enamored of Pêrô, prevailed upon his brother Melampus to undertake for his sake the perilous adventure, in spite of the prophetic knowledge of the latter, which forewarned him that though he would ultimately succeed, the prize must be purchased by severe captivity and suffering. Melampus, in attempting to steal the oxen, was seized and put in prison; from whence nothing but his prophetic powers rescued him. Being acquainted with the language of worms, he heard these animals communicating to each other, in the roof over his head, that the beams were nearly eaten through and about to fall in. He communicated this intelligence to his guards, and demanded to be conveyed to another place of confinement, announcing that the roof would presently fall in and bury them. The prediction was fulfilled, and Phylakos, father of

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marks its ancient date: the final circumstance of that tale was, that the city and its inhabitants were annihilated.

Ephorus makes Salmôneus king of the Epeians and of the Pisatæ (Fragm. 15, ed. Didot).

The lost drama of Sophoklês, called *Σαλμωνεύς*, was a *δράμα αστυρικών*. See Dindorf's *Fragm.* 483.

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Od. xi. 280. Apollod. i. 9, 9. *κρατέρω θεραπεύοντε Διός*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Νηλέα τε μέγανθυμον, ἀγανότατον ζώντων* (Hom. Odys. xv. 228).

Iphiklos, full of wonder at this specimen of prophetic power, immediately caused him to be released. He further consulted him respecting the condition of his son Iphiklos, who was childless; and promised him the possession of the oxen on condition of his suggesting the means whereby offspring might be ensured. A vulture having communicated to Melampus the requisite information, Podarkês, the son of Iphiklos, was born shortly afterwards. In this manner Melampus obtained possession of the oxen, and conveyed them to Pylos, obtaining for his brother Bias the hand of Pêrô.<sup>1</sup> How this great legendary character, by miraculously healing the deranged daughters of Proetos, procured both for himself and for Bias dominion in Argos, has been recounted in a preceding chapter.

Of the twelve sons of Nêleus, one at least, Periklymenos, — besides the ever-memorable Nestôr, — was distinguished for his exploits as well as for his miraculous gifts. Poseidôn, the divine father of the race, had bestowed upon him the privilege of changing his form at pleasure into that of any bird, beast, reptile, or insect.<sup>2</sup> He had occasion for all these resources, and he employed them for a time with success in defending his family against the terrible indignation of Hêrâklês, who, provoked by the refusal of Nêleus to perform for him the ceremony of purification after his murder of Iphitus, attacked the Nêleids at Pylos. Periklymenos by his extraordinary powers prolonged the resistance, but the hour of his fate was at length brought upon him by the intervention of Athênê, who pointed him out to Hêrâklês while he was perched as a bee upon the hero's chariot. He was killed, and Hêrâklês became completely victorious, overpowering Poseidôn, Hêrê, Arês, and Hadês, and even wounding the three latter, who assisted in the

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<sup>1</sup> Hom. Od. xi. 278; xv. 234. Apollod. i. 9, 12. The basis of this curious romance is in the *Odyssey*, amplified by subsequent poets. There are points however in the old Homeric legend, as it is briefly sketched in the fifteenth book of the *Odyssey*, which seem to have been subsequently left out or varied. Nêleus seizes the property of Melampus during his absence; the latter, returning with the oxen from Phylakê, revenges himself upon Nêleus for the injury. *Odyss.* xv. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Catalog.* ap. Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 156; Ovid, *Metam.* xii. p. 556; Eustath. ad *Odyss.* xi. p. 284. Poseidôn carefully protects Antilochas son of Nestôr, in the *Iliad*, xiii. 554-563.

defence. Eleven of the sons of Néleus perished by his hand, while Nestôr, then a youth, was preserved only by his accidental absence at Gerêna, away from his father's residence.<sup>1</sup>

The proud house of the Néleids was now reduced to Nestôr; but Nestôr singly sufficed to sustain its eminence. He appears not only as the defender and avenger of Pylos against the insolence and rapacity of his Epeian neighbors in Elis, but also as aiding the Lapithæ in their terrible combat against the Centaurs, and as companion of Thêseus, Peirithôus, and the other great legendary heroes who preceded the Trojan war. In extreme old age his once marvellous power of handling his weapons has indeed passed away, but his activity remains unimpaired, and his sagacity as well as his influence in counsel is greater than ever. He not only assembles the various Grecian chiefs for the armament against Troy, perambulating the districts of Hellas along with Odysseus, but takes a vigorous part in the siege itself, and is of præëminent service to Agamemnôn. And after the conclusion of the siege, he is one of the few Grecian princes who returns to his original dominions, and is found, in a strenuous and honored old age, in the midst of his children and subjects, — sitting with the sceptre of authority on the stone bench before his house at Pylos, — offering sacrifice to Poseidôn, as his father Néleus had done before him, — and mourning only over the death

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Catalog. ap. Schol. Ven. ad Iliad. ii. 336*; and *Steph. Byz. v. Γερνία*; Homer, *Il. v. 392*; *xi. 693*; *Apollodôr. ii. 7, 3*; Hesiod, *Scat. Herc. 360*; Pindar, *Ol. ix. 32*.

According to the Homeric legend, Néleus himself was not killed by Hêraklês: subsequent poets or logographers, whom Apollodôrus follows, seem to have thought it an injustice, that the offence given by Néleus himself should have been avenged upon his sons and not upon himself; they therefore altered the legend upon this point, and rejected the passage in the *Iliad* as spurious (see *Schol. Ven. ad Iliad. xi. 682*).

The refusal of purification by Néleus to Hêraklês is a genuine legendary cause: the commentators, who were disposed to spread a coating of history over these transactions, introduced another cause, — Néleus, as king of Pylos, had aided the Orchomenians in their war against Hêraklês and the Thêbans (see *Sch. Ven. ad Iliad. xi. 689*).

The neighborhood of Pylos was distinguished for its ancient worship both of Poseidôn and of Hadês: there were abundant local legends respecting them (see Strabo, *viii. pp. 344, 345*).

of his favorite son Antilochus, who had fallen, along with so many brave companions in arms, in the Trojan war.<sup>1</sup>

After Nestôr the line of the Nêleids numbers undistinguished names, — Bôrus, Penthilus, and Andropompus, — three successive generations down to Melanthus, who on the invasion of Peloponnêsus by the Herakleids, quitted Pylos and retired to Athens, where he became king, in a manner which I shall hereafter recount. His son Kodrus was the last Athênian king; and Nêleus, one of the sons of Kodrus, is mentioned as the principal conductor of what is called the Ionic emigration from Athens to Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> It is certain that during the historical age, not merely the princely family of the Kodrids in Milêtus, Ephesus, and other Ionic cities, but some of the greatest families even in Athens itself, traced their heroic lineage through the Nêleids up to Poseidon: and the legends respecting Nestôr and Periklymenos would find especial favor amidst Greeks with such feelings and belief. The Kodrids at Ephesus, and probably some other Ionic towns, long retained the title and honorary precedence of kings, even after they had lost the substantial power belonging to the office. They stood in the same relation, embodying both religious worship and supposed ancestry, to the Nêleids and Poseidôn, as the chiefs of the Æolic colonies to Agamemnôn and Orestês. The Athenian despot Peisistratus was named after the son of Nestôr in the Odyssey; and we may safely presume that the heroic worship of the Nêleids was as carefully cherished at the Ionic Milêtus as at the Italian Metapontum.<sup>3</sup>

Having pursued the line of Salmôneus and Nêleus to the end of its legendary career, we may now turn back to that of another son of Æolus, Krêtheus, — a line hardly less celebrated in respect of the heroic names which it presents. Alkêstis, the most beautiful of the daughters of Pelias,<sup>4</sup> was promised by her father in

<sup>1</sup> About Nestôr, *Iliad*, i. 260-275; ii. 370; xi. 670-770; *Odys.* iii. 5, 110, 409.

<sup>2</sup> *Hellanic. Fragm.* 10, ed. Didot; *Pausan.* vii. 2, 3; *Herodot.* v. 65; *Strabo*, xiv. p. 633. *Hellanicus*, in giving the genealogy from Nêleus to Melanthus, traces it through Periklymenos and not through Nestôr: the words of *Herodotus* imply that he must have included Nestôr.

<sup>3</sup> *Herodot.* v. 67; *Strabo*, vi. p. 264; *Mimnermus, Fragm.* 9, *Schneidewin*.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 715.

marriage to the man that could bring him a lion and a boar tamed to the yoke and drawing together. Admētus, son of Pherēs, the oponymus of Pheræ in Thessaly, and thus grandson of Krêtheus, was enabled by the aid of Apollo to fulfil this condition, and to win her;<sup>1</sup> for Apollo happened at that time to be in his service as a slave (condemned to this penalty by Zeus for having put to death the Cyclôpes), in which capacity he tended the herds and horses with such success, as to equip Eumêlus (the son of Admētus) to the Trojan war with the finest horses in the Grecian army. Though menial duties were imposed upon him, even to the drudgery of grinding in the mill,<sup>2</sup> he yet carried away with him a grateful and friendly sentiment towards his mortal master, whom he interfered to rescue from the wrath of the goddess Artemis, when she was indignant at the omission of her name in his wedding sacrifices. Admētus was about to perish by a premature death, when Apollo, by earnest solicitation to the Fates, obtained for him the privilege that his life should be prolonged, if he could find any person to die a voluntary death in his place. His father and his mother both refused to make this sacrifice for him, but the devoted attachment of his wife Alkêstis disposed her to embrace with cheerfulness the condition of dying to preserve her

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 15; Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. 711.

<sup>2</sup> Euripid. Alkêst. init. Welcker; Griechisch. Tragœd. (p. 344) on the lost play of Sophoklês called Admētus or Alkêstis; Hom. Iliad. ii. 766; Hygin. Fab. 50-51 (Sophoklês, Fr. Inc. 730; Dind. ap. Plutarch. Defect. Orac. p. 417). This tale of the temporary servitude of particular gods, by order of Zeus as a punishment for misbehavior, recurs not unfrequently among the incidents of the mythical world. The poet Panyasis (ap. Clem. Alexand. Adm. ad Gent. p. 23) —

Τλῆ μὲν Δημήτηρ, τλῆ δὲ κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,

Τλῆ δὲ Ποσειδάων, τλῆ δ' ἄργυρότοξος Ἀπολλῶν

Ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θνητῷ θητεύσαμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν·

Τλῆ δὲ καὶ ὀβριμόθυμος Ἄρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκῃ.

The old legend followed out the fundamental idea with remarkable consistency: Laomedôn, as the temporary master of Poseidôn and Apollo, threatens to bind them hand and foot, to sell them in the distant islands, and to cut off the ears of both, when they come to ask for their stipulated wages (Iliad, xxi. 455). It was a new turn given to the story by the Alexandrine poets, when they introduced the motive of love, and made the servitude voluntary on the part of Apollo (Kallimachus, Hymn. Apoll. 49; Tibullus, Eleg. ii. 3, 11-30).

husband. She had already perished, when Hēraklēs, the ancient guest and friend of Admētus, arrived during the first hour of lamentation; his strength and daring enabled him to rescue the deceased Alkēstis even from the grasp of Thanatos (Death), and to restore her alive to her disconsolate husband.<sup>1</sup>

The son of Pelias, Akastus, had received and sheltered Pêleus when obliged to fly his country in consequence of the involuntary murder of Eurytiôn. Krêthēis, the wife of Akastus, becoming enamored of Pêleus, made to him advances which he repudiated. Exasperated at his refusal, and determined to procure his destruction, she persuaded her husband that Pêleus had attempted her chastity: upon which Akastus conducted Pêleus out upon a hunting excursion among the woody regions of Mount Pêlion, contrived to steal from him the sword fabricated and given by Hêphæstos, and then left him, alone and unarmed, to perish by the hands of the Centaurs or by the wild beasts. By the friendly aid of the Centaur Cheirôn, however, Pêleus was preserved, and his sword restored to him: returning to the city, he avenged himself by putting to death both Akastus and his perfidious wife.<sup>2</sup>

But amongst all the legends with which the name of Pelias is connected, by far the most memorable is that of Jasôn and the Argonautic expedition. Jasôn was son of Æson, grandson of Krêtheus, and thus great-grandson of Æolus. Pelias, having consulted the oracle respecting the security of his dominion at Iôlkos, had received in answer a warning to beware of the man who should appear before him with only one sandal. He was celebrating a festival in honor of Poseidôn, when it so happened that Jasôn appeared before him with one of his feet unsandaled: he had lost one sandal in wading through the swollen current of the river Anauros. Pelias immediately understood that this was

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Alkēstis*, Arg.; Apollod. i. 9, 15. To bring this beautiful legend more into the color of history, a new version of it was subsequently framed: Hēraklēs was eminently skilled in medicine, and saved the life of Alkēstis when she was about to perish from a desperate malady (Plutarch. *Amator.* c. 17. vol. iv. p. 53, Wytt.).

<sup>2</sup> The legend of Akastus and Pêleus was given in great detail in the Catalogue of Hesiod (*Catalog.* Fragm. 20-21, Marktscheff.); Schol. Pindar. *Nem.* iv. 95: Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 224; Apollod. iii. 13, 2.

the enemy against whom the oracle had forewarned him. As a means of averting the danger, he imposed upon Jasôn the desperate task of bringing back to Iôlkos the Golden Fleece, — the fleece of that ram which had carried Phryxos from Achaia to Kolchis, and which Phryxos had dedicated in the latter country as an offering to the god Arês. The result of this injunction was the memorable expedition — of the ship Argô and her crew called the Argonauts, composed of the bravest and noblest youths of Greece — which cannot be conveniently included among the legends of the Æolids, and is reserved for a separate chapter.

The voyage of the Argô was long protracted, and Pelias, persuaded that neither the ship nor her crew would ever return, put to death both the father and mother of Jasôn, together with their infant son. Æsôn, the father, being permitted to choose the manner of his own death, drank bull's blood while performing a sacrifice to the gods. At length, however, Jasôn did return, bringing with him not only the golden fleece, but also Mêdea, daughter of Æêtês, king of Kolchis, as his wife, — a woman distinguished for magical skill and cunning, by whose assistance alone the Argonauts had succeeded in their project. Though determined to avenge himself upon Pelias, Jasôn knew he could only succeed by stratagem: he remained with his companions at a short distance from Iôlkos, while Mêdea, feigning herself a fugitive from his ill-usage, entered the town alone, and procured access to the daughters of Pelias. By exhibitions of her magical powers she soon obtained unqualified ascendancy over their minds. For example, she selected from the flocks of Pelias a ram in the extremity of old age, cut him up and boiled him in a caldron with herbs, and brought him out in the shape of a young and vigorous lamb:¹ the daughters of Pelias were made to believe that their old father could in like manner be restored to youth. In this persuasion they cut him up with their own hands and cast his limbs into the

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¹ This incident was contained in one of the earliest dramas of Euripidês, the *Πηλιάδες*, now lost. Moses of Chorênê (Progymnasm. ap. Maii ad Euseb. p. 43), who gives an extract from the argument, says that the poet "extremoe mentiendi fines attingit."

The *Πιζόροποι* of Sophoklês seems also to have turned upon the same catastrophe (see Fragm. 479, Dindorf.).

caldron, trusting that Mèdeia would produce upon him the same magical effect. Mèdeia pretended that an invocation to the moon was a necessary part of the ceremony: she went up to the top of the house as if to pronounce it, and there lighting the fire-signal concerted with the Argonauts, Jasón and his companions burst in and possessed themselves of the town. Satisfied with having thus revenged himself, Jasón yielded the principality of Iólkos to Akastus, son of Pelias, and retired with Mèdeia to Corinth. Thus did the goddess Hêrê gratify her ancient wrath against Pelias: she had constantly watched over Jasón, and had carried the "all-notorious" Argo through its innumerable perils, in order that Jasón might bring home Mèdeia to accomplish the ruin of his uncle.<sup>1</sup> The misguided daughters of Pelias departed

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<sup>1</sup> The kindness of Hêrê towards Jasón seems to be older in the legend than her displeasure against Pelias; at least it is specially noticed in the *Odyssey*, as the great cause of the escape of the ship *Argô*: 'Ἄλλ' Ἡρὴ παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων (xii. 70). In the Hesiodic *Theogony* Pelias stands to Jasón in the same relation as Eurystheus to Hêracles, — a severe taskmaster as well as a wicked and insolent man, — ὕβριστῆς Πελίδης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὀβριμόεργος (*Theog.* 995). Apollónius Rhodius keeps the wrath of Hêrê against Pelias in the foreground, i. 14; iii. 1134; iv. 242; see also Hygin, f. 13.

There is great diversity in the stories given of the proximate circumstances connected with the death of Pelias: Eurip. *Méd.* 491; Apollodôr. i. 9, 27; Diodôr. iv. 50–52; Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 162, 203, 297, 347; Pausan. viii. 11, 2; Schol. ad *Lycoph.* 175.

In the legend of Akastus and Pêleus as recounted above, Akastus was made to perish by the hand of Pêleus. I do not take upon me to reconcile these contradictions.

Pausanias mentions that he could not find in any of the poets, so far as he had read, the names of the daughters of Pelias, and that the painter Mikôn had given to them names (*ὀνόματα δ' αὐταῖς ποιητῆς μὲν ἔθετο οὐδεὶς, ὅσα γ' ἐπιλεξάμεθα ἡμεῖς*, etc., Pausan. viii. 11, 1). Yet their names are given in the authors whom Diodôrus copied; and Alkestis, at any rate, was most memorable. Mikôn gave the names Asteropeia and Antinoê, altogether different from those in Diodôrus. Both Diodôrus and Hyginus exonerate Alkestis from all share in the death of her father (*Hygin. f. 24*).

The old poem called the *Nôstoi* (see *Argum. ad Eurip. Méd.*, and Schol. Aristophan. *Equit.* 1321) recounted, that Mèdeia had boiled in a caldron the old Æsôn, father of Jasón, with herbs and incantations, and that she had brought him out young and strong. Ovid copies this (*Metam.* vii. 162–203) It is singular that Pherékýdês and Simonidês said that she had performed



as voluntary exiles to Arcadia: Akastus his son celebrated splendid funeral games in honor of his deceased father.<sup>1</sup>

Jasôn and Mêdea retired from Iôlkos to Corinth, where they resided ten years: their children were — Medeios, whom the Centaur Cheirôn educated in the regions of Mount Pêlion,<sup>2</sup> — and Mermerus and Pherôs, born at Corinth. After they had resided there ten years in prosperity, Jasôn set his affections on Glaukê, daughter of Kreôn<sup>3</sup> king of Corinth; and as her father was willing to give her to him in marriage, he determined to repudiate Mêdea, who received orders forthwith to leave Corinth. Stung with this insult and bent upon revenge, Mêdea prepared a poisoned robe, and sent it as a marriage present to Glaukê: it was unthinkingly accepted and put on, and the body of the unfortunate bride was burnt up and consumed. Kreôn, her father, who tried to tear from her the burning garment, shared her fate and perished. The exulting Mêdea escaped by means of a chariot with winged serpents furnished to her by her grandfather Hêlios: she placed herself under the protection of Ægêus at Athens, by whom she had a son named Mêdus. She left her young children in the sacred enclosure of the Arkraean Hêrê, relying on the protection of the altar to ensure their safety; but the Corinthians were so exasperated against her for the murder

this process upon Jasôn himself (Schol. Aristoph. *l. c.*). Diogenes (ap. Stobæ. Florileg. t. xxix. 92) rationalizes the story, and converts Mêdea from an enchantress into an improving and regenerating preceptress. The death of Æsôn, as described in the text, is given from Diodôrus and Apollodôrus. Mêdea seems to have been worshipped as a goddess in other places besides Corinth (see Athenagor. *Legat. pro Christ.* 12; Macrobius, i. 12, p. 247, Gronov.).

<sup>1</sup> These funeral games in honor of Pelias were among the most renowned of the mythical incidents: they were celebrated in a special poem by Stesichorus, and represented on the chest of Kypselus at Olympia. Kastôr, Meleager, Amphiaraios, Jasôn, Pêleus, Mopsos, etc. contended in them (Pausan. v. 17. 4; Stesichori *Fragm.* 1. p. 54, ed. Klewe; Athên. iv. 172). How familiar the details of them were to the mind of a literary Greek is indirectly attested by Plutarch, *Sympos.* v. 2, vol. iii. p. 762, Wyt.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 998.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Schol. ad Eurip. *Mêd.* 20, Jason marries the daughter of Hippotês the son of Kreôn, who is the son of Lykæthos. Lykæthos, after the departure of Bellerophôn from Corinth, reigned twenty-seven years; then Kreôn reigned thirty-five years; then came Hippotês.

of Kreôn and Glaukê, that they dragged the children away from the altar and put them to death. The miserable Jasôn perished by a fragment of his own ship Argô, which fell upon him while he was asleep under it,<sup>1</sup> being hauled on shore, according to the habitual practice of the ancients.

The first establishment at Ephyrê, or Corinth, had been founded by Sisypheus, another of the sons of Æolus, brother of Salmê-

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 27; Diodôr. iv. 54. The Médea of Eurypidês, which has fortunately been preserved to us, is too well known to need express reference. He makes Médea the destroyer of her own children, and borrows from this circumstance the most pathetic touches of his exquisite drama. Parmeniskôs accused him of having been bribed by the Corinthians to give this turn to the legend; and we may regard the accusation as a proof that the older and more current tale imputed the murder of the children to the Corinthians (Schol. Eurip. Med. 275, where Didymos gives the story out of the old poem of Kreophylos). See also Ælian, V. H. v. 21; Pausan. ii. 3, 6.

The most significant fact in respect to the fable is, that the Corinthians celebrated periodically a propitiatory sacrifice to Hêrê Akraia and to Mermerus and Pherês, as an atonement for the sin of having violated the sanctuary of the altar. The legend grew out of this religious ceremony, and was so arranged as to explain and account for it (see Eurip. Méd. 1376, with the Schol. Diodôr. iv. 55).

Mermerus and Pherês were the names given to the children of Médea and Jasôn in the old Naupaktian Verses; in which, however, the legend must have been recounted quite differently, since they said that Jasôn and Médea had gone from Iôlkos, not to Corinth, but to Corcyra; and that Mermerus had perished in hunting on the opposite continent of Epirus. Kinæsthôn again, another ancient genealogical poet, called the children of Médea and Jasôn Eriôpis and Mêdos (Pausan. ii. 3, 7). Diodôrus gives them different names (iv. 34). Hesiod, in the Theogony, speaks only of Medeius as the son of Jasôn.

Médea does not appear either in the Iliad or Odyssey: in the former, we find Agamêdê, daughter of Angeas, "who knows all the poisons (or medicines) which the earth nourishes" (Iliad, xi. 740); in the latter, we have Circê, sister of Ætês, father of Médea, and living in the Ææan island (Odys. x. 70). Circê is daughter of the god Hêlios, as Médea is his granddaughter, — she is herself a goddess. She is in many points the parallel of Médea; she forewarns and preserves Odysseus throughout his dangers, as Médea aids Jasôn: according to the Hesiodic story, she has two children by Odysseus, Agrius and Latinus (Theogon. 1001).

Odysseus goes to Ephyrê to Ilos the son of Mermerus, to procure poison for his arrows: Eustathius treats this Mermerus as the son of Médea (see Odys. i. 270, and Enst.). As Ephyrê is the legendary name of Corinth, we may presume this to be a thread of the same mythical tissue.

neus and Krêtheus.<sup>1</sup> The Æolid Sisyphus was distinguished as an unexampled master of cunning and deceit. He blocked up the road along the isthmus, and killed the strangers who came along it by rolling down upon them great stones from the mountains above. He was more than a match even for the arch thief Autolycus, the son of Hermês, who derived from his father the gift of changing the color and shape of stolen goods, so that they could no longer be recognized: Sisyphus, by marking his sheep under the foot, detected Autolycus when he stole them, and obliged him to restore the plunder. His penetration discovered the amour of Zeus with the nymph Ægina, daughter of the river-god Asôpus. Zeus had carried her off to the island of CEnônê (which subsequently bore the name of Ægina); upon which Asôpus, eager to recover her, inquired of Sisyphus whither she was gone: the latter told him what had happened, on condition that he should provide a spring of water on the summit of the Acro-Corinthus. Zeus, indignant with Sisyphus for this revelation, inflicted upon him in Hadês the punishment of perpetually heaving up a hill a great and heavy stone, which, so soon as it attained the summit, rolled back again in spite of all his efforts, with irresistible force into the plain.<sup>2</sup>

In the application of the Æolid genealogy to Corinth, Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, appears as the first name: but the old Corin-

<sup>1</sup> See Euripid. *Æol.* — Fragm. 1, Dindorf; Dikæarch. *Vit. Græc.* p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting Sisyphus, see Apollodôr. i. 9, 3; iii. 12, 6. Pausan. ii. 5, 1. Schol. ad *Iliad.* i. 180. Another legend about the amour of Sisyphus with Tyrô, is in Hygin. fab. 60, and about the manner in which he overreached even Hadês (Pherekydês ap. Schol. *Iliad.* vi. 153). The stone rolled by Sisyphus in the under-world appears in *Odys.* xi. 592. The name of Sisyphus was given during the historical age to men of craft and stratagem, such as Derkyllidês (Xenoph. *Hellenic.* iii. 1, 8). He passed for the real father of Odysseus, though Heyne (ad Apollodôr. i. 9, 3) treats this as another Sisyphus, whereby he destroys the suitability of the predicate as regards Odysseus. The duplication and triplication of synonymous personages is an ordinary resource for the purpose of reducing the legends into a seeming chronological sequence.

Even in the days of Eumêlus a religious mystery was observed respecting the tombs of Sisyphus and Nêleus, — the latter had also died at Corinth, — no one could say where they were buried (Pausan. ii. 2, 2).

Sisyphus even overreached Persephonê, and made his escape from the under-world (*Theognis*, 702).

thian poet Eumêlus either found or framed an heroic genealogy for his native city independent both of Æolus and Sisyphus. According to this genealogy, Ephyrê, daughter of Oceanus and Têthys, was the primitive tenant of the Corinthian territory, Asôpus of the Sikyônian: both were assigned to the god Hêlios, in adjusting a dispute between him and Poseidôn, by Briareus. Hêlios divided the territory between his two sons Æêtês and Alôeus: to the former he assigned Corinth, to the latter Sikyôn. Æêtês, obeying the admonition of an oracle, emigrated to Kolchis, leaving his territory under the rule of Bunos, the son of Hermês, with the stipulation that it should be restored whenever either he or any of his descendants returned. After the death of Bunos, both Corinth and Sikyôn were possessed by Epôpeus, son of Alôeus, a wicked man. His son Marathôn left him in disgust and retired into Attica, but returned after his death and succeeded to his territory, which he in turn divided between his two sons Corinthos and Sikyôn, from whom the names of the two districts were first derived. Corinthos died without issue, and the Corinthians then invited Mèdeia from Iôlkos as the representative of Æêtês: she with her husband Jasôn thus obtained the sovereignty of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> This legend of Eumêlus, one of the earliest of the genealogical poets, so different from the story adopted by Neophrôn or Euripidês, was followed certainly by Simonidês and seemingly by Theopompus.<sup>2</sup> The incidents in it are imagined and arranged with a view to the supremacy of Mèdeia; the emigration of Æêtês and the conditions under which he transferred his sceptre, being so laid out as to confer upon Mèdeia an hereditary title to the throne. The Corinthians paid to Mèdeia and to her children solemn worship, either divine or heroic, in conjunction with Hêrê Akraæ,<sup>3</sup> and this was sufficient to give to

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 1, 1; 3, 10. Schol. ad Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 74. Schol. Lycoph. 174-1024. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1212.

<sup>2</sup> Simonid. ap. Schol. ad Eurip. Méd. 10-20; Theopompus, Fragm. 340, Didot; though Welcker (Der Episch. Cycl. p. 29) thinks that this does not belong to the historian Theopompus. Epimenidês also followed the story of Eumêlus in making Æêtês a Corinthian (Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. iii. 242).

<sup>3</sup> Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰς Κόρινθον μετακινήσεως, Ἰππὺς ἐκτίθεται καὶ Ἑλλάνικος· οὗτι καὶ βασιλεύκε τῆς Κορίνθου ἡ Μήδεια, Εὐμηλὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σιμωνίδης· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἦν ἡ Μήδεια, Μουσαῖος ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἰσθμίων ἱστορεῖ, ἡμεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἡρας ἐορτῶν ἐκτιθεῖς. (Schol. Eurip. Méd. 10)

**Mædea** a prominent place in the genealogy composed by a Corinthian poet, accustomed to blend together gods, heroes and men in the antiquities of his native city. According to the legend of Eumælus, Jasôn became (through Mædea) king of Corinth; but she concealed the children of their marriage in the temple of Hêrê, trusting that the goddess would render them immortal. Jasôn, discovering her proceedings, left her and retired in disgust to Iôlkos; Mædea also, being disappointed in her scheme, quitted the place, leaving the throne in the hands of Sisyphus, to whom, according to the story of Theopompus, she had become attached.<sup>1</sup> Other legends recounted, that Zeus had contracted a passion for Mædea, but that she had rejected his suit from fear of the displeasure of Hêrê; who, as a recompense for such fidelity, rendered her children immortal:<sup>2</sup> moreover Mædea had erected, by special command of Hêrê, the celebrated temple of Aphroditê at Corinth. The tenor of these fables manifests their connection with the temple of Hêrê: and we may consider the legend of Mædea as having been originally quite independent of that of Sisyphus, but fitted on to it, in seeming chronological sequence, so as to satisfy the feelings of those Æolids of Corinth who passed for his descendants.

Sisyphus had for his sons Glaukos and Ornytiôn. From Glaukos sprang Bellerophôn, whose romantic adventures commence with the Iliad, and are further expanded by subsequent poets: according to some accounts he was really the son of Poseidôn, the prominent deity of the Æolid family.<sup>3</sup> The youth

Compare also v. 1376 of the play itself, with the Scholia and Pausan. ii. 3, 6. Both Alkman and Hesiod represented Mædea as a goddess (Athenogoras, Legatia pro Christianis, p. 54, ed. Oxon.).

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 3, 10; Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 32-74; Plutarch. De Herodot. Malign. p. 871.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 98. and Schol. ad 1; Schol. ad Iliad. vi. 155; this seems to be the sense of Iliad, vi. 191.

The lost drama called *Iobaté* of Sophoklês, and the two by Euripidês called *Sthenobîa* and *Bellerophôn*, handled the adventures of this hero. See the collection of the few fragments remaining in Dindorf, *Fragm. Sophok.* 280; *Fragm. Eurip.* p. 87-108; and Hygin. fab. 67.

Welcker (*Griechische Tragödi.* ii. p. 777-800) has ingeniously put together all that can be divined respecting the two plays of Euripidês.

Völcker seeks to make out that Bellerophôn is identical with Poseidôn

and beauty of Bellerophôn rendered him the object of a strong passion on the part of the Anteia, wife of Protes king of Argos. Finding her advances rejected, she contracted a violent hatred towards him, and endeavored by false accusations to prevail upon her husband to kill him. Protes refused to commit the deed under his own roof, but despatched him to his son-in-law the king of Lykia in Asia Minor, putting into his hands a folded tablet full of destructive symbols. Conformably to these suggestions, the most perilous undertakings were imposed upon Bellerophôn. He was directed to attack the monster Chimæra and to conquer the warlike Solymi as well as the Amazons: as he returned victorious from these enterprises, an ambuscade was laid for him by the bravest Lykian warriors, all of whom he slew. At length the Lykian king recognized him "as the genuine son of a god," and gave him his daughter in marriage together with half of his kingdom. The grand-children of Bellerophôn, Glaukos and Sarpêdôn, — the latter a son of his daughter Laodameia by Zeus, — combat as allies of Troy against the host of Agamemnon.<sup>1</sup> Respecting the winged Pegasus, Homer says nothing; but later poets assigned to Bellerophôn this miraculous steed, whose parentage is given in the Hesiodic Theogony, as the instrument both of his voyage and of his success.<sup>2</sup> Heroic worship was paid at Corinth to Bellerophôn, and he seems to have been a favorite theme of recollection not only among the Corinthians themselves, but also among the numerous colonists whom they sent out to other regions.<sup>3</sup>

From Ornytiôn, the son of Sisyphus, we are conducted through a series of three undistinguished family names, — Thoas, Damophôn, and the brothers Propodas and Hyanthidas, — to the time

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Hippios, — a separate personification of one of the attributes of the god Poseidôn. For this conjecture he gives some plausible grounds (*Mythologie des Japetisch. Geschlechts*, p. 129 *seq.*).

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. vi. 155–210.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 283.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 2, 4. See Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 90, addressed to Xenophôn the Corinthian, and the *Adoniasmus* of the Syracusan Theocritus, a poem in which common Syracusan life and feeling are so graphically depicted, *Idyll* xv. 91. —

*Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσῃς;* \*

Ὡς δ' εἶδ' ἐκ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμεν ἀνωθεν

Ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν· Πελοποννησιῶτι λαλεῖμεν.

of the Dorian occupation of Corinth<sup>1</sup>, which will be hereafter recounted.

We now pass from Sisyphus and the Corinthian fables to another son of Æolus, Athames, whose family history is not less replete with mournful and tragical incidents, abundantly diversified by the poets. Athamas, we are told, was king of Orchomenos; his wife Nephelê was a goddess, and he had by her two children, Phryxus and Hellê. After a certain time he neglected Nephelê, and took to himself as a new wife Inô, the daughter of Kadmus, by whom he had two sons, Learchus and Melikertês. Inô, looking upon Phryxus with the hatred of a step-mother, laid a snare for his life. She persuaded the women to roast the seed-wheat, which, when sown in this condition, yielded no crop, so that famine overspread the land. Athamas sent to Delphi to implore counsel and a remedy: he received for answer, through the machinations of Inô with the oracle, that the barrenness of the fields could not be alleviated except by offering Phryxus as a sacrifice to Zeus. The distress of the people compelled him to execute this injunction, and Phryxus was led as a victim to the altar. But the power of his mother Nephelê snatched him from destruction, and procured for him from Hermês a ram with a fleece of gold, upon which he and his sister Hellê mounted and were carried across the sea. The ram took the direction of the Euxine sea and Kolchis: when they were crossing the Hellespont, Hellê fell off into the narrow strait, which took its name from that incident. Upon this, the ram, who was endued with speech, consoled the terrified Phryxus, and ultimately carried him safe to Kolchis: Æëtês, king of Kolchis son of the god Hêlios and brother of Circê, received Phryxus kindly, and gave him his daughter Chalciopê in marriage. Phryxus sacrificed the ram to Zeus Phyxios, and suspended the golden fleece in the sacred grove of Arês.

Athamas — according to some both Athamas and Inô — were afterwards driven mad by the anger of the goddess Hêrê; inso-much that the father shot his own son Learchus, and would also have put to death his other son Melikertês, if Inô had not snatched him away. She fled with the boy, across the Megarian

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 4, 3.

territory and Mount Geranea, to the rock Moluria, overhanging the Saronic Gulf: Athamas pursued her, and in order to escape him she leaped into the sea. She became a sea-goddess under the title of Leukothea; while the body of Melikertês was cast ashore on the neighboring territory of Schœnus, and buried by his uncle Sisyphus, who was directed by the Nereids to pay to him heroic honors under the name of Palamôn. The Isthmian games, one of the great periodical festivals of Greece, were celebrated in honor of the god Poseidôn, in conjunction with Palamôn as a hero. Athamas abandoned his territory, and became the first settler of a neighboring region called from him Athmantia, or the Athamantian plain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Méd. 1250, with the Scholia, according to which story Inô killed both her children:—

Ἴνω μαρτυροῦν ἐκ θεῶν, ὅθ' ἡ Διὸς  
Δάμαρ νιν ἐξέπεμψε δόματων ἄλγ.

Compare Valckenaer, Diatribe in Eurip.; Apollodôr. i. 9, 1-2; Schol. ad Pindar. Argum. ad Isthm. p. 180. The many varieties of the fable of Athamas and his family may be seen in Hygin. fab. 1-5; Philostephanus ap. Schol. Iliad. vii. 86: it was a favorite subject with the tragedians, and was handled by Æschylus, Sophoklês and Euripidês in more than one drama (see Welcker, Griechische Tragœd. vol. i. p. 312-332; vol. ii. p. 612). Heyne says that the proper reading of the name is *Phryxus*, not *Phryxus*,—incorrectly, I think: *Φρύξος* connects the name both with the story of roasting the wheat (*φρύγειν*), and also with the country *Φρυγία*, of which it was pretended that Phryxus was the Eponymus. Inô, or Leukothea, was worshipped as a heroine at Megara as well as at Corinth (Pausan. i. 42, 3): the celebrity of the Isthmian games carried her worship, as well as that of Palamôn, throughout most parts of Greece (Cicero, De Nat. Deor. iii. 16). She is the only personage of this family noticed either in the Iliad or Odyssey: in the latter poem she is a sea-goddess, who has once been a mortal, daughter of Kadmus; she saves Odysseus from imminent danger at sea by presenting to him her *κρήδεμνον* (Odys. v. 433; see the refinements of Aristidês, Orat. iii. p. 27). The voyage of Phryxus and Hellê to Kolchis was related in the Hesiodic Eoiai: we find the names of the children of Phryxus by the daughter of Ætês quoted from that poem (Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1123). Both Hesiod and Pherekydês mentioned the golden fleece of the ram (Eratosthen. Catasterism. 19; Pherekyd. Fragm. 53, Didot).

Hekataeus preserved the romance of the speaking ram (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 256). but Hellanikus dropped the story of Hellê having fallen into the



The legend of *Athamas* connects itself with some sanguinary religious rites and very peculiar family customs, which prevailed at *Alos*, in *Achaia Phthiôtis*, down to a time<sup>1</sup> later than the historian *Herodotus*, and of which some remnant existed at *Orcho-menos* even in the days of *Plutarch*. *Athamas* was worshipped at *Alos* as a hero, having both a chapel and a consecrated grove, attached to the temple of *Zeus Laphystios*. On the family of which he was the heroic progenitor, a special curse and disability stood affixed. The eldest of the race was forbidden to enter the *prytaneion* or government-house; and if he was found within the doors of the building, the other citizens laid hold of him on his going out, surrounded him with garlands, and led him in solemn procession to be sacrificed as a victim at the altar of *Zeus Laphystios*. The prohibition carried with it an exclusion from all the public meetings and ceremonies, political as well as religious, and from the sacred fire of the state: many of the individuals marked out had therefore been bold enough to transgress it. Some had been seized on quitting the building and actually sacrificed; others had fled the country for a long time to avoid a similar fate.

The guides who conducted *Xerxês* and his army through southern *Thessaly* detailed to him this existing practice, coupled with the local legend, that *Athamas*, together with *Inô*, had sought to compass the death of *Phryxus*, who however had escaped to *Kolchis*; that the *Achæans* had been enjoined by an oracle to offer up *Athamas* himself as an expiatory sacrifice to release the country from the anger of the gods; but that *Kytisoros*, son of *Phryxus*, coming back from *Kolchis*, had intercepted the sacrifice of *Athamas*,<sup>2</sup> whereby the anger of the gods re-

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sea: according to him she died at *Pactyê* in the *Chersonesus* (*Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1144*).

The poet *Asius* seems to have given the genealogy of *Athamas* by *Themistô* much in the same manner as we find it in *Apollodôrus* (*Pausan. ix. 28, 3*).

According to the ingenious refinements of *Dionysius* and *Palæphatus* (*Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1144*; *Palæphat. de Incred. c. 31*) the ram of *Phryxus* was after all a man named *Krios*, a faithful attendant who aided in his escape; others imagined a ship with a ram's head at the bow.

<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 38. p. 299. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 655.*

<sup>2</sup> Of the *Athamas* of *Sophoklês*, turning upon this intended, but not con-

mained still unappeased, and an undying curse rested upon the family.<sup>1</sup>

That such human sacrifices continued to a greater or less extent, even down to a period later than Herodotus, among the family who worshipped Athamas as their heroic ancestor, appears certain: mention is also made of similar customs in parts of Arcadia, and of Thessaly, in honor of Pêleus and Cheirôn.<sup>2</sup> But we may reasonably presume, that in the period of greater humanity which Herodotus witnessed, actual sacrifice had become very rare. The curse and the legend still remained, but were

summed sacrifice, little is known, except from a passage of Aristophanês and the Scholia upon it (*Nubes*, 258).—

*ἐπὶ τί στέφανον; οἶμοι, Σώκρατες,  
ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανδ' ὅπως μὴ θύσεται.*

Athamas was introduced in this drama with a garland on his head, on the point of being sacrificed as an expiation for the death of his son Phryxus, when Hêraklês interposes and rescues him.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 197. Plato, *Minôs*, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Minôs*, c. 5. *Καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος ἐκγόνοι, οἷας θυσίας θύουσιν, Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὄντες.* As a testimony to the fact still existing or believed to exist, this dialogue is quite sufficient, though not the work of Plato.

*Μόνιμος δ' ἱστορεῖ, ἐν τῇ τῶν θανμασίῳν συναγωγῇ, ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς Θετταλίας Ἀχαιὸν ἑνθρονον Πηλεῖ καὶ Χείρωνι καταθύεσθαι.* (Clemens Alexand. *Admon. ad Gent.* p. 27, Sylb.) Respecting the sacrifices at the temple of Zeus Lykæus in Arcadia, see Plato, *Republ.* viii. p. 565. Pausanias (viii. p. 38, 5) seems to have shrunk, when he was upon the spot, even from inquiring what they were—a striking proof of the fearful idea which he had conceived of them. Plutarch (*De Defectu Oracul.* c. 14) speaks of *τὰς πάλαι ποιουμένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας*. The Schol. ad Lycophron. 229, gives a story of children being sacrificed to Melikertês at Tenedos; and Apollodôrus (ad Porphy. de *Abstinentiâ*, ii. 55, see Apollod. *Fragm.* 20, ed. Didot) said that the Lacedæmonians had sacrificed a man to Arês—*καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἀρεὶ θύειν ἄνθρωπον*. About Salamis in Cyprus, see Lactantius, *De Falsâ Religione*, i. c. 21. “*Apud Cypri Salaminem, humanam hostiam Jovi Teucrus immolavit, idque sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum.*”

Respecting human sacrifices in historical Greece, consult a good section in K. F. Hermann's *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer der Griechen* (sect. 27). Such sacrifices had been a portion of primitive Grecian religion, but had gradually become obsolete everywhere—except in one or two solitary cases, which were spoken of with horror. Even in these cases, too, the reality of the fact, in later times, is not beyond suspicion.

not called into practical working, except during periods of intense national suffering or apprehension, during which the religious sensibilities were always greatly aggravated. We cannot at all doubt, that during the alarm created by the presence of the Persian king with his immense and ill-disciplined host, the minds of the Thessalians must have been keenly alive to all that was terrific in their national stories, and all that was expiatory in their religious solemnities. Moreover, the mind of Xerxès himself was so awe-struck by the tale, that he revered the dwelling-place consecrated to Athamas. The guides who recounted to him the romantic legend, gave it as the historical and generating cause of the existing rule and practice: a critical inquirer is forced (as has been remarked before) to reverse the order of precedence, and to treat the practice as having been the suggesting cause of its own explanatory legend.

The family history of Athamas, and the worship of Zeus Laphystios, are expressly connected by Herodotus with Alos in Achæa Phthiôtis—one of the towns enumerated in the *Iliad* as under the command of Achilles. But there was also a mountain called Laphystion, and a temple and worship of Zeus Laphystios between Orchomenos and Korôneia, in the northern portion of the territory known in the historical ages as Bœotia. Here also the family story of Athamas is localized, and Athamas is presented to us as king of the districts of Korôneia, Haliartus and Mount Laphystion: he is thus interwoven with the Orchomenian genealogy.<sup>1</sup> Andreas (we are told), son of the river Pêneios, was the first person who settled in the region: from him it received the name Andréis. Athamas, coming subsequently to Andreus, received from him the territory of Korôneia and Haliartus with Mount Laphystion: he gave in marriage to Andreus, Euippê, daughter of his son Leucôn, and the issue of this marriage was Eteoklês, said to be the son of the river Kêphisos. Korônos and Haliartus, grandsons of the Corinthian Sisypheus, were adopted by Athamas, as he had lost all his children: but when his grandson Presbôn, son of Phryxus, returned to him from Kolchis, he divided his territory in such manner that Korônos and Haliartus became the founders of the towns which

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 34, 4.

bore their names. Almôn, the son of Sisyphus, also received from Eteoklês a portion of territory, where he established the village Almônes.<sup>1</sup>

With Eteoklês began, according to a statement in one of the Hesiodic poems, the worship of the Charites or Graces, so long and so solemnly continued at Orchomenos in the periodical festival of the Charitêsia, to which many neighboring towns and districts seem to have contributed.<sup>2</sup> He also distributed the inhabitants into two tribes—Eteokleia and Kêphisias. He died childless, and was succeeded by Almos, who had only two daughters, Chrysê and Chrysogeneia. The son of Chrysê by the god Arês was Phlegyas, the father and founder of the warlike and predatory Phlegyas, who despoiled every one within their reach, and assaulted not only the pilgrims on their road to Delphi, but even the treasures of the temple itself. The offended god punished them by continued thunder, by earthquakes, and by pestilence, which extinguished all this impious race, except a scanty remnant who fled into Phokis.

Chrysogeneia, the other daughter of Almos, had for issue, by the god Poseidôn, Minyas: the son of Minyas was Orchomenos. From these two was derived the name both of Minyæ for the people, and of Orchomenos for the town.<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Orchomenos, Hyëttus came to him from Argos, having become an exile in consequence of the death of Molyros: Orchomenos assigned to him a portion of land, where he founded the village called Hyëttus.<sup>4</sup> Orchomenos, having no issue, was succeeded by Klymenos, son of Presbôn, of the house of Athamas: Klymenos was slain by some Thêbans during the festival of Poseidôn at Onchêstos; and his eldest son, Erginus, to avenge his death, attacked the Thêbans with his utmost force;—an attack, in which he was so successful, that the latter were forced to submit, and to pay him an annual tribute.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 34, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ephorus, Fragg. 68, Marx.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ix. 36, 1-3. See also a legend, about the three daughters of Minyas, which was treated by the Tanagræan poetess Korinna, the contemporary of Pindar (Antonin. Liberalis, Narr. x.).

<sup>4</sup> This exile of Hyëttus was recounted in the Eoia. Hesiod, Fragg. 142 Markt.

The Orchomenian power was now at its height: both Minyas and Orchomenos had been princes of surpassing wealth, and the former had built a spacious and durable edifice which he had filled with gold and silver. But the success of Erginus against Thêbes was soon terminated and reversed by the hand of the irresistible Hêraklês, who rejected with disdain the claim of tribute, and even mutilated the envoys sent to demand it: he not only emancipated Thêbes, but broke down and impoverished Orchomenos.<sup>1</sup> Erginus in his old age married a young wife, from which match sprang the illustrious heroes, or gods, Trophônus and Agamédês; though many (amongst whom is Pausanias himself) believed Trophônus to be the son of Apollo.<sup>2</sup> Trophônus, one of the most memorable persons in Grecian mythology, was worshipped as a god in various places, but with especial sanctity as Zeus Trophônus at Lebadeia: in his temple at this town, the prophetic manifestations outlasted those of Delphi itself.<sup>3</sup> Trophônus and Agamédês, enjoying matchless renown as architects, built<sup>4</sup> the temple of Delphi, the thalamus of Amphitryôn at Thêbes, as well as the inaccessible vault of Hyrieus at Hyria, in which they are said to have left one stone removable at pleasure, so as to reserve for themselves a secret entrance. They entered so frequently, and stole so much gold and silver, that Hyrieus, astonished at his losses, at length spread a fine net, in which Agamédês was inextricably caught: Trophônus cut off his brother's head and carried it away, so that the

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 37, 2. Apollod. ii. 4, 11. Diodôr. iv. 10. The two latter tell us that Erginus was slain. Klymenê is among the wives and daughters of the heroes seen by Odysseus in Hadês: she is termed by the Schol. daughter of Minyas (Odys. xi. 325).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 37, 1-3. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Τροφώνιος Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ Ἐργίνου· καὶ ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι, καὶ ὅστις παρὰ Τροφόνιον ἦλθε δὴ μαντευόμενος.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, De Defectu Oracul. c. 5, p. 411. Strabo, ix. p. 414. The mention of the honeyed cakes, both in Aristophanês (Nub. 508) and Pausanias (ix. 39, 5), indicates that the curious preliminary ceremonies, for those who consulted the oracle of Trophônus, remained the same after a lapse of 550 years. Pausanias consulted it himself. There had been at one time an oracle of Teiresias at Orchomenos: but it had become silent at an early period (Plutarch. Defect. Oracul. c. 44, p. 434).

<sup>4</sup> Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 296. Pausan. ix. 11, 1.

body, which alone remained, was insufficient to identify the thief. Like Amphiaraios, whom he resembles in more than one respect, Trophônios was swallowed up by the earth near Lebadeia.<sup>1</sup>

From Trophônios and Agamêdês the Orchomenian genealogy passes to Ascalaphos and Ialmenos, the sons of Arês by Astyochê, who are named in the Catalogue of the *Iliad* as leaders of the thirty ships from Orchomenos against Troy. Azeus, the grandfather of Astyochê in the *Iliad*, is introduced as the brother of Erginus<sup>2</sup> by Pausanias, who does not carry the pedigree lower.

The genealogy here given out of Pausanias is deserving of the more attention, because it seems to have been copied from the special history of Orchomenos by the Corinthian Kallippus, who again borrowed from the native Orchomenian poet, Chersias : the works of the latter had never come into the hands of Pausanias. It illustrates forcibly the principle upon which these mythical genealogies were framed, for almost every personage in the series is an Eponymus. Andreus gave his name to the country, Athamas to the Athamantian plain ; Minyas, Orchomenos, Korônus, Haliartus, Almos and Hyêttos, are each in like manner connected with some name of people, tribe, town or village ; while Chrysê and Chrysogeneia have their origin in the reputed ancient wealth of Orchomenos. Abundant discrepancies are found, however, in respect to this old genealogy, if we look to other accounts. According to one statement, Orchomenos was the son of Zeus by Isonê, daughter of Danaus ; Minyas was the son of Orchomenos (or rather of Poseidôn) by Hermippê, daughter of Bœôtos ; the sons of Minyas were Presbôn, Orchomenos, Athamas and Diochthôndas.<sup>3</sup> Others represented Minyas as son of Poseidôn

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 37, 3. A similar story, but far more romantic and amplified, is told by Herodotus (ii. 121), respecting the treasury vault of Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt. Charax (ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 508) gives the same tale, but places the scene in the treasury-vault of Angeas, king of Elis, which he says was built by Trophônios, to whom he assigns a totally different genealogy. The romantic adventures of the tale rendered it eminently fit to be interwoven at some point or another of legendary history, in any country.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 38, 6 ; 29, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 230. Compare Schol. ad Lycophron. 878.

by Kallirrhoe, an Oceanic nymph,<sup>1</sup> while Dionysius called him son of Arès, and Aristodémos, son of Aleas: lastly, there were not wanting authors who termed both Minyas and Orchomenos sons of Eteoklés.<sup>2</sup> Nor do we find in any one of these genealogies the name of Amphion, the son of Iasus, who figures so prominently in the Odyssey as king of Orchomenos, and whose beautiful daughter Chlôris is married to Nêleus. Pausanias mentions him, but not as king, which is the denomination given to him in Homer.<sup>3</sup>

The discrepancies here cited are hardly necessary in order to prove that these Orchomenian genealogies possess no historical value. Yet some probable inferences appear deducible from the general tenor of the legends, whether the facts and persons of which they are composed be real or fictitious.

Throughout all the historical age, Orchomenos is a member of the Bœotian confederation. But the Bœotians are said to have been immigrants into the territory which bore their name from Thessaly; and prior to the time of their immigration, Orchomenos and the surrounding territory appear as possessed by the Minyæ, who are recognized in that locality both in the Iliad and in the Odyssey,<sup>4</sup> and from whom the constantly recurring Eponymus, King Minyas, is borrowed by the genealogists. Poetical legend connects the Orchomenian Minyæ on the one side, with Pylos and Tryphylia in Peloponnêsus; on the other side, with Phthiôtis and the town of Iôlkos in Thessaly; also with Corinth,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Pindar, Olymp. xiv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pindar, Isthm. i. 79. Other discrepancies in Schol. Vett. ad Iliad. ii. Catalog. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Odys. xi. 283. Pausan. ix. 36, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad, ii. 5, 11. Odys. xi. 283. Hesiod, Fragm. Eolai, 27, Düntz. *Ἰξεν δ' Ὀρχόμενον Μινυήϊον*. Pindar, Olymp. xiv. 4. *Παλαιγόνων Μινυῶν ἐπίσκοποι*. Herodot. i. 146. Pausanias calls them Minyæ even in their dealings with Sylla (ix. 30, 1). Buttmann, in his Dissertation (über die Minyæ der Ältesten Zeit, in the Mythologus, Diss. xxi. p. 218), doubts whether the name Minyæ was ever a real name; but all the passages make against his opinion.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1186. i. 230. *Σκῆψιος δὲ Δημήτριος φησι τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκὸν οἰκοῦντας Μινύας καλεῖσθαι*; and i. 763. *τὴν γὰρ Ἰωλκὸν οἱ Μίνυαι ἔκουν, ὥς φησι Σιμωνίδης ἐν Συμμικτοῖς*; also Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. 512. Steph. Byz. v. Μινύα. Orchomenos and Pylos run together in the mind of the poet of the Odyssey, xi. 458.

through Sisyphus and his sons. Pherekydês represented Nêleus, king of Pylos, as having also been king of Orchomenos.<sup>1</sup> In the region of Triphylia, near to or coincident with Pylos, a Minyeian river is mentioned by Homer; and we find traces of residents called Minyæ even in the historical times, though the account given by Herodotus of the way in which they came thither is strange and unsatisfactory.<sup>2</sup>

Before the great changes which took place in the inhabitants of Greece from the immigration of the Thesprôtians into Thessaly, of the Boëtiâns into Boëtiâ, and of the Dôriâns and Ætôliâns into Peloponnêsus, at a date which we have no means of determining, the Minyæ and tribes fraternally connected with them seem to have occupied a large portion of the surface of Greece, from Iôlkos in Thessaly to Pylos in the Peloponnêsus. The wealth of Orchomenos is renowned even in the *Iliad*;<sup>3</sup> and when we study its topography in detail, we are furnished with a probable explanation both of its prosperity and its decay. Orchomenos was situated on the northern bank of the lake Kôpais, which receives not only the river Kêphisos from the valleys of Phôkis, but also other rivers from Parnassus and Helicôn. The waters of the lake find more than one subterranean egress—partly through natural rifts and cavities in the limestone mountains, partly through a tunnel pierced artificially more than a mile in length—into the plain on the north-eastern side, from whence they flow into the Eubœan sea near Larymna:<sup>4</sup> and it appears

<sup>1</sup> Pherekyd. Fragm. 56, Didot. We see by the 55th Fragment of the same author, that he extended the genealogy of Phryxos to Pheræ in Thessaly.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. iv. 145. Strabo, viii. 337–347. Hom. *Iliad*, xi. 721. Pausan. v. 1, 7. ποταμὸν Μινυήϊον, near Elis.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 381.

<sup>4</sup> See the description of these channels or Katabothra in Colonel Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. ii. c. 15, p. 281–293, and still more elaborately in Fiedler, *Reise durch alle Theile des Königreichs Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1840. He traced fifteen perpendicular shafts sunk for the purpose of admitting air into the tunnel, the first separated from the last by about 5900 feet: they are now of course overgrown and stopped up (vol. i. p. 115).

Forchhammer states the length of this tunnel as considerably greater than what is here stated. He also gives a plan of the Lake Kôpais with the sur-



that, so long as these channels were diligently watched and kept clear, a large portion of the lake was in the condition of alluvial land, preëminently rich and fertile. But when the channels came to be either neglected, or designedly choked up by an enemy, the water accumulated to such a degree, as to occupy the soil of more than one ancient town, to endanger the position of Kôpæ, and to occasion the change of the site of Orchomenos itself from the plain to the declivity of Mount Hyphantaion. An engineer, Kratês, began the clearance of the obstructed water-courses in the reign of Alexander the Great, and by his commission — the destroyer of Thêbes being anxious to reëstablish the extinct prosperity of Orchomenos. He succeeded so far as partially to drain and diminish the lake, whereby the site of more than one ancient city was rendered visible: but the revival of Thêbes by Kassander, after the decease of Alexander, arrested the progress of the undertaking, and the lake soon regained its former dimensions, to contract which no farther attempt was made.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Thêban legend,<sup>2</sup> Hêraklês, after his defeat of Erginus had blocked up the exit of the waters, and converted the Orchomenian plain into a lake. The spreading of these waters is thus connected with the humiliation of the Minyæ; and there can be little hesitation in ascribing to these ancient tenants of Orchomenos, before it became besotized, the enlargement and preservation of these protective channels. Nor could such an object have been accomplished, without combined action and acknowledged ascendancy on the part of that city over its neighbors, extending even to the sea at Larymna, where the river Kôphisos discharges itself. Of its extended influence, as well as of its maritime activity, we find a remarkable evidence in the ancient and venerated Amphiktyony at Kalauria. The little is-

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rounding region, which I have placed at the end of the second volume of this History. See also *infra*, vol. ii. ch. iii. p. 391.

<sup>1</sup> We owe this interesting fact to Strabo, who is however both concise and unsatisfactory, viii. p. 406-407. It was affirmed that there had been two ancient towns, named Eleusis and Athênæ, originally founded by Cērôps, situated on the lake, and thus overflowed (Steph. Byz. v. Ἀθήναι. Diogen. Laërt. iv. 23. Pausan. ix. 24, 2). For the plain or marsh near Orchomenos, see Plutarch, Sylla, c. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 18. Pausan. ix. 38, 5.

land so named, near the harbor of Trœzên, in Peloponnêsus, was sacred to Poseidôn, and an asylum of inviolable sanctity. At the temple of Poseidôn, in Kalauria, there had existed, from unknown date, a periodical sacrifice, celebrated by seven cities in common — Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasîæ, Nauplia, and the Minyeian Orchomenos. This ancient religious combination dates from the time when Nauplia was independent of Argos, and Prasîæ of Sparta: Argos and Sparta, according to the usual practice in Greece, continued to fulfil the obligation each on the part of its respective dependent.<sup>1</sup> Six out of the seven states are at once sea-towns, and near enough to Kalauria to account for their participation in this Amphiktyony. But the junction of Orchomenos, from its comparative remoteness, becomes inexplicable, except on the supposition that its territory reached the sea, and that it enjoyed a considerable maritime traffic — a fact which helps to elucidate both its legendary connection with Iôlkos, and its partnership in what is called the Ionîc emigration.<sup>2</sup> The mythical genealogy, whereby Ptôos, Schœneus and Erythrios are enumerated among the sons of Athamas, goes farther to confirm the idea that the towns and localities on the south-east of the lake recognized a fraternal origin with the Orchomenian Minyæ, not less than Korônêia and Haliartus on the south-west.<sup>3</sup>

The great power of Orchomenos was broken down, and the city reduced to a secondary and half-dependent position by the Boœtians of Thêbes; at what time, and under what circumstances, history has not preserved. The story, that the Thêban hero, Hêraklês, rescued his native city from servitude and tribute to Orchomenos, since it comes from a Kadmeian and not from an Orchomenian legend, and since the details of it were favorite subjects of commemoration in the Thêbian temples,<sup>4</sup> affords a presumption that Thêbes was really once dependent on Orcho-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 374. 'Ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀμφικτυονία τις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο, ἑπτα πόλεων αἱ μετεῖχον τῆς θυσίας· ἦσαν δὲ Ἑρμιῶν, Ἐπίδουρος, Αἰγίνα, Ἀθῆναι, Πρασιεῖς, Ναυπλιεῖς, Ὀρχόμενος ὁ Μινυεῖος. Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ναυπλιέων Ἀργεῖοι, ὑπὲρ Πρασιέων δὲ Δακεδαμόνιοι, ξυντέλουν.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 17, 1; 26, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller, Orchomenos und die Minyer, p. 214. Pausan. ix. 23, 3 24, 3. The genealogy is as old as the poet Asios.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. i. 146. Pausan. vii. 2, 2.

menos. Moreover the savage mutilations inflicted by the hero on the tribute-seeking envoys, so faithfully portrayed in his surname *Rhinokoloustês*, infuse into the myth a portion of that bitter feeling which so long prevailed between Thêbes and Orchomenos, and which led the Thêbans, as soon as the battle of Leuctra had placed supremacy in their hands, to destroy and depopulate their rival.<sup>1</sup> The ensuing generation saw the same fate retorted upon Thêbes, combined with the restoration of Orchomenos. The legendary grandeur of this city continued, long after it had ceased to be distinguished for wealth and power, imperishably recorded both in the minds of the nobler citizens and in the compositions of the poets; the emphatic language of Pausanias shows how much he found concerning it in the old epic.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION II.—DAUGHTERS OF ÆOLUS.

With several of the daughters of Æolus memorable mythical pedigrees and narratives are connected. Alcyêne married Kêyx, the son of Eôsphoros, but both she and her husband displayed in a high degree the overweening insolence common in the Æolic race. The wife called her husband Zeus, while he addressed her as Hêrê, for which presumptuous act Zeus punished them by changing both into birds.<sup>3</sup>

Canacê had by the god Poseidôn several children, amongst

<sup>1</sup> Theocrit. xvi. 104.—

Ὡς Ἐτεόκλειοι θυγατρὲς θεᾶς, αἱ Μινύειον

Ὀρχόμενον φιλοῖσαι, ἀπεχθόμενόν ποκα θήβας.

The scholiast gives a sense to these words much narrower than they really bear. See Diodôr. xv. 79; Pausan. ix. 15. In the oration which Isokratês places in the mouth of a Platæan, complaining of the oppressions of Thêbes, the ancient servitude and tribute to Orchomenos is cast in the teeth of the Thêbans (Isokrat. Orat. Plataic. vol. iii. p. 32, Anger).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 34, 5. See also the fourteenth Olympie Ode of Pindar, addressed to the Orchomenian Asopikus. The learned and instructive work of K. O. Müller, Orchomenos und die Minyer, embodies everything which can be known respecting this once-memorable city; indeed the contents of the work extends much farther than its title promises.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. i. 7, 4. A. Kêyx, — king of Trachin, — the friend of Hêraklês and protector of the Hêracleids to the extent of his power (Hesiod. Scut. Hercul. 355–473; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 5; Hekataë. Fragm. 353, Didot.).

whom were *Epépeus* and *Alôeus*.<sup>1</sup> *Alôeus* married *Imphimédea*, who became enamored of the god *Poseidôn*, and boasted of her intimacy with him. She had by him two sons, *Otos* and *Ephialtês*, the huge and formidable *Alôids*,—Titanic beings, nine fathoms in height and nine cubits in breadth, even in their boyhood, before they had attained their full strength. These *Alôids* defied and insulted the gods in *Olympus*; they paid their court to *Hêrê* and *Artemis*, and they even seized and bound *Arês*, confining him in a brazen chamber for thirteen months. No one knew where he was, and the intolerable chain would have worn him to death, had not *Eriboea*, the jealous stepmother of the *Alôids*, revealed the place of his detention to *Hermês*, who carried him surreptitiously away when at the last extremity; nor could *Arês* obtain any atonement for such an indignity. *Otos* and *Ephialtês* even prepared to assault the gods in heaven, piling up *Ossa* on *Olympus* and *Pelion* on *Ossa*, in order to reach them. And this they would have accomplished had they been allowed to grow to their full maturity; but the arrows of *Apollo* put a timely end to their short-lived career.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Canacê*, daughter of *Æolus*, is a subject of deep tragical interest both in *Euripidês* and *Ovid*. The eleventh *Heroic Epistle* of the latter, founded mainly on the lost tragedy of the former called *Æolus*, purports to be from *Canacê* to *Macareus*, and contains a pathetic description of the ill-fated passion between a brother and sister: see the fragments of the *Æolus* in *Dindorf's* collection. In the tale of *Kaunos* and *Byblis*, both children of *Milêtos*, the results of an incestuous passion are different but hardly less melancholy (*Parthenios*, *Narr.* xi.).

*Makar*, the son of *Æolus*, is the primitive settler of the island of *Lesbos* (*Hom. Hymn. Apoll.* 37): moreover in the *Odyssey*, *Æolus* son of *Hippotês*, the dispenser of the winds, has six sons and six daughters, and marries the former to the latter (*Odys.* x. 7). The two persons called *Æolus* are brought into connection genealogically (see *Schol. ad Odys.* l. c., and *Diodôr.* iv. 67), but it seems probable that *Euripidês* was the first to place the names of *Macareus* and *Canacê* in that relation which confers upon them their poetical celebrity. *Sostratus* (ap. *Stobæum*, t. 614, p. 404) can hardly be considered to have borrowed from any older source than *Euripidês*. *Welcker* (*Griech. Tragöd.* vol. ii. p. 860) puts together all that can be known respecting the structure of the lost drama of *Euripidês*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, v. 386; *Odys.* xi. 308; *Apollodôr.* i. 7. 4. So *Typhôeus*, in the *Hesiodic Theogony*, the last enemy of the gods, is killed before he comes to maturity (*Theog.* 837). For the different turns given to this ancient Ho

The genealogy assigned to Calycê, another daughter of Æolus, conducts us from Thessaly to Elis and Ætôlia. She married Aëthlius (the son of Zeus by Prôtogeneia, daughter of Deukaliôn and sister of Hellên), who conducted a colony out of Thessaly and settled in the territory of Elis. He had for his son Endymion, respecting whom the Hesiodic Catalogue and the Eoiai related several wonderful things. Zeus granted him the privilege of determining the hour of his own death, and even translated him into heaven, which he forfeited by daring to pay court to Hêrê: his vision in this criminal attempt was cheated by a cloud, and he was cast out into the under-world.<sup>1</sup> According to other

meric legend, see Heyne, ad Apollodôr. l. c., and Hyginus, f. 28. The Alôids were noticed in the Hesiodic poems (ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. l. 482). Odysseus does not see *them* in Hadês, as Heyne by mistake says; he sees their mother Iphimêdea. Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 582) assigns to them a place among the sufferers of punishment in Tartarus.

Eumêlus, the Corinthian poet, designated Alôeus as son of the god Hêlios and brother of Æêtês, the father of Mèdeia (Enmêl. Fragm. 2, Marktscheffel). The scene of their death was subsequently laid in Naxos (Pindar, Pyth. iv. 88): their tombs were seen at Anthêdôn in Boëtia (Pausan. ix. 22, 4). The very curious legend alluded to by Pausanias from Hegesinoos, the author of an *Atthis*, — to the effect that Otos and Ephialtês were the first to establish the worship of the Muses in Helicôn, and that they founded Ascrea along with Cœklos, the son of Poseidôn, — is one which we have no means of tracing farther (Pausan. ix. 29, 1).

The story of the Alôids, as Diodôrus gives it (v. 51, 52), diverges on almost every point: it is evidently borrowed from some Naxian archaeologist, and the only information which we collect from it is, that Otos and Ephialtês received heroic honors at Naxos. The views of O. Müller (Orchomenos, p. 387) appear to me unusually vague and fanciful.

Ephialtês takes part in the combat of the giants against the gods (Apollodôr. t. 6, 2), where Heyne remarks, as in so many other cases, "Ephialtês hic non confundendus cum altero Alôei filio;" an observation just indeed, if we are supposed to be dealing with personages and adventures historically real, but altogether misleading in regard to these legendary characters; for here the general conception of Ephialtês and his attributes is in both cases the same; but the particular adventures ascribed to him cannot be made to consist, as facts, one with the other.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Akusilaus and Pherekydês, ap. Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 57. *Ἦν δ' ἀντὶ θανάτου ραμῆς*. The Scholium is very full of matter, and exhibits many of the diversities in the tale of Endymion: see also Apollodôr. i. 7, 5; Pausan. v. 1, 2; Conon. Narr. 14.

stories, his great beauty caused the goddess Sélène to become enamored of him, and to visit him by night during his sleep:—the sleep of Endymiôn became a proverbial expression for enviable, undisturbed, and deathless repose.<sup>1</sup> Endymiôn had for issue (Pausanias gives us three different accounts, and Apollodôrus a fourth, of the name of his wife) Epeios, Ætôlus, Pæôn, and a daughter Eurykydê. He caused his three sons to run a race on the stadium at Olympia, and Epeios, being victorious, was rewarded by becoming his successor in the kingdom: it was after him that the people were denominated Epeians.

Both the story here mentioned, and still more, the etymological signification of the names Aéthlius and Endymiôn, seem plainly to indicate (as has before been remarked) that this genealogy was not devised until after the Olympic games had become celebrated and notorious throughout Greece.

Epeios had no male issue, and was succeeded by his nephew Eleios, son of Eurykydê by the god Poseidôn: the name of the people was then changed from Epeians to Eleians. Ætôlus, the brother of Epeios, having slain Apia, son of Phorôneus, was compelled to flee from the country: he crossed the Corinthian gulf and settled in the territory then called Kurêtis, but to which he gave the name of Ætôlia.<sup>2</sup>

The son of Eleios, — or, according to other accounts, of the god Hélios, of Poseidôn, or of Phorbas,<sup>3</sup> — is Augeas, whom we find mentioned in the Iliad as king of the Epeians or Eleians. Nestôr gives a long and circumstantial narrative of his own exploits at the head of his Pylian countrymen against his neighbors the Epeians and their king Augeas, whom he defeated with great loss, slaying Mulios, the king's son-in-law, and acquiring a vast

<sup>1</sup> Theocrit. iii. 49; xx. 35; where, however, Endymiôn is connected with Latmos in Caria (see Schol. *ad loc.*).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. v. 1. 3-6; Apollodôr. i. 7, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 5, 5; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 172. In all probability, the old legend made Augeas the son of the god Hélios: Hélios, Augeas and Agamêdê are a triple series parallel to the Corinthian genealogy, Hélios, Xêtês and Mêdia; not to mention that the etymology of Augeas connects him with Hélios. Theocritus (xx. 55) designates him as the son of the god Hélios, through whose favor his cattle are made to prosper and multiply with such astonishing success (xx. 117).

booty.<sup>1</sup> Augeas was rich in all sorts of rural wealth, and possessed herds of cattle so numerous, that the dung of the animals accumulated in the stable or cattle enclosures beyond all power of endurance. Eurystheus, as an insult to Héraklēs, imposed upon him the obligation of cleansing this stable: the hero, disdaining to carry off the dung upon his shoulders, turned the course of the river Alpheios through the building, and thus swept the encumbrance away.<sup>2</sup> But Augeas, in spite of so signal a service, refused to Héraklēs the promised reward, though his son Phyleus protested against such treachery, and when he found that he could not induce his father to keep faith, retired in sorrow and wrath to the island of Dulichiôn.<sup>3</sup> To avenge the deceit practised upon him, Héraklēs invaded Elis; but Augeas had powerful auxiliaries, especially his nephews, the two Molionids (sons of Poseidôn by Molionē, the wife of Aktôr), Eurytos and Kteatos. These two miraculous brothers, of transcendent force, grew together, — having one body, but two heads and four arms.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xi. 670-760; Pherekyd. Fragm. 57, Didot.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 13. "Υβρεως ενεκεν Ε'ρυσθεὺς προσέταξε καθῆραι· ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸ μὲν τοῖς ὁμοῖς ἐξενεγκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεδοκίμασιν, ἐκκλίνων τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὕβρεως ἀσχύνην, etc. (Pausan. v. i. 7; Apollodôr. ii. 5, 5).

It may not be improper to remark that this fable indicates a purely pastoral condition, or at least a singularly rude state of agriculture; and the way in which Pausanias recounts it goes even beyond the genuine story: ὡς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ ἤδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου. The slaves of Odysseus however know what use to make of the dung heaped before his outer fence (Odys. xvii. 299); not so the purely carnivorous and pastoral Cyclops (Odys. ix. 329). The stabling into which the cattle go from their pasture, is called κόπρος in Homer, — Ἐλθοῦσας ἐς κόπρον, ἐπὴν βοτανῆς κορέσωνται (Odys. x. 411): compare Iliad, xviii. 575 — Μυκηθμῷ δ' ἀπὸ κόπρου ἐπεσσεύοντο πέδονδε.

The Augeas of Theocritus has abundance of wheat-land and vineyard, as well as cattle: he ploughs his land three or four times, and digs his vineyard diligently (xx. 20-32).

<sup>3</sup> The wrath and retirement of Phyleus is mentioned in the Iliad (ii. 633), but not the cause of it.

<sup>4</sup> These singular properties were ascribed to them both in the Hesiodic poems and by Pherekydēs (Schol. Ven. ad Il. xi. 715-750, et ad Il. xxiii. 638), but not in the Iliad. The poet Ibykus (Fragm. 11, Schneid. ap. Athenae. ii. 57) calls them ἀλίκας ἰσοκεφάλους, ἐμγυῖους, Ἀμφοτέρους γεγαῶτας ἐν ὧν ἄργυρέψ.

There were temples and divine honors to Zeus Mollôn (Lactantius, de Falsa Religione. i. 22)

Such was their irresistible might, that Héraklès was defeated and repelled from Elis: but presently the Eleians sent the two Molionid brothers as *Thespi* (sacred envoys) to the Isthmian games, and Héraklès, placing himself in ambush at Kleônæ, surprised and killed them as they passed through. For this murderous act the Eleians in vain endeavored to obtain redress both at Corinth and at Argos; which is assigned as the reason for the self-ordained exclusion, prevalent throughout all the historical age, that no Eleian athlete would ever present himself as a competitor at the Isthmian games.<sup>1</sup> The Molionids being thus removed, Héraklès again invaded Elis, and killed Augeas along with his children,—all except Phyleus, whom he brought over from Dulichiôn, and put in possession of his father's kingdom. According to the more gentle narrative which Pausanias adopts, Augeas was not killed, but pardoned at the request of Phyleus.<sup>2</sup> He was worshipped as a hero<sup>3</sup> even down to the time of that author.

It was on occasion of this conquest of Elis, according to the old mythe which Pindar has ennobled in a magnificent ode, that Héraklès first consecrated the ground of Olympia, and established the Olympic games. Such at least was one of the many fables respecting the origin of that memorable institution.<sup>4</sup>

Phyleus, after having restored order in Elis, retired again to Dulichiôn, and left the kingdom to his brother Agasthenès, which again brings us into the Homeric series. For Polyxenos, son of Agasthenès, is one of the four commanders of the Epeian forty ships in the *Iliad*, in conjunction with the two sons of Eurytos

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. v. 2, 4. The inscription cited by Pausanias proves that this was the reason assigned by the Eleian athletes themselves for the exclusion; but there were several different stories.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 7, 2. Diodôr. iv. 33. Pausan. v. 2, 2; 3, 2. It seems evident from these accounts that the genuine legend represented Héraklès as having been defeated by the Molionids: the unskilful evasions both of Apollodôrus and Diodôrus betray this. Pindar (*Olymp.* xi. 25-50) gives the story without any flattery to Héraklès.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. v. 4, 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian copy of Eusebius gives a different genealogy respecting Elis and Pisa: Aethlius, Epeius, Endymion, Alexinus; next Enomans and Pelops, then Héraklès. Some counted *ten* generations, others *three*, between Héraklès and Iphitus, who renewed the discontinued Olympic games (see *Armen. Euseb. copy c. xxxii. p. 140*).



and Kteatos, and with Diôrēs son of Amarynceus. Megēs, the son of Phyleus, commands the contingent from Delichiôn and the Echinades.<sup>1</sup> Polyxenos returns safe from Troy, is succeeded by his son Amphimachos, — named after the Epeian chief who had fallen before Troy, — and he again by another Eleios, in whose time the Dôrians and the Hêrakleids invade Peloponnêsus.<sup>2</sup> These two names, barren of actions or attributes, are probably introduced by the genealogists whom Pausanias followed, to fill up the supposed interval between the Trojan war and the Dorian invasion.

We find the ordinary discrepancies in respect to the series and the members of this genealogy. Thus some called Epeios son of Aëthlius, others son of Endymiôn:<sup>3</sup> a third pedigree, which carries the sanction of Aristotle and is followed by Cōnon, designated Eleios, the first settler of Elis, as son of Poseidōn and Eurypylē, daughter of Endymiôn, and Epeios and Alexis as the two sons of Eleios.<sup>4</sup> And Pindar himself, in his ode to Epharmostus the Locrian, introduces with much emphasis another king of the Epeians named Opus, whose daughter, pregnant by Zeus, was conveyed by that god to the old and childless king Locrus: the child when born, adopted by Locrus and named Opus, became the eponymous hero of the city so called in Locris.<sup>5</sup> Moreover Hekataeus the Milesian not only affirmed (contrary both to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) that the Epeians and the Eleians were different people, but also added that the Epeians had assisted Hêraklēs in his expedition against Angeas and Elis; a narrative very different from that of Apollodōrus and Pausanias, and indicating besides that he must have had before him a genealogy varying from theirs.<sup>6</sup>

It has already been mentioned that Ætōlus, son of Endymiôn,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 615-630.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. v. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Ven. ad *Il.* xi. 687; Cōnon, *Narrat.* xv. ap. *Scriptt. Mythogr.* West p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 62: Schol. *ibid.* 86. 'Οποιντος ἦν θυγάτηρ Ἡλείων βασιλέως, ἣν Ἀριστοτέλης Καμβύσην καλεῖ.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐκαταλὸς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἑτέροισι λέγει τῶν Ἡλείων τοὺς Ἐπειούς· τῷ γονυ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἐπειούς καὶ συνανελεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Ἀργεῖαν καὶ τὴν Ἠλίαν (*Hekst. ap. Strab. viii. p. 341*).

quitted Peloponnêsus in consequence of having slain Apis.<sup>1</sup> The country on the north of the Corinthian gulf, between the rivers Euênus and Achelôus, received from him the name of Ætôlia instead of that of Kurêtis: he acquired possession of it after having slain Dôrus, Laodokus and Polypôtes, sons of Apollo and Phthia, by whom he had been well received. He had by his wife Pronôé (the daughter of Phorbas) two sons, Pleurôn and Kalydôn, and from them the two chief towns in Ætôlia were named.<sup>2</sup> Pleurôn married Xanthippê, daughter of Dôrus, and had for his son Agênôr, from whom sprang Portheus, or Porthaôn, and Demonikê: Euânos and Thestius were children of the latter by the god Arês.<sup>3</sup>

Portheus had three sons, Agrius, Melas and Ceneus: among the offspring of Thestius were Althæa and Lêda,<sup>4</sup> — names which bring us to a period of interest in the legendary history. Lêda marries Tyndareus and becomes mother of Helena and the Dioscuri: Althæa marries Ceneus, and has, among other children, Meleager and Deianeira; the latter being begotten by the god Dionysus, and the former by Arês.<sup>5</sup> Tydeus also is his son, the

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus said that Ætôlus had been expelled by Salmônêus king of the Epeians and Pisatæ (ap. Strabo. viii. p. 357): he must have had before him a different story and different genealogy from that which is given in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. i. 7, 6. Dôrus, son of Apollo and Phthia, killed by Ætôlus, after having hospitably received him, is here mentioned. Nothing at all is known of this; but the conjunction of names is such as to render it probable that there was some legend connected with them: possibly the assistance given by Apollo to the Kuretes against the Ætolians, and the death of Meleager by the hand of Apollo, related both in the Eoiai and the Minyas (Pausan. x. 31, 2), may have been grounded upon it. The story connects itself with what is stated by Apollodôrus about Dôrus son of Hellên (see *supra*, p. 136).

<sup>3</sup> According to the ancient genealogical poet Asius, Thestius was son of Agênôr the son of Pleurôn (Asii Fragm. 6, p. 413, ed. Marktsch.). Compare the genealogy of Ætôlia and the general remarks upon it, in Brandstätter, Geschichte des Ætol. Landes, etc., Berlin, 1844, p. 23 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Respecting Lêda, see the statements of Ibykus, Pherekydês, Hellanikus, etc. (Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 146). The reference to the Corinthiaca of Eumêlus is curious: it is a specimen of the matters upon which these old genealogical poems dwell.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodôr. i. 8, 1; Euripidês, Meleager, Frag. 1. The three sons of Portheus are named in the Iliad (xiv. 116) as living at Pleurôn and Kalydôn. The name Ceneus doubtless brings Dionysus into the legend.

father of Diomêdês : warlike eminence goes hand in hand with tragic calamity among the members of this memorable family.

We are fortunate enough to find the legend of Althæa and Meleager set forth at considerable length in the *Iliad*, in the speech addressed by Phoenix to appease the wrath of Achilles. Ceneus, king of Kalydôn, in the vintage sacrifices which he offered to the gods, omitted to include Artemis : the misguided man either forgot her or cared not for her ;<sup>1</sup> and the goddess, provoked by such an insult, sent against the vineyards of Ceneus a wild boar, of vast size and strength, who tore up the trees by the root and laid prostrate all their fruit. So terrible was this boar, that nothing less than a numerous body of men could venture to attack him : Meleager, the son of Ceneus, however, having got together a considerable number of companions, partly from the Kurêtes of Pleurôn, at length slew him. But the anger of Artemis was not yet appeased, and she raised a dispute among the combatants respecting the possession of the boar's head and hide, — the trophies of victory. In this dispute, Meleager slew the brother of his mother Althæa, prince of the Kurêtes of Pleurôn : these Kurêtes attacked the Ætôlians of Kalydôn in order to avenge their chief. So long as Meleager contended in the field the Ætôlians had the superiority. But he presently refused to come forth, indignant at the curses imprecated upon him by his mother : for Althæa, wrung with sorrow for the death of her brother, flung herself upon the ground in tears, beat the earth violently with her hands, and implored Hadês and Persephonê to inflict death upon Meleager, — a prayer which the unrelenting Erinnyes in Erebus heard but too well. So keenly did the hero resent this behavior of his mother, that he kept aloof from the war ; and the Kurêtes not only drove the Ætôlians from the field, but assailed the walls and gates of Kalydôn, and were on the point of overwhelming its dismayed inhabitants. There was no hope of safety except in the arm of Meleager ; but Meleager lay in his chamber by the side of his beautiful wife Kleopatra, the daughter of Idas, and heeded not the necessity.

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ λάθεται, ἥ οὐκ ἐνόησεν. ἄσσσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ (*Iliad*, ix. 533). The destructive influence of Atê is mentioned before, v. 502. The piety of Xenophôn reproduces this ancient circumstance, — *Οἰνεως δ' ἐν γῆρα ἐπιλαθομένον τῆς θεοῦ*, etc. (De Venat. c. i.)

While the shouts of expected victory were heard from the assailants at the gates, the ancient men of *Ætolia* and the priests of the gods earnestly besought Meleager to come forth,<sup>1</sup> offering him his choice of the fattest land in the plain of *Kalydôn*. His dearest friends, his father *Ceneus*, his sisters, and even his mother herself added their supplications, but he remained inflexible. At length the *Kurêtes* penetrated into the town and began to burn it: at this last moment, *Kleopatra* his wife addressed to him her pathetic appeal, to avert from her and from his family the desperate horrors impending over them all. Meleager could no longer resist: he put on his armor, went forth from his chamber, and repelled the enemy. But when the danger was over, his countrymen withheld from him the splendid presents which they had promised, because he had rejected their prayers, and had come forth only when his own haughty caprice dictated.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the legend of Meleager in the *Iliad*: a verse in the second book mentions simply the death of Meleager, without farther details, as a reason why *Thoas* appeared in command of the *Ætôlians* before *Troy*.<sup>3</sup> Though the circumstance is indicated only indirectly, there seems little doubt that Homer must have conceived the death of the hero as brought about by the maternal curse: the unrelenting *Erinyes* executed to the letter the invocations of *Althæa*, though she herself must have been willing to retract them.

Later poets both enlarged and altered the fable. The *Hesiodic Eoiai*, as well as the old poem called the *Minyas*, represented Meleager as having been slain by *Apollo*, who aided the *Kurêtes* in the war; and the incident of the burning brand, though quite at variance with Homer, is at least as old as the tragic poet *Phrynichus*, earlier than *Æschylus*.<sup>4</sup> The *Mœræ*, or *Fates*, presenting themselves to *Althæa* shortly after the birth of Meleager, predicted that the child would die so soon as the brand then burning on the fire near at hand should be consumed. *Althæa* snatched it from the flames and extinguished it, preserving it with the utmost care, until she became incensed against Meleager for the

<sup>1</sup> These priests formed the Chorus in the *Meleager* of *Sophoklês* (*Schol. ad Iliad. ib. 575*).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 525-595.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 642.

<sup>4</sup> *Pausan.* x. 31. 2. The *Πλευρώνιαι*, a lost tragedy of *Phrynichus*.

death of her brother. She then cast it into the fire, and as soon as it was consumed the life of Meleager was brought to a close.

We know, from the sharp censure of Pliny, that Sophoklēs heightened the pathos of this subject by his account of the mournful death of Meleager's sisters, who perished from excess of grief. They were changed into the birds called Meleagrides, and their never-ceasing tears ran together into amber.<sup>1</sup> But in the hands of Euripidēs — whether originally through him or not,<sup>2</sup> we cannot tell — Atalanta became the prominent figure and motive of the piece, while the party convened to hunt the Kalydōnian boar was made to comprise all the distinguished heroes from every quarter of Greece. In fact, as Heyne justly remarks, this event is one of the four aggregate dramas of Grecian heroic life,<sup>3</sup> along with the Argonautic expedition, the siege of Thēbes, and the Trojan war. To accomplish the destruction of the terrific animal which Artemis in her wrath had sent forth, Meleager assembled not merely the choice youth among the Kurētes and Ætōlians (as we find in the Iliad), but an illustrious troop, including Kastōr and Pollux, Idas and Lynkeus, Pēleus and Telamōn, Thēseus and Peirithous, Ankæus and Kēpheus, Jasōn, Amphiaræus, Admētus, Eurytiōn and others. Nestōr and Phoenix, who appear as old men before the walls of Troy, exhibited their early prowess as auxiliaries to the suffering Kalydōnians.<sup>4</sup> Conspicuous amidst them all stood the virgin Atalanta, daughter of the Arcadian

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 2, 11.

<sup>2</sup> There was a tragedy of Æschylus called 'Αραλάννη, of which nothing remains (Bothe, Æschyli Fragm. ix. p. 18).

Of the more recent dramatic writers, several selected Atalanta as their subject (See Brandstäter, Geschichte Ætoliens, p. 65).

<sup>3</sup> There was a poem of Stesichorus, *Συόθρηται* (Stesichor. Fragm. 15. p. 72).

<sup>4</sup> The catalogue of these heroes is in Apollodōr. i. 8, 2; Ovid, Metamor. viii. 300; Hygin. fab. 173. Euripidēs, in his play of Meleager, gave an enumeration and description of the heroes (see Fragm. 6 of that play, ed. Matth.). Nestōr, in this picture of Ovid, however, does not appear quite so invincible as in his own speeches in the Iliad. The mythographers thought it necessary to assign a reason why Hēraklēs was not present at the Kalydōnian adventure: he was just at that time in servitude with Omphalē in Lydia (Apollod. ii. 6, 3). This seems to have been the idea of Ephorus, and it is much in his style of interpretation (see Ephor. Fragm. 9, ed. Didot.).

Schoeneus; beautiful and matchless for swiftness of foot, but living in the forest as a huntress and unacceptable to Aphroditê.<sup>1</sup> Several of the heroes were slain by the boar, others escaped by various stratagems: at length Atalanta first shot him in the back, next Amphiaraus in the eye, and, lastly, Meleager killed him. Enamoured of the beauty of Atalanta, Meleager made over to her the chief spoils of the animal, on the plea that she had inflicted the first wound. But his uncles, the brothers of Thestius, took them away from her, asserting their rights as next of kin,<sup>2</sup> if Meleager declined to keep the prize for himself: the latter, exasperated at this behavior, slew them. Althæa, in deep sorrow for her brothers and wrath against her son, is impelled to produce the fatal brand which she had so long treasured up, and consign it to the flames.<sup>3</sup> The tragedy concludes with the voluntary death both of Althæa and Kleopatra.

Interesting as the Arcadian huntress, Atalanta, is in herself, she is an intrusion, and not a very convenient intrusion, into the Homeric story of the Kalydônian boar-hunt, wherein another female Kleopatra, already occupied the foreground.<sup>4</sup> But the more recent version became accredited throughout Greece, and

<sup>1</sup> Euripid. Meleag. Fragm. vi. Matt. —

Κύπριδος δὲ μίσσημι, Ἀρκᾶς Ἀταλάντη, κύνας  
καὶ τόξ' ἔχουσα, etc.

There was a drama "Meleager" both of Sophoklēs and Euripidēs: of the former hardly any fragments remain, — a few more of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Hyginus, fab. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Diodôr, iv. 34. Apollodôrus (i. 8; 2-4) gives first the usual narrative, including Atalanta; next, the Homeric narrative with some additional circumstances, but not including either Atalanta or the fire-brand on which Meleager's life depended. He prefaces the latter with the words *οἱ δὲ φασι*, etc Antoninus Liberalis gives this second narrative only, without Atalanta, from Nicander (Narrat. 2).

The Latin scenic poet, Attius, had devoted one of his tragedies to this subject, taking the general story as given by Euripidēs: "Remanet gloria apud me: exuvias dignavi Atalantæ dare," seems to be the speech of Meleager. (Attii Fragm. 8, ap. Poet. Scen. Lat. ed. Bothe, p. 215). The readers of the Æneid will naturally think of the swift and warlike virgin Camilla, as the parallel of Atalanta.

<sup>4</sup> The narrative of Apollodôrus reads awkwardly — Μελέαγρος ἔχω γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν, βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐξ Ἀταλάντης τεκνοποιήσασθαι. etc (i. 8, 2).

was sustained by evidence which few persons in those days felt any inclination to controvert. For Atalanta carried away with her the spoils and head of the boar into Arcadia; and there for successive centuries hung the identical hide and the gigantic tusks, of three feet in length, in the temple of Athênê Alea at Tegea. Kallimachus mentions them as being there preserved, in the third century before the Christian æra;<sup>1</sup> but the extraordinary value set upon them is best proved by the fact that the emperor Augustus took away the tusks from Tegea, along with the great statue of Athênê Alea, and conveyed them to Rome, to be there preserved among the public curiosities. Even a century and a half afterwards, when Pausanias visited Greece, the skin worn out with age was shown to him, while the robbery of the tusks had not been forgotten. Nor were these relics of the boar the only memento preserved at Tegea of the heroic enterprise. On the pediment of the temple of Athênê Alea, unparalleled in Peloponnêsus for beauty and grandeur, the illustrious statuary Skopas had executed one of his most finished reliefs, representing the Kalydônian hunt. Atalanta and Meleager were placed in the front rank of the assailants, and Ankæus, one of the Tegean heroes, to whom the tusks of the boar had proved fatal,<sup>2</sup> was represented as sinking under his death-wound into the arms of his brother Epochos. And Pausanias observes, that the Tegeans, while they had manifested the same honorable forwardness as other Arcadian communities in the conquest of Troy, the repulse of Xerxês, and the battle of Dipæ against Sparta — might fairly claim to themselves, through Ankæus and Atalanta, that they alone amongst all Arcadians had participated in the glory of the Kalydônian boar-hunt.<sup>3</sup> So entire and unsuspecting is the faith

<sup>1</sup> Kallimachus, Hymn. ad Dian. 217. —

Οὐ μιν ἐπικλητοὶ Καλυδώνιοι ἀγρευτῆρες  
Μέμφονται κάπροιο· τὰ γὰρ σημεῖα νίκης  
Ἀρκαδίην εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχει δ' ἐτι θηρὸς ὀδόντας.

<sup>2</sup> See Pherekyd. Frag. 81, ed. Didot.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. viii. 45, 4; 46, 1-3; 47, 2. Lucian, adv. Indoctum, c. 14. t. iii. p. 111, Reis.

The officers placed in charge of the public curiosities or wonders at Rome (οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαύμασιν) affirmed that one of the tusks had been accidentally

both of the Tegeans and of Pausanias in the past historical reality of this romantic adventure. Strabo indeed tries to transform the romance into something which has the outward semblance of history, by remarking that the quarrel respecting the boar's head and hide cannot have been the real cause of war between the Kurètes and the Ætôlians; the true ground of dispute (he contends) was probably the possession of a portion of territory.<sup>1</sup> His remarks on this head are analogous to those of Thucydides and other critics, when they ascribe the Trojan war, not to the rape of Helen, but to views of conquest or political apprehensions. But he treats the general fact of the battle between the Kurètes and the Ætôlians, mentioned in the Iliad, as something unquestionably real and historical — recapitulating at the same time a variety of discrepancies on the part of different authors, but not giving any decision of his own respecting their truth or falsehood.

In the same manner as Atalanta was intruded into the Kalydônian hunt, so also she seems to have been introduced into the memorable funeral games celebrated after the decease of Pelias at Iôlkos, in which she had no place at the time when the works on the chest of Kypselus were executed.<sup>2</sup> But her native and genuine locality is Arcadia; where her race-course, near to the town of Methydriou, was shown even in the days of Pausanias.<sup>3</sup> This race-course had been the scene of destruction for more than

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broken in the voyage from Greece: the other was kept in the temple of Bacchus in the Imperial Gardens.

It is numbered among the memorable exploits of Thêseus that he vanquished and killed a formidable and gigantic sow, in the territory of Krommyôn near Corinth. According to some critics, this Krommyônian sow was the mother of the Kalydônian boar (Strabo, viii. p. 380).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, x. p. 466. Πολέμου δ' ἐμπεσόντος τοῖς Θεστιάδαις πρὸς Οἰνίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον, ὁ μὲν Ποιητὴς, ἀμφὶ σὺνδὲ κεφαλῇ καὶ δέρματι, κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ κάπρου μυθολογίαν· ὡς δὲ τὸ εἶδος, περὶ μέρους τῆς χώρας, etc. This remark is also similar to Mr. Payne Knight's criticism on the true causes of the Trojan war, which were (he tells us) of a political character, independent of Helen and her abduction (Prolegom. ad Homer. c. 53).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollodôr. iii. 9, 2, and Pausan. v. 17, 4. She is made to wrestle with Pêleus at these funeral games, which seems foreign to her character.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. viii. 35, 8.



one unsuccessful suitor. For Atalanta, averse to marriage, had proclaimed that her hand should only be won by the competitor who could surpass her in running: all who tried and failed were condemned to die, and many were the persons to whom her beauty and swiftness, alike unparalleled, had proved fatal. At length Meilaniôn, who had vainly tried to win her affections by assiduous services in her hunting excursions, ventured to enter the perilous lists. Aware that he could not hope to outrun her except by stratagem, he had obtained by the kindness of Aphroditê, three golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides, which he successively let fall near to her while engaged in the race. The maiden could not resist the temptation of picking them up, and was thus overcome: she became the wife of Meilaniôn and the mother of the Arcadian Parthenopæus, one of the seven chiefs who perished in the siege of Thêbes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the varieties in this interesting story, see Apollod., iii. 9, 2; Hygin. f. 185; Ovid, Metam. x. 560-700; Propert. i. 1, 20; Ælian, V. H. xiii. i. *Μειλανίωνος σωφρονέστερος*. Aristophan. Lysistrat. 786 and Schol. In the ancient representation on the chest of Kypselus (Paus. v. 19, 1), Meilaniôn was exhibited standing near Atalanta, who was holding a fawn: no match or competition in running was indicated.

There is great discrepancy in the naming and patronymic description of the parties in the story. Three different persons are announced as fathers of Atalanta, Schœneus, Jasus and Mænalos; the successful lover in Ovid (and seemingly in Euripidês also) is called Hippomenêa, not Meilaniôn. In the Hesiodic poems Atalanta was daughter of Schœneus; Hellanikus called her daughter of Jasus. See Apollodôr. 1. c.; Kallimach. Hymn to Dian. 214, with the note of Spanheim; Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 150; Schol. Theocr. Idyll. iii. 40; also the ample commentary of Bachet de Meziriac, Sur les Épîtres d'Ovide, vol. i. p. 366. Servius (ad Virg. Eclog. vi. 61; Æneid, iii. 113) calls Atalanta a native of Scyros.

Both the ancient scholiasts (see Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 769) and the modern commentators, Spanheim and Heyne, seek to escape this difficulty by supposing two Atalantas, — an Arcadian and a Bœôtian: assuming the principle of their conjecture to be admissible, they ought to suppose at least three.

Certainly, if personages of the Grecian mythes are to be treated as historically real, and their adventures as so many exaggerated and miscolored facts, it will be necessary to repeat the process of multiplying entities to an infinite extent. And this is one among the many reasons for rejecting the fundamental supposition.

But when we consider these personages as purely legendary, so that an

We have yet another female in the family of CENEUS, whose name the legend has immortalized. His daughter Deianeira was sought in marriage by the river Achelôus, who presented himself in various shapes, first as a serpent and afterwards as a bull. From the importunity of this hateful suitor she was rescued by the arrival of HÉRACLÈS, who encountered Achelôus, vanquished him and broke off one of his horns, which Achelôus ransomed by surrendering to him the horn of Amaltheia, endued with the miraculous property of supplying the possessor with abundance of any food or drink which he desired. HÉRACLÈS was rewarded for his prowess by the possession of Deianeira, and he made over the horn of Amaltheia as his marriage-present to CENEUS.<sup>1</sup> Compelled to leave the residence of CENEUS in consequence of having in a fit of anger struck the youthful attendant Eunomus, and involuntarily killed him,<sup>2</sup> HÉRACLÈS retired to Trachin, crossing the river Euénus at the place where the Centaur Nessus was

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historical basis can neither be affirmed nor denied respecting them, we escape the necessity of such inconvenient stratagems. The test of identity is then to be sought in the attributes, not in the legal description, — in the predicates, not in the subject. Atalanta, whether born of one father or another, whether belonging to one place or another, is beautiful, cold, repulsive, daring, swift of foot and skilful with the bow; — these attributes constitute her identity. The Scholiast on Theocritus (iii. 40), in vindicating his supposition that there were two Atalantas, draws a distinction founded upon this very principle: he says that the Boeôtian Atalanta was *ροφόρις*, and the Arcadian Atalanta *δρῶπαία*. But this seems an over-refinement: both the shooting and the running go to constitute an accomplished huntress.

In respect to Parthenopæus, called by Euripidès and by so many others the son of Atalanta, it is of some importance to add, that Apollodôrus, Aristarchus, and Antimachus, the author of the Thebaid, assigned to him a pedigree entirely different, — making him an Argeian, the son of Talaos and Lysimachè, and brother of Adrastus. (Apollodôr. i. 9, 13; Aristarch. ap. Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 1320; Antimachus ap. Schol. Æschyl. Sep. Theb. 532; and Schol. Supplem. ad Eurip. Phœniss. t. viii. p. 461, ed. Matth. Apollodôrus is in fact inconsistent with himself in another passage).

<sup>1</sup> Sophokl. Trachin. 7. The horn of Amaltheia was described by Pherekydès (Apollod. ii. 7, 5); see also Strabo, x. p. 458 and Diodôr. iv. 35, who cites an interpretation of the fables (*οἱ ἐκάλουντες ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ ληθδῆς*) to the effect that it was symbolical of an embankment of the unruly river by HÉRACLÈS, and consequent recovery of very fertile land.

<sup>2</sup> Hellanikus (ap. Athen. ix. p. 410) mentioning this incident, in two different works, called the attendant by two different names.

accustomed to carry over passengers for hire. Nessus carried over Deianeira, but when he had arrived on the other side, began to treat her with rudeness, upon which Héraklès slew him with an arrow tinged by the poison of the Lernean hydra. The dying Centaur advised Deianeira to preserve the poisoned blood which flowed from his wound, telling her that it would operate as a philtre to regain for her the affections of Héraklès, in case she should ever be threatened by a rival. Some time afterwards the hero saw and loved the beautiful Iolê, daughter of Eurytos, king of Œchalia: he stormed the town, killed Eurytos, and made Iolê his captive. The misguided Deianeira now had recourse to her supposed philtre: she sent as a present to Héraklès a splendid tunic, imbued secretly with the poisoned blood of the Centaur. Héraklès adorned himself with the tunic on the occasion of offering a solemn sacrifice to Zeus on the promontory of Kênsœon in Eubœa: but the fatal garment, when once put on, clung to him indissolubly, burnt his skin and flesh, and occasioned an agony of pain from which he was only relieved by death. Deianeira slew herself in despair at this disastrous catastrophe.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The beautiful drama of the Trachiniae has rendered this story familiar: compare Apollod. ii. 7, 7. Hygin. f. 36. Diodôr. iv. 36-37.

The capture of Œchalia (*Οἰχάλιας ἄλωσις*) was celebrated in a very ancient epic poem by Kreophylos, of the Homeric and not of the Hesiodic character: it passed with many as the work of Homer himself. (See Düntzer, *Fragm. Epic. Græcor.* p. 8. Welcker, *Der Epische Cyclos*, p. 229). The same subject was also treated in the Hesiodic Catalogue, or in the *Eoiai* (see Hesiod, *Fragm.* 129, ed. Marksch.): the number of the children of Eurytos was there enumerated.

This exploit seems constantly mentioned as the last performed by Héraklès, and as immediately preceding his death or apotheosis on Mount Œta: but whether the legend of Deianeira and the poisoned tunic be very old, we cannot tell.

The tale of the death of Iphitos, son of Eurytos, by Héraklès, is as ancient as the *Odyssey* (xxi. 19-40): but it is there stated, that Eurytos dying left his memorable bow to his son Iphitos (the bow is given afterwards by Iphitos to Odysseus, and is the weapon so fatal to the suitors), — a statement not very consistent with the story that Œchalia was taken and Eurytos slain by Héraklès. It is plain that these were distinct and contradictory legends. Compare Soph. *Trachin.* 260-285 (where Iphitos dies before Eurytos), not only with the passage just cited from the *Odyssey*, but also with Pherekydês, *Fragm.* 34, Didot.

Hyginus (f. 33) differs altogether in the parentage of Deianeira: he calls

We have not yet exhausted the eventful career of CENEUS and his family — ennobled among the Ætôlians especially, both by religious worship and by poetical eulogy — and favorite themes not merely in some of the Hesiodic poems, but also in other ancient epic productions, the Alkmæënis and the Cyclic Thêbais.<sup>1</sup> By another marriage, CENEUS had for his son TYDEUS, whose poetical celebrity is attested by the many different accounts given both of the name and condition of his mother. Tydeus, having slain his cousins, the sons of MELAS, who were conspiring against CENEUS, was forced to become an exile, and took refuge at ARGOS with ADRASTUS, whose daughter DEIPYLÊ he married. The issue of this marriage was DIOMÊDÊS, whose brilliant exploits in the siege of TROY were not less celebrated than those of his father at the siege of Thêbes. After the departure of Tydeus, CENEUS was deposed by the sons of AGRIOS, and fell into extreme poverty and wretchedness, from which he was only rescued by his grandson DIOMÊDÊS, after the conquest of TROY.<sup>2</sup> The sufferings of this ancient warrior, and the final restoration and revenge by DIOMÊDÊS, were the subject of a lost tragedy of EURIPIDÊS, which even the ridicule of ARISTOPHANÊS demonstrates to have been eminently pathetic.<sup>3</sup>

Though the genealogy just given of CENEUS is in part Homeric, and seems to have been followed generally by the mythographers, yet we find another totally at variance with it in HEKATÆUS, which he doubtless borrowed from some of the old poets: the simplicity of the story annexed to it seems to attest its antiquity. ORESTHEUS, son of DEUKALIÔN, first passed into

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her daughter of DEXAMENOS: his account of her marriage with HÊRAKLÊS is in every respect at variance with APOLLODÔRUS. In the latter, MNÊSIMACHÊ is the daughter of DEXAMENOS; HÊRAKLÊS rescues her from the importunities of the Centaur EURYTIÔN (ii. 5, 5).

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Apollod. i. 8, 4-5. Pindar, Isthm. iv. 32. *Μελέτρην δὲ σοφισταῖς Διδὸς ἑκατὶ πρόσβαλον σεβιζόμενοι Ἐν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν θυσίαισι φασινναῖς Οἰνεῖδαι κρατεροί*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Hekat. Fragm. 341, Didot. In this story CENEUS is connected with the first discovery of the vine and the making of wine (*οἶνος*): compare Hygin. f. 129, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. i. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Welcker (Griechisch. Tragöd. ii. p. 583) on the lost tragedy called CENEUS.

Ætolia, and acquired the kingdom: he was father of Phytios, who was father of Ceneus. Ætôlus was son of Ceneus.<sup>1</sup>

The original migration of Ætôlus from Elis to Cætolia — and the subsequent establishment in Elis of Oxylus, his descendant in the tenth generation, along with the Dorian invaders of Peloponnêsus — were commemorated by two inscriptions, one in the agora of Elis, the other in that of the Ætolian chief town, Thermum, engraved upon the statues of Ætôlus and Oxylus,<sup>2</sup> respectively.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PELOPIDS.

AMONG the ancient legendary genealogies, there was none which figured with greater splendor, or which attracted to itself

<sup>1</sup> Timoklês, Comiç. ap. Athenæ. vii. p. 223. —

*Τέρων τις ἀτυχεῖ; κατέμαθεν τὸν Οὐλέα.*

Ovid. Heroid. ix. 153. —

“*Hen! devota domus! Solio sedet Agricola alto  
Cenea desertum nuda senecta premit.*”

The account here given is in Hyginus (f. 175): but it is in many points different both from Apollodôrus (i. 8, 6; Pausan. ii. 25) and Pherekydês (Fragm. 83, Didot). It seems to be borrowed from the lost tragedy of Euripidês. Compare Schol. ad Aristoph. Acharn. 417. Antonin. Liberal. c. 37. In the Iliad, Ceneus is dead before the Trojan war (ii. 641).

The account of Ephorus again is different (ap. Strabo. x. p. 462); he joins Alkmæôn with Diomêdês: but his narrative has the air of a tissue of quasi-historical conjectures, intended to explain the circumstance that the Ætolian Diomêdês is king of Argos during the Trojan war.

Pausanias and Apollodôrus affirm that Ceneus was buried at Cenoë between Argos and Mantinea, and they connect the name of this place with him. But it seems more reasonable to consider him as the eponymous hero of Ceniadæ in Ætolia.

<sup>2</sup> Ephor. Fragm. 29. Didot ap. Strab. x.

a higher degree of poetical interest and pathos, than that of the Pelopids — Tantalus, Pelops, Atreus and Thyestês, Agamemnôn and Menelaus and Ægisthus, Helen and Klytæmnêstra, Orestês and Elektra and Hermionê. Each of these characters is a star of the first magnitude in the Grecian hemisphere: each name suggests the idea of some interesting romance or some harrowing tragedy: the curse which taints the family from the beginning inflicts multiplied wounds at every successive generation. So, at least, the story of the Pelopids presents itself, after it had been successively expanded and decorated by epic, lyric and tragic poets. It will be sufficient to touch briefly upon events with which every reader of Grecian poetry is more or less familiar, and to offer some remarks upon the way in which they were colored and modified by different Grecian authors.

Pelops is the eponym or name-giver of the Peloponnêsus: to find an eponym for every conspicuous local name was the invariable turn of Grecian retrospective fancy. The name Peloponnêsus is not to be found either in the Iliad or the Odyssey, nor any other denomination which can be attached distinctly and specially to the entire peninsula. But we meet with the name in one of the most ancient post-Homeric poems of which any fragments have been preserved — the Cyprian Verses — a poem which many (seemingly most persons) even of the contemporaries of Herodotus ascribed to the author of the Iliad, though Herodotus contradicts the opinion.<sup>1</sup> The attributes by which the Pelopid Agamemnôn and his house are marked out and distinguished from the other heroes of the Iliad, are precisely those which Grecian imagination would naturally seek in an eponymus — superior wealth, power, splendor and regality. Not only Agamemnôn

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod. ii. 117. Fragment. Epicc. Græc. Düntzer, ix. Κύπρια, 8. —

Αἴψα τε Λυγκεὺς  
 Τοῦγετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθὺς,  
 Ἀκρότατον δ' ἀναβὺς διεδέκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν  
 Τανταλίδει Πέλοπος.

Also the Homeric Hymn. Apoll. 419, 430, and Tyrtæus, Fragm. 1. —

(Εὐνομία) — Εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

The Schol. ad Iliad. ix. 246, intimates that the name Πελοπόννησος occurred in one or more of the Hesiodic epics.

himself, but his brother Menelaus, is "more of a king" even than Nestôr or Diomêdês. The gods have not given to the king of the "much-golden" Mykênæ greater courage, or strength, or ability, than to various other chiefs; but they have conferred upon him a marked superiority in riches, power and dignity, and have thus singled him out as the appropriate leader of the forces.<sup>1</sup> He enjoys this preëminence as belonging to a privileged family and as inheriting the heaven-descended sceptre of Pelops, the transmission of which is described by Homer in a very remarkable way. The sceptre was made "by Hêphæstos, who presented it to Zeus; Zeus gave it to Hermês, Hermês to the charioteer Pelops; Pelops gave it to Atreus, the ruler of men; Atreus at his death left it to Thyestês, the rich cattle-owner; Thyestês in his turn left it to his nephew Agamemnôn to carry, that he might hold dominion over many islands and over all Argos."<sup>2</sup>

We have here the unrivalled wealth and power of the "king of men, Agamemnôn," traced up to his descent from Pelops, and accounted for, in harmony with the recognized epical agencies, by the present of the special sceptre of Zeus through the hands of Hermês; the latter being the wealth-giving god, whose bless-

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 37. Compare ii. 580. Diomêdês addresses Agamemnôn —

Σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχα δῶκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω  
Σκῆπτρῳ μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων·  
'Ἀλκὴν δ' οὐτοὶ δῶκεν, ὃ, τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

A similar contrast is drawn by Nestôr (*Il.* i. 280) between Agamemnôn and Achilles. Nestôr says to Agamemnôn (*Il.* ix. 60) —

'Ατρεΐδην, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύετατος ἐσσι.

And this attribute attaches to Menelaus as well as to his brother. For when Diomêdês is about to choose his companion for the night expedition into the Trojan camp, Agamemnôn thus addresses him (*x.* 232) :

Τὸν μὲν δὴ ἑταρόν γ' αἰρήσεται, ἐν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα  
Φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ μεμῶασί γε πολλοί·  
Μηδὲ σύ γ' αἰδόμενος σῆσι φρεσὶ, τὸν μὲν ἄρειν  
Κυλλεῖπειν σὺ δὲ χεῖρον' ὀπίσσεαι αἰδοῖ εἰνων,  
'Ες γενεὴν ὀρώων, εἰ καὶ βασιλευντερός ἐστιν.  
'Ὡς ἔφατ', ἐδόεισε δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 101.

ing is most efficacious in furthering the process of acquisition, whether by theft or by accelerated multiplication of flocks and herds.<sup>1</sup> The wealth and princely character of the Atreids were proverbial among the ancient epic poets. Paris not only carries away Hellen, but much property along with her:<sup>2</sup> the house of Menelaus, when Telemachus visits it in the *Odyssey*, is so resplendent with gold and silver and rare ornament,<sup>3</sup> as to strike the beholder with astonishment and admiration. The attributes assigned to Tantalus, the father of Pelops, are in conformity with the general idea of the family — superhuman abundance and enjoyments, and intimate converse with the gods, to such a degree that his head is turned, and he commits inexpiable sin. But though Tantalus himself is mentioned, in one of the most suspicious passages of the *Odyssey* (as suffering punishment in the under-world), he is not announced, nor is any one else announced, as father of Pelops, unless we are to construe the lines in the *Iliad* as implying that the latter was son of Hermês. In the conception of the author of the *Iliad*, the Pelopids are, if not of divine origin, at least a mortal breed specially favored and ennobled by the gods — beginning with Pelops, and localized at Mykênæ. No allusion is made to any connection of Pelops either with Pisa or with Lydia.

The legend which connected Tantalus and Pelops with Mount Sipylus may probably have grown out of the Æolic settlements at Magnêsia and Kymê. Both the Lydian origin and the Pisatic sovereignty of Pelops are adapted to times later than the *Iliad*, when the Olympic games had acquired to themselves the general reverence of Greece, and had come to serve as the religious and recreative centre of the Peloponnêsus — and when the Lydian

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xiv. 491. Hesiod. *Theog.* 444. Homer, *Hymn. Mercur.* 526-568. Ὀλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικάλλεα βράβδον. Compare Eustath. ad *Iliad.* xvi. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 72; vii. 363. In the Hesiodic *Eoiai* was the following couplet (*Fragm.* 55. p. 43, Düntzer):—

Ἄλκην μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Ἀλακίδῳ,  
Νοῦν δ' Ἀμυνθαιδίῳ, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπερ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι.

Again, Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* 9, 4. —

Οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδῳ Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Odys.* iv. 46-71.



and Phrygian heroic names, Midas and Gygês, were the types of wealth and luxury, as well as of chariot driving, in the imagination of a Greek. The inconsiderable villages of the Pisatid derived their whole importance from the vicinity of Olympia: they are not deemed worthy of notice in the Catalogue of Homer. Nor could the genealogy which connected the eponym of the entire peninsula with Pisa have obtained currency in Greece unless it had been sustained by preëstablished veneration for the locality of Olympia. But if the sovereign of the humble Pisa was to be recognized as forerunner of the thrice-wealthy princes of Mikênæ, it became necessary to assign some explanatory cause of his riches. Hence the supposition of his being an immigrant, son of a wealthy Lydian named Tantalus, who was the offspring of Zeus and Ploutô. Lydian wealth and Lydian chariot-driving rendered Pelops a fit person to occupy his place in the legend, both as ruler of Pisa and progenitor of the Mykenæan Atreids. Even with the admission of these two circumstances there is considerable difficulty, for those who wish to read the legends as consecutive history, in making the Pelopids pass smoothly and plausibly from Pisa to Mykênæ.

I shall briefly recount the legends of this great heroic family as they came to stand in their full and ultimate growth, after the localization of Pelops at Pisa had been tacked on as a preface to Homer's version of the Pelopid genealogy.

Tantalus, residing near Mount Sipylus in Lydia, had two children, Pelops and Niobê. He was a man of immense possessions and preëminent happiness, above the lot of humanity: the gods communicated with him freely, received him at their banquets, and accepted of his hospitality in return. Intoxicated with such prosperity, Tantalus became guilty of gross wickedness. He stole nectar and ambrosia from the table of the gods, and revealed their secrets to mankind: he killed and served up to them at a feast his own son Pelops. The gods were horror-struck when they discovered the meal prepared for them: Zeus restored the mangled youth to life, and as Dêmêtêr, then absorbed in grief for the loss of her daughter Persephonê, had eaten a portion of the shoulder, he supplied an ivory shoulder in place of it. Tantalus expiated his guilt by exemplary punishment. He was placed in the under-world, with fruit and water seemingly close

to him, yet eluding his touch as often as he tried to grasp them, and leaving his hunger and thirst incessant and unappeased.<sup>1</sup> Pindar, in a very remarkable passage, finds this old legend revolting to his feelings: he rejects the tale of the flesh of Pelops having been served up and eaten, as altogether unworthy of the gods.<sup>2</sup>

Niobê, the daughter of Tantalus, was married to Amphion, and had a numerous and flourishing offspring of seven sons and seven daughters. Though accepted as the intimate friend and companion of Lêtô, the mother of Apollo and Artemas,<sup>3</sup> she was presumptuous enough to triumph over that goddess, and to place herself on a footing of higher dignity, on account of the superior number of her children. Apollo and Artemas avenged this insult by killing all the sons and all the daughters: Niobê, thus left a childless and disconsolate mother, wept herself to death, and was turned into a rock, which the later Greeks continued always to identify on Mount Sipylus.<sup>4</sup>

Some authors represented Pelops as not being a Lydian, but a king of Paphlagônia; by others it was said that Tantalus, having become detested from his impieties, had been expelled from Asia by Ilus the king of Troy,—an incident which served the double purpose of explaining the transit of Pelops to Greece, and of imparting to the siege of Troy by Agamemnôn the character of retribution for wrongs done to his ancestor.<sup>5</sup> When Pelops came over to Greece, he found Enomæus, son of the god Arês and Harpinna, in possession of the principality of Pisa,

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Diodôr. iv. 77. Hom. Odyss. xi. 582. Pindar gives a different version of the punishment inflicted on Tantalus: a vast stone was perpetually impending over his head, and threatening to fall (Olymp. i. 56; Isthm. vii. 20).

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, Olymp. i. 45. Compare the sentiment of Iphigeneia in Euripidês, Iph. Taur. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Sapphô (Fragm. 82, Schneidewin)—

*Λατὼ καὶ Νιόβη μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταῖραι.*

Sapphô assigned to Niobê eighteen children (Anl. Gell. N. A. iv. A. xx. 7); Hesiod gave twenty; Homer twelve (Apollod. iii. 5).

The Lydian historian Xanthus gave a totally different version both of the genealogy and of the misfortunes of Niobê (Parthen. Narr. 33).

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, Metam. vi. 164–311. Pausan. i. 21, 5; viii. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 358, and Schol.; Ister. Fragment. 59, Dindorf; Diodôr. iv. 74.

immediately bordering on the district of Olympia. CEnomaus, having been apprized by an oracle that death would overtake him if he permitted his daughter Hippodameia to marry, refused to give her in marriage except to some suitor who should beat him in a chariot-race from Olympia to the isthmus of Corinth;<sup>1</sup> the ground here selected for the legendary victory of Pelops deserves attention, inasmuch as it is a line drawn from the assumed centre of Peloponnésus to its extremity, and thus comprises the whole territory with which Pelops is connected as eponym. Any suitor overmatched in the race was doomed to forfeit his life; and the fleetness of the Pisan horses, combined with the skill of the charioteer Myrtilus, had already caused thirteen unsuccessful competitors to perish by the lance of CEnomaus.<sup>2</sup> Pelops entered the lists as a suitor: his prayers moved the god Poseidón to supply him with a golden chariot and winged horses; or according to another story, he captivated the affections of Hippodameia herself, who persuaded the charioteer Myrtilus to loosen the wheels of CEnomaus before he started, so that the latter was overturned and perished in the race. Having thus won the hand of Hippodameia, Pelops became Prince of Pisa.<sup>3</sup> He put to death the charioteer Myrtilus, either from indignation at his treachery to CEnomaus,<sup>4</sup> or from jealousy on the score of Hippodameia: but Myrtilus was the son of Hermés, and though Pelops erected a temple in the vain attempt to propitiate that god, he left a curse upon his race which future calamities were destined painfully to work out.<sup>5</sup>

Pelops had a numerous issue by Hippodameia: Pittheus, Troezen and Epidaurus, the eponyms of the two Argolic cities

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (vi. 21, 7) had read their names in the Hesiodic Eoiai.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, Olymp. i. 140. The chariot race of Pelops and CEnomaus was represented on the chest of Kypselus at Olympia: the horses of the former were given as having wings (Pausan, v. 17, 4). Pherekydés gave the same story (ap. Schol. ad Soph. Elect. 504).

<sup>4</sup> It is noted by Herodotus and others as a remarkable fact, that no mules were ever bred in the Eleian territory: an Eleian who wished to breed a mule sent his mare for the time out of the region. The Eleians themselves ascribed this phenomenon to a disability brought on the land by a curse from the lips of CEnomaus (Herod. iv. 30; Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. p. 303).

<sup>5</sup> Paus. v. 1, 1; Sophok. Elektr. 508; Eurip. Orest. 985, with Schol., Plato, Kratyl. p. 395.

so called, are said to have been among them: Atreus and Thyestes were also his sons, and his daughter Nikippé married Sthenelus of Mykênæ, and became the mother of Eurystheus.<sup>1</sup> We hear nothing of the principality of Pisa afterwards: the Pisatid villages became absorbed into the larger aggregate of Elis, after a vain struggle to maintain their separate right of presidency over the Olympic festival. But the legend ran that Pelops left his name to the whole peninsula: according to Thucycidês, he was enabled to do this because of the great wealth which he had brought with him from Lydia into a poor territory. The historian leaves out all the romantic interest of the genuine legends—preserving only this one circumstance, which, without being better attested than the rest, carries with it, from its common-place and prosaic character, a pretended historical plausibility.<sup>2</sup>

Besides his numerous issue by Hippodameia, Pelops had an illegitimate son named Chrysippus, of singular grace and beauty, towards whom he displayed so much affection as to rouse the jealousy of Hippodameia and her sons. Atreus and Thyestês conspired together to put Chrysippus to death, for which they were banished by Pelops and retired to Mykênæ,<sup>3</sup>—an event which brings us into the track of the Homeric legend. For Thucydidês, having found in the death of Chrysippus a suitable ground for the secession of Atreus from Pelops, conducts him at once to Mykênæ, and shows a train of plausible circumstances to account for his having mounted the throne. Eurystheus, king of Mykênæ, was the maternal nephew of Atreus: when he engaged in any foreign expedition, he naturally entrusted the regency to his uncle; the people of Mykênæ thus became accustomed to be governed by him, and he on his part made efforts to conciliate them, so that when Eurystheus was defeated and slain in Attica, the Mykênæan people, apprehensive of an invasion from the Hêracleids, chose Atreus as at once the most powerful

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. ii. 4, 5. Pausan. ii. 30, 8; 26, 3; v. 8, 1. Hesiod. ap. Schol. ad Iliad. xx. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> We find two distinct legends respecting Chrysippus: his abduction by Laius king of Thêbes, on which the lost drama of Euripidês called Chrysippus turned (see Welcker, Griech. Tragödien, ii. p. 536), and his death by the hands of his half-brothers. Hyginus (f. 85) blends the two together.

and most acceptable person for his successor.<sup>1</sup> Such was the tale which Thucydides derived "from those who had learnt ancient Peloponnésian matters most clearly from their forefathers." The introduction of so much sober and quasi-political history, unfortunately unauthenticated, contrasts strikingly with the highly poetical legends of Pelops and Atreus, which precede and follow it.

Atreus and Thyestês are known in the Iliad only as successive possessors of the sceptre of Zeus, which Thyestês at his death bequeathes to Agamemnôn. The family dissensions among this fated race commence, in the Odyssey, with Agamemnôn the son of Atreus, and Ægisthus the son of Thyestês. But subsequent poets dwelt upon an implacable quarrel between the two fathers. The cause of the bitterness was differently represented: some alleged that Thyestês had intrigued with the Krêtan Aeropê, the wife of his brother; other narratives mentioned that Thyestês procured for himself surreptitiously the possession of a lamb with a golden fleece, which had been designedly introduced among the flocks of Atreus by the anger of Hermês, as a cause of enmity and ruin to the whole family.<sup>2</sup> Atreus, after a violent

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 9. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ τὰ Πελοποννησίων σαφέστατα μῆμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι. According to Hellanikus, Atreus the elder son returns to Pisa after the death of Pelops with a great army, and makes himself master of his father's principality (Hellanik. ap Schol. ad Iliad. ii. 105) Hellanikus does not seem to have been so solicitous as Thucydides to bring the story into conformity with Homer. The circumstantial genealogy given in Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 5. makes Atreus and Thyestês reside during their banishment at Makestus in Triphylia: it is given without any special authority, but may perhaps come from Hellanikus.

<sup>2</sup> Æschil. Agamem. 1204, 1253, 1608; Hygin. 86; Attii Fragm. 19. This was the story of the old poem entitled Alkmæônis; seemingly also of Pherekydês, though the latter rejected the story that Hermês had produced the golden lamb with the special view of exciting discord between the two brothers, in order to avenge the death of Myrtilus by Pelops (see Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 996).

A different legend, alluded to in Soph. Aj. 1295 (see Schol. ad loc.), recounted that Aeropê had been detected by her father Katreus in unchaste commerce with a low-born person; he entrusted her in his anger to Nauplius, with directions to throw her into the sea: Nauplius however not only spared her life, but betrothed her to Pleisthenês, father of Agamemnôn and son of Atreus.

The tragedy entitled *Atreus* of the Latin poet Attius, seems to have

burst of indignation, pretended to be reconciled, and invited Thyestês to a banquet, in which he served up to him the limbs of his own son, and the father ignorantly partook of the fatal meal. Even the all-seeing Hêlios is said to have turned back his chariot to the east in order that he might escape the shocking spectacle of this Thyestêan banquet: yet the tale of Thyestêan revenge—the murder of Atreus perpetrated by Ægisthus, the incestuous offspring of Thyestês by his daughter Pelopia—is no less replete with horrors.<sup>1</sup>

Homeric legend is never thus revolting. Agamemnôn and Menelaus are known to us chiefly with their Homeric attributes, which have not been so darkly overlaid by subsequent poets as those of Atreus and Thyestês. Agamemnôn and Menelaus are affectionate brothers: they marry two sisters, the daughters of Tyndareus king of Sparta, Klytæmnêstra and Helen; for Helen, the real offspring of Zeus, passes as the daughter of Tyndarius.<sup>2</sup> The “king of men” reigns at Mykênæ; Menelaus succeeds Tyndareus at Sparta. Of the rape of Helen, and the siege of Troy consequent upon it, I shall speak elsewhere: I now touch only upon the family legends of the Atreids. Menelaus, on his return from Troy with the recovered Helen, is driven by storms far away to the distant regions of Phœnicia and Egypt, and is exposed to a thousand dangers and hardships before he again sets foot in Peloponnêsus. But at length he reaches Sparta, resumes his kingdom, and passes the rest of his days in uninterrupted happiness and splendor: being moreover husband of the godlike Helen and son-in-law of Zeus, he is even spared the pangs of death. When the fulness of his days is past he is transported to the Elysian fields, there to dwell along with “the golden-haired Rhadamanthus” in a delicious climate and in undisturbed repose.<sup>3</sup>

Far different is the fate of the king of men, Agamemnôn.

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brought out, with painful fidelity, the harsh and savage features of this family legend (see Aul. Gell. xiii. 2, and the fragments of Attius now remaining, together with the tragedy called Thyestês, of Seneca).

<sup>1</sup> Hygin. fab. 87–88.

<sup>2</sup> So we must say, in conformity to the ideas of antiquity: compare Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 176; and Herodot. vi. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. *Odys.* iii. 280–300; iv. 83–560.

During his absence, the unwarlike Ægisthus, son of Thyestês had seduced his wife Klytæmnêstra, in spite of the special warning of the gods, who, watchful over this privileged family, had sent their messenger Hermês expressly to deter him from the attempt.<sup>1</sup> A venerable bard had been left by Agamemnôn as the companion and monitor of his wife, and so long as that guardian was at hand, Ægisthus pressed his suit in vain. But he got rid of the bard by sending him to perish in a desert island, and then won without difficulty the undefended Klytæmnêstra. Ignorant of what had passed, Agamemnôn returned from Troy victorious and full of hope to his native country; but he had scarcely landed when Ægisthus invited him to a banquet, and there with the aid of the treacherous Klytæmnêstra, in the very hall of festivity and congratulation, slaughtered him and his companion "like oxen tied to the manger." His concubine Kassandra, the prophetic daughter of Priam, perished along with him by the hand of Klytæmnêstra herself.<sup>2</sup> The boy Orestês, the only male offspring of Agamemnôn, was stolen away by his nurse, and placed in safety at the residence of the Phokian Strophius.

For seven years Ægisthus and Klytæmnêstra reigned in tranquillity at Mykênæ on the throne of the murdered Agamemnôn. But in the eighth year the retribution announced by the gods overtook them: Orestês, grown to manhood, returned and avenged his father by killing Ægisthus, according to Homer; subsequent poets add, his mother also. He recovered the kingdom of Mykênæ, and succeeded Menelaus in that of Sparta. Hermione, the only daughter of Menelaus and Helen, was sent into the rear of the Myrmidons in Thessaly, as the bride of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, according to the promise made by her father during the siege of Troy.<sup>3</sup>

Here ends the Homeric legend of the Pelopids, the final act of Orestês being cited as one of unexampled glory.<sup>4</sup> Later poets made many additions: they dwelt upon his remorse and hard

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. i. 38; iii. 310.—*ἀνάλκιδος Διγίσθοιο*.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. iii. 260-275; iv. 512-537; xi. 408. Deinias in his Argolica, and other historians of that territory, fixed the precise day of the murder of Agamemnôn,—the thirteenth of the month Gamêliôn (Schol. ad Soph. Elektr. 275).

<sup>3</sup> Odyss. iii. 306; iv. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Odyss. i. 299.

earned pardon for the murder of his mother, and upon his devoted friendship for Pylades; they wove many interesting tales, too, respecting his sisters Iphigeneia and Elektra and his cousin Hermionê,—names which have become naturalized in every climate and incorporated with every form of poetry.

These poets did not at all scruple to depart from Homer, and to give other genealogies of their own, with respect to the chief persons of the Pelopid family. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Agamemnôn is son of Atreus: in the Hesiodic *Eoiai* and in Stesichorus, he is son of Pleisthenês the son of Atreus.<sup>1</sup> In Homer, he is specially marked as reigning at Mykênæ; but Stesichorus, Simonidês and Pindar<sup>2</sup> represented him as having both resided and perished at Sparta or at Amyklæ. According to the ancient Cyprian Verses, Helen was represented as the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis: in one of the Hesiodic poems she was introduced as an Oceanic nymph, daughter of Oceanus and Têthys.<sup>3</sup> The genealogical discrepancies, even as to the persons of the principal heroes and heroines, are far too numerous to be cited, nor is it necessary to advert to them, except as they bear upon the unavailing attempt to convert such legendary parentage into a basis of historical record or chronological calculation.

The Homeric poems probably represent that form of the legend, respecting Agamemnôn and Orestês, which was current and popular among the Æolic colonists. Orestês was the great heroic chief of the Æolic emigration; he, or his sons, or his descendants, are supposed to have conducted the Achæans to seek

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod. *Fragm.* 60. p. 44, ed. Düntzer; Stesichôr. *Fragm.* 44, *Kleine*. The Scholiast ad Soph. *Elektr.* 539, in reference to another discrepancy between Homer and the Hesiodic poems about the children of Helen, remarks that we ought not to divert our attention from that which is moral and salutary to ourselves in the poets (*τὰ ἠθικὰ καὶ χρήσιμα ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι*), in order to cavil at their genealogical contradictions.

Welcker in vain endeavors to show that Pleisthenês was originally introduced as the father of Atreus, not as his son (*Griech. Tragöd.* p. 678).

<sup>2</sup> Schol. ad Eurip. *Orest.* 46. *Ὀμηρος ἐν Μυκῆναις φησὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος· Στρεσίχορος δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης, ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ.* Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 31; *Nem.* viii. 21. Stesichorus had composed an *Ὀρέστεια*, copied in many points from a still more ancient lyric *Oresteia* by Xanthus: compare *Athen.* xii. p. 513, and *Ælian*, V. H. iv. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, ap. Schol. ad Pindar, *Nem.* x. 150.



a new home, when they were no longer able to make head against the invading Dôrians: the great families at Tenedos and other Æolic cities even during the historical era, gloried in tracing back their pedigrees to this illustrious source.<sup>1</sup> The legends connected with the heroic worship of these mythical ancestors form the basis of the character and attributes of Agamemnôn and his family, as depicted in Homer, in which Mykênæ appears as the first place in Peloponnêsus, and Sparta only as the second: the former the special residence of "the king of men;" the latter that of his younger and inferior brother, yet still the seat of a member of the princely Pelopids, and moreover the birth-place of the divine Helen. Sparta, Argos and Mykênæ are all three designated in the Iliad by the goddess Hêrê as her favorite cities yet the connection of Mykênæ with Argos, though the two towns were only ten miles distant, is far less intimate than the connection of Mykênæ with Sparta. When we reflect upon the very peculiar manner in which Homer identifies Hêrê with the Greek host and its leader, — for she watches over the Greeks with the active solicitude of a mother, and her antipathy against the Trojans is implacable to a degree which Zeus cannot comprehend — and when we combine this with the ancient and venerated Hêræon, or temple of Hêrê, near Mykênæ, we may partly explain to ourselves the preëminence conferred upon Mykênæ in the Iliad and Odyssey. The Hêræon was situated between Argos and Mykênæ; in later times its priestesses were named and its affairs administered by the Argeians: but as it was much nearer

<sup>1</sup> See the ode of Pindar addressed to Aristagoras of Tenedos (Nem. 35; Strabo, xiii. p. 582). There were Pentilids at Mitylênê, from Pentilês, son of Orestês (Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 13, Schneid.).

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, iv. 52. Compare Euripid. Hêrakleid. 350

<sup>3</sup> Iliad, iv. 31. Zeus says to Hêrê, —

Δαιμόνιη, τί νύ σε Πρίαμος, Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες  
Τέσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν δὲ ὑπερχὲς μενεαίνεις  
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπασαι ἔκτιμενον πολίεθρον;  
Εἰ δὲ σύ γ', εἰσελθοῦσα πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρά,  
Ὡμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας,  
Ἄλλους τε Τρώας, τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο.

Again, xviii. 358, —

ἦ ῥά νυ στείλῃ

Ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο κερηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

to Mykênæ than to Argos, we may with probability conclude that it originally belonged to the former, and that the increasing power of the latter enabled them to usurp to themselves a religious privilege which was always an object of envy and contention among the Grecian communities. The Æolic colonists doubtless took out with them in their emigration the divine and heroic legends, as well as the worship and ceremonial rites, of the Hæraon; and in those legends the most exalted rank would be assigned to the close-adjoining and administering city.

Mykênæ maintained its independence even down to the Persian invasion. Eighty of its heavy-armed citizens, in the ranks of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, and a number not inferior at Plataea, upheld the splendid heroic celebrity of their city during a season of peril, when the more powerful Argos disgraced itself by a treacherous neutrality. Very shortly afterwards Mykenæ was enslaved and its inhabitants expelled by the Argeians. Though this city so long maintained a separate existence, its importance had latterly sunk to nothing, while that of the Dôrian Argos was augmented very much, and that of the Dôrian Sparta still more.

The name of Mykênæ is imperishably enthroned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but all the subsequent fluctuations of the legend tend to exalt the glory of other cities at its expense. The recognition of the Olympic games as the grand religious festival of Peloponnêsus gave vogue to that genealogy which connected Pelops with Pisa or Elis and withdrew him from Mykênæ. Moreover, in the poems of the great Athenian tragedians, Mykênæ is constantly confounded and treated as one with Argos. If any one of the citizens of the former, expelled at the time of its final subjugation by the Argeians, had witnessed at Athens a drama of Æschylus, Sophoklês, or Euripidês, or the recital of an ode of Pindar, he would have heard with grief and indignation the city of his oppressors made a partner in the heroic glories of his own.<sup>1</sup> But the great political ascendancy acquired by Sparta contributed still farther to degrade Mykênæ, by disposing subsequent poets to treat the chief of the Grecian armament against Troy as having been a Spartan. It has been already mentioned that Stêsichorus, Simonidês and Pindar adopted this version of

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<sup>1</sup> See the preface of *Dissen* to the tenth *Nem.* of Pindar.

the legend: we know that Zeus Agamemnôn, as well as the her Menelaus, was worshipped at the Dôrian Sparta,<sup>1</sup> and the feeling of intimate identity, as well as of patriotic pride, which had grown up in the minds of the Spartans connected with the name of Agamemnôn, is forcibly evinced by the reply of the Spartan Syagrus to Gelôn of Syracuse at the time of the Persian invasion of Greece. Gelôn was solicited to lend his aid in the imminent danger of Greece before the battle of Salamis: he offered to furnish an immense auxiliary force, on condition that the supreme command should be allotted to him. "Loudly indeed would the Pelopid Agamemnôn cry out (exclaimed Syagrus in rejecting this application), if he were to learn that the Spartans had been deprived of the headship by Gelôn and the Tyracusans."<sup>2</sup> Nearly a century before this event, in obedience to the injunctions of the Delphian oracle, the Spartans had brought back from Tegea to Sparta the bones of "the Læcônian Orestês," as Pindar denominates him:<sup>3</sup> the recovery of these bones was announced to them as the means of reversing a course of ill-fortune, and of procuring victory in their war against Tegea.<sup>4</sup> The value which they set upon this acquisition, and the decisive results ascribed to it, exhibit a precise analogy with the recovery of the bones of Theseus from Skyros by the Athenian Cimôn shortly after the Persian invasion.<sup>5</sup> The remains sought were those of a hero properly belonging to their own soil, but who had died in a foreign land and of whose protection and assistance they were for that reason deprived. And the superhuman magnitude of the bones, which were contained in a coffin seven cubits long, is well suited to the legendary grandeur of the son of Agamemnôn.

<sup>1</sup> Clemens Alexandr. Admonit. ad Gent. p. 24. 'Αγαμέμνονα γοῦν τιμᾶν Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ. See also CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. v. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Herôdot. vii. 159. 'Ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης 'Αγαμέμνων, πύθμενος Σπαρτιήτας ἀπαραίρησθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων: compare Homer, Iliad, vii. 125. See what appears to be an imitation of the same passage in Josephus, De Bello Judaico, iii. 8, 4. μέγαλά γ' ἂν στενάξειαν οἱ πάτριον νόμοι, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, Pyth. xi. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. i. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 36, Cimôn, c. 8; Pausan. iii. 3, 6.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## LACONIAN AND MESSENIAN GENEALOGIES.

THE earliest names in Læcœnian genealogy are, an autochthonous Lelex and a Naiad nymph Kleochareia. From this pair sprung a son Eurôtas, and from him a daughter Sparta, who became the wife of Lacedæmôn, son of Zeus and Taygetê, daughter of Atlas. Amyklas, son of Lacedæmôn, had two sons, Kynortas and Hyacinthus—the latter a beautiful youth, the favorite of Apollo, by whose hand he was accidentally killed while playing at quoits: the festival of the Hyacinthia, which the Lacedæmônians generally, and the Amyklæans with special solemnity, celebrated throughout the historical ages, was traced back to this legend. Kynortas was succeeded by his son Periêrês, who married Gorgophonê, daughter of Perseus, and had a numerous issue—Tyndareus, Ikarius, Aphareus, Leukippus, and Hippokoon. Some authors gave the genealogy differently, making Periêrês, son of Æolus, to be the father of Kynortas, and Cebalus son of Kynortas, from whom sprung Tyndareus, Ikarius and Hippokoon.<sup>1</sup>

Both Tyndareus and Ikarius, expelled by their brother Hippokoon, were forced to seek shelter at the residence of Thestius, king of Kalydôn, whose daughter, Lêda, Tyndareus espoused. It is numbered among the exploits of the omnipresent Hêraklêa, that he slew Hippokoon and his sons, and restored Tyndareus to his kingdom, thus creating for the subsequent Hêracleidan kings a mythical title to the throne. Tyndareus, as well as his brothers, are persons of interest in legendary narrative: he is the father of Kastôr, of Timandra, married to Echemus, the hero of Tegea,<sup>2</sup> and of Klytæmnêstra, married to Agamemnôn. Pollux and the ever-memorable Helen are the offspring of Lêda by Zeus. Ika-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollod. iii. 10, 4. Pausan. iii. 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod. ap Schol Pindar. Olymp. xi. 79.

rus is the father of Penelopê, wife of Odysseus: the contrast between her behavior and that of Klytæmnêstra and Hel became the more striking in consequence of their being so near related. Aphareus is the father of Idas and Lynkeus, while Leukippos has for his daughters, Phœbê and Ilæira. According to one of the Hesiodic poems, Kastôr and Pollux were born sons of Zeus by Lêda, while Helen was neither daughter of Zeus nor of Tyndareus, but of Oceanus and Têthys.<sup>1</sup>

The brothers Kastôr and (Polydeukês, or) Pollux are no less celebrated for their fraternal affection than for their great bodily accomplishment: Kastôr, the great charioteer and horse-master, Pollux, the first of pugilists. They are enrolled both among the hunters of the Kalydônian boar and among the heroes of the Argonautic expedition, in which Pollux represses the insolence of Amykus, king of the Bebrykes, on the coast of Asiatic Thrace — the latter, a gigantic pugilist, from whom no rival has ever escaped, challenges Pollux, but is vanquished and killed in the fight.<sup>2</sup>

The two brothers also undertook an expedition into Attica, the purpose of recovering their sister Helen, who had been carried off by Thêseus in her early youth, and deposited by him at Aphidna, while he accompanied Perithous to the underworld in order to assist his friend in carrying off Persephonê. The force of Kastôr and Pollux was irresistible, and when they demanded their sister, the people of Attica were anxious to restore her: but no one knew where Thêseus had deposited his prize. The invaders, not believing in the sincerity of this denial, proceeded to ravage the country, which would have been utterly ruined, had not Dekelus, the eponymus of Dekeleia, been able to indicate Aphidna as the place of concealment. The autochthonous Titakus betrayed Aphidna to Kastôr and Pollux, and He

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod. ap. Schol. Pindar. Nem. x. 150. Fragm. Hesiod. Düntzer, p. 44. Tyndareus was worshipped as a god at Lacedæmôn (Varro ap. S. ad Virgil. Æneid. viii. 275).

<sup>2</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 1-96. Apollod. i. 9, 20. Theocrit. xxii. 26-133. In the account of Apollônios and Apollodôrus, Amykus is slain in the contest; in that of Theocritus he is only conquered and forced to give in, with promise to renounce for the future his brutal conduct; there were several different narratives. See Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 106.

was recovered: the brothers in evacuating Attica, carried away into captivity Æthra, the mother of Thêseus. In after-days, when Kastôr and Pollux, under the title of the Dioskuri, had come to be worshipped as powerful gods, and when the Athenians were greatly ashamed of this act of Thêseus — the revelation made by Dekelus was considered as entitling him to the lasting gratitude of his country, as well as to the favorable remembrance of the Lacedæmônians, who maintained the Dekeleians in the constant enjoyment of certain honorary privileges at Sparta,<sup>1</sup> and even spared that dæme in all their invasions of Attica. Nor is it improbable that the existence of this legend had some weight in determining the Lacedæmônians to select Dekelia as the place of their occupation during the Peleponnêsian war.

The fatal combat between Kastôr and Polydeukês on the one side, and Idas and Lynkeus on the other, for the possession of the daughters of Leukippus, was celebrated by more than one ancient poet, and forms the subject of one of the yet remaining Idylls of Theocritus. Leukippus had formally betrothed his daughters to Idas and Lynkeus; but the Tyndarids, becoming enamored of them, outbid their rivals in the value of the customary nuptial gifts, persuaded the father to violate his promise, and carried off Phœbê and Ilæira as their brides. Idas and Lynkeus pursued them and remonstrated against the injustice: according to Theocritus, this was the cause of the combat. But there was another tale, which seems the older, and which assigns a different cause to the quarrel. The four had jointly made a predatory incursion into Arcadia, and had driven off some cattle, but did not agree about the partition of the booty — Idas carried off into Messênia a portion of it which the Tyndarids claimed as

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 63. Herod. iv. 73. Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν τότε ἐργασαμένων ἐργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. According to other authors, it was Akadêmus who made the revelation, and the spot called Akadêmia, near Athens, which the Lacedæmônians spared in consideration of this service (Plutarch, Thêseus, 31, 32, 33, where he gives several different versions of this tale by Attic writers, framed with the view of exonerating Thêseus). The recovery of Helen and the captivity of Æthra were represented on the ancient chest of Kypselus, with the following curious inscription:

Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέαν φέρειν, Αἰθραν δ' Ἀθήνασθιν  
ἔλκετον.

Pausan. v. 19, 1

their own. To revenge and reimburse themselves, the Tyndarid invaded Messénia, placing themselves in ambush in the hollow of an ancient oak. But Lynkeus, endued with preternatural powers of vision, mounted to the top of Taygetus, from whence, as he could see over the whole Peloponnæus, he detected them in their chosen place of concealment. Such was the narrative of the ancient Cyprian Verses. Kastôr perished by the hand of Idas, Lynkeus by that of Pollux. Idas, seizing a stone pillar from the tomb of his father Aphareus, hurled it at Pollux, knocked him down and stunned him; but Zeus, interposing at the critical moment for the protection of his son, killed Idas with a thunder bolt. Zeus would have conferred upon Pollux the gift of immortality, but the latter could not endure existence without his brother; he entreated permission to share the gift with Kastôr, and both were accordingly permitted to live, but only on every other day.

The Dioskuri, or sons of Zeus, — as the two Spartan heroes Kastôr and Pollux, were denominated, — were recognized in the historical days of Greece as gods, and received divine honors. This is even noticed in a passage of the *Odyssey*,<sup>2</sup> which is at any rate a very old interpolation, as well as in one of the Homeric hymns. What is yet more remarkable is, that they were invoked during storms at sea, as the special and all-powerful protectors of the endangered mariner, although their attributes and their celebrity seem to be of a character so dissimilar. They were worshipped throughout most parts of Greece, but with preëminent sanctity at Sparta.

Kastôr and Pollux being removed, the Spartan genealogy passes from Tyndareus to Menelaus, and from him to Orestês.

Originally it appears that Messênê was a name for the western portion of Lacônia, bordering on what was called Pylos: it is so represented in the *Odyssey*, and Ephorus seems to have included it amongst the possessions of Orestês and his descendants.

<sup>1</sup> Cypria Carm. Fragm. 8, p. 13, Düntzer. Lycophrôn, 538–566 with Schol. Apollod. iii. 11, 1. Pindar, Nem. x. 55–90. *ἐρεψήμερον ἀθανασίαν* also Homer, *Odys.* xi. 302, with the Commentary of Nitzsch, vol. iii. p. 241.

The combat thus ends more favorably to the Tyndarids; but probably the account least favorable to them is the oldest, since their dignity went on continually increasing, until at last they became great deities.

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* xxi. 15. Diodôr. xv. 66.

Throughout the whole duration of the Messénico-Dôrian kingdom, there never was any town called Messênê: the town was first founded by Epameinondas, after the battle of Leuctra. The heroic genealogy of Messénia starts from the same name as that of Lacônia—from the autochthonous Lelex: his younger son, Polykaôn, marries Messênê, daughter of the Argeian Triopas, and settles the country. Pausanias tells us that the posterity of this pair occupied the country for five generations; but he in vain searched the ancient genealogical poems to find the names of their descendants.<sup>1</sup> To them succeeded Periêrês, son of Æolus; and Aphareus and Leukippus, according to Pausanias, were sons of Periêrês. Idas and Lynkeus are the only heroes, distinguished for personal exploits and memorable attributes, belonging to Messénia proper. They are the counterpart of the Dioskuri, and were interesting persons in the old legendary poems. Marpêssa was the daughter of Euênus, and wooed by Apollo: nevertheless Idas<sup>2</sup> carried her off by the aid of a winged chariot which he had received from Poseidôn, Euênus pursued them, and when he arrived at the river Lykormas, he found himself unable to overtake them: his grief caused him to throw himself into the river, which ever afterwards bore his name. Idas brought Marpêssa safe to Messénia, and even when Apollo there claimed her of him, he did not fear to risk a combat with the god. But Zeus interfered as mediator, and permitted the maiden to choose which of the two she preferred. She attached herself to Idas, being apprehensive that Apollo would desert her in her old age: on the death of her husband she slew herself. Both Idas and Lynkeus took part in the Argonautic expedition and in the Kalydônian boar-hunt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, ix. 553. Simonidês had handled this story in detail (Schol. Ven. II. ix. p. 553). Bacchylidês (ap. Schol. Pindar. Isthm. iv. 92) celebrated in one of his poems the competition among many eager suitors for the hand of Marpêssa, under circumstances similar to the competition for Hippodameia, daughter of Ænomaus. Many unsuccessful suitors perished by the hand of Euênus: their skulls were affixed to the wall of the temple of Poseidôn.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. i. 7, 9. Pausan. iv. 2, 5. Apollônios Rhodius describes Idas as full of boast and self-confidence, heedless of the necessity of divine aid. Probably this was the character of the brothers in the old legend, as the enemies of the Dioskuri.

The wrath of the Dioskuri against Messénia was treated, even in the



Aphareus, after the death of his sons, founded the town Arênê, and made over most part of his dominions to his kinsman Nêleus, with whom we pass into the Pylian genealogy.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ARCADIAN GENEALOGY.

THE Arcadian divine or heroic pedigree begins with Pelas, whom both Hesiod and Asius considered as an indigenous, though Akusilaus the Argeian represented him as brother of Argos and son of Zeus by Niobê, daughter of Phorônêus: the logographer wished to establish a community of origin between the Argeians and the Arcadians.

Lykaên, son of Pelasgus and king of Arcadia, had, by different wives, fifty sons, the most savage, impious and wicked of mankind: Mênalus was the eldest of them. Zeus, in order that he might himself become a witness of their misdeeds, presented himself to them in disguise. They killed a child and served it up to him for a meal; but the god overturned the table and struck dead with thunder Lykaôn and all his fifty sons, with the single exception of Nyktimus, the youngest, whom he spared at the earnest intercession of the goddess Gæa (the Earth). The town near which the table was overturned received the name Trapezus (Tabletown).

This singular legend (framed on the same etymological type as that of the ants in Ægina, recounted elsewhere) seems ancient and may probably belong to the Hesiodic Catalogue. But Pausanias tells us a story in many respects different, which was represented to him in Arcadia as the primitive local account, and which becomes the more interesting, as he tells us that he himself fully believes it. Both tales indeed go to illustrate the same

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historical times, as the grand cause of the subjection of the Messênians to the Spartans: that wrath had been appeased at the time when Epameinondas reconstituted Messênê (Pausan. iv. 27, 1).

point—the ferocity of Lykaôn's character, as well as the cruel rites which he practised. The latter was the first who established the worship and solemn games of Zeus Lykæus: he offered up a child to Zeus, and made libations with the blood upon the altar. Immediately after having perpetrated this act, he was changed into a wolf.<sup>1</sup>

“Of the truth of this narrative (observes Pausanias) I feel persuaded: it has been repeated by the Arcadians from old times, and it carries probability along with it. For the men of that day, from their justice and piety, were guests and companions at table with the gods, who manifested towards them approbation when they were good, and anger if they behaved ill, in a palpable manner: indeed at that time there were some, who having once been men, became gods, and who yet retain their privileges as such—Aristæus, the Krêtan Britomartis, Hêraklês son of Alkmêna, Amphiaræus the son of Oiklê, and Pollux and Kastôr besides. We may therefore believe that Lykaôn became a wild beast, and that Niobê, the daughter of Tantalus, became a stone. But in my time, wickedness having enormously increased, so as to overrun the whole earth and all the cities in it, there are no farther examples of men exalted into gods, except by mere title and from adulation towards the powerful: moreover the anger of the gods falls tardily upon the wicked, and is reserved for them after their departure from hence.”

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 8, 1. Hygin. fab. 176. Eratosthen. Catasterism. 8. Pausan. viii. 2, 2-3. A different story respecting the immolation of the child is in Nikolaus Damask. Frag. p. 41, Orelli. Lykaôn is mentioned as the first founder of the temple of Zeus Lykæus in Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1662; but nothing is there said about the human sacrifice or its consequences. In the historical times, the festival and solemnities of the Lykæa do not seem to have been distinguished materially from the other agônes of Greece (Pindar, Olymp. xiii. 104; Nem. x. 46): Xenias the Arcadian, one of the generals in the army of Cyrus the younger, celebrated the solemnity with great magnificence in the march through Asia Minor (Xen. Anab. i. 2, 10). But the fable of the human sacrifice, and the subsequent transmutation of the person who had eaten human food into a wolf, continued to be told in connection with them (Plato, de Republic. viii. c. 15. p. 417). Compare Pliny, H. N. viii. 34. This passage of Plato seems to afford distinct indication that the practice of offering human victims at the altar of the Lykæan Zeus was neither prevalent nor recent, but at most only traditional and antiquated; and it therefore limits the sense or invalidates the authority of the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue, Minos, c. 5.

Pausanias then proceeds to censure those who, by multiplying false miracles in more recent times, tended to rob the old genuine miracles of their legitimate credit and esteem. This passage illustrates forcibly the views which a religious and superstitious pagan took of his past time — how inseparably he blended together in it gods and men, and how little he either recognized or expected to find in it the naked phenomena and historical laws of connection which belonged to the world before him. He treats the past as the province of legend, the present as that of history; and in doing this he is more sceptical than the person with whom he conversed, who believed not only in the ancient but even in the recent and falsely reported miracles. It is that Pausanias does not always proceed consistently with his position: he often rationalizes the stories of the past, as if he expected to find historical threads of connection; and sometimes though more rarely, accepts the miracles of the present. But in the present instance he draws a broad line of distinction between present and past, or rather between what is recent and what is ancient: his criticism is, in the main, analogous to that of Arris in regard to the Amazons — denying their existence during the period of recorded history, but admitting it during the early and pre-recorded ages.

In the narrative of Pausanias, the sons of Lykaôn, instead of perishing by thunder from Zeus, become the founders of various towns in Arcadia. And as that region was subdivided into a great number of small and independent townships, each having its own eponym, so the Arcadian heroic genealogy appears broken up and subdivided. Pallas, Orestheus, Phigalus, Tegeus, Mænalus, Mantinéus, and Tegeatês, are all numbered as the sons of Lykaôn, and are all eponyms of various Arcadian towns.<sup>1</sup>

The legend respecting Kallistô and Arkas, the eponyms of Arcadia generally, seems to have been originally quite independent of and distinct from that of Lykaôn. Eumêlus, indeed, and some other poets made Kallistô daughter of Lykaôn; but neither Hesiod, nor Asius, nor Pherekydês, acknowledged any relationship between them.<sup>2</sup> The beautiful Kallistô, companion

<sup>1</sup> Paus. viii. 3. Hygin. fab. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. iii. 8.

Artemis in the chase, had bound herself by a vow of chastity Zeus, either by persuasion or by force, obtained a violation of the vow, to the grievous displeasure both of Hêrê and Artemis. The former changed Kallistô into a bear, the latter when she was in that shape killed her with an arrow. Zeus gave to the unfortunate Kallistô a place among the stars, as the constellation of the Bear: he also preserved the child Arkas, of which she was pregnant by him, and gave it to the Atlantid nymph Maia to bring up.<sup>1</sup>

Arkas, when he became king, obtained from Triptolemus and communicated to his people the first rudiments of agriculture; he also taught them to make bread, to spin, and to weave. He had three sons — Azan, Apheidas, and Elatus: the first was the eponym of Azania, the northern region of Arcadia; the second was one of the heroes of Tegea; the third was father of Ischys (rival of Apollo for the affections of Korônîs), as well as of Æpytus and Kyllên: the name of Æpytus among the heroes of Arcadia is as old as the Catalogue in the *Iliad*.<sup>2</sup>

Aleus, son of Apheidas and king of Tegea, was the founder of the celebrated temple and worship of Athênê Alea in that town. Lykurgus and Kôpheus were his sons, Augê his daughter, who was seduced by Hêraklêas, and secretly bore to him a child: the father, discovering what had happened, sent Augê to Nauplius to be sold into slavery: Teuthras, king of Mysia in Asia Minor, purchased her and made her his wife: her tomb was shown at Pergamus on the river Kaikus even in the time of Pausanias.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 3, 2. Apollod. iii. 8, 2. Hesiod. apud Eratosthen. Catasterism. 1. Fragm. 182, Marktsch. Hygin. f. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 604. Pind. *Olymp.* vi. 44-63.

The tomb of Æpytus, mentioned in the *Iliad*, was shown to Pausanias between Pheneus and Stymphalus (Pausan. viii. 16, 2). Æpytus was a cognomen of Hermês (Pausan. viii. 47, 3).

The hero Arkas was worshipped at Mantinea, under the special injunction of the Delphian oracle (Pausan. viii. 9, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. viii. 4, 6. Apollod. iii. 9, 1. Diodôr. iv. 33.

A separate legend respecting Augê and the birth of Téléphus was current at Tegea, attached to the temple, statue, and cognomen of Eileithyia in the Tegeatic agora (Pausan. viii. 48, 5).

Hekateus seems to have narrated in detail the adventures of Augê (Pausan. viii. 4, 4; 47, 3. Hekataei. Fragm. 345, Didot.).

Euripidês followed a different story about Augê and the birth of Téléphus.

The child Têlephus, exposed on Mount Parthenius, wonderfully sustained by the milk of a doe: the herdsmen thus brought him up, and he was directed by the Delphians to go and find his parents in Mysia. Teuthras adopted him, he succeeded to the throne: in the first attempt of the Agamemnôn against Troy, on which occasion they mistook point and landed in Mysia, his valor signally contributed to the repulse of the Greeks, though he was at last vanquished and desperately wounded by the spear of Achilles — by whom ever he was afterwards healed, under the injunction of the oracle, and became the guide of the Greeks in their renewed march upon the Trojans.<sup>1</sup>

From Lykurgus,<sup>2</sup> the son of Aleus and brother of Agamemnon, pass to his son Ankæus, numbered among the Argonauts, killed in the chase of the Kalydônian boar, and father of Anaxenor, who leads the Arcadian contingent against Troy, — adventurers of his niece, the Tegeatic huntress Atalanta (already been touched upon), — then to Echemus, son of Aleus and grandson of the brother of Lykurgus, Kêpheus. Echemus is the chief heroic ornament of Tegea. When Hyllus, the son of Hêrâklês, conducted the Hêrâkleids on their first expedition against Peloponnêsus, Echemus commanded the Tegean troops who assembled along with the other Peloponnêsians at the isthmus of Corinth to repel the invasion: it was agreed that the dispute should be determined by single combat; and Echemus, the champion of Peloponnêsus, encountered and killed H

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in his lost tragedy called *Angê* (See Strabo, xiii. p. 615). Respectively *Μυσοί* of Æschylus, and the two lost dramas, *Ἀλεαδὰ* and *Μυσοί* of Euripides, little can be made out. (See Welcker, Griechisch. Tragöd. 408–414).

<sup>1</sup> Têlephus and his exploits were much dwelt upon in the lost poem, the Cyprian Verses. See argument of that poem ap. D. Ep. Fragm. p. 10. His exploits were also celebrated by Pindar (ix. 70–79); he is enumerated along with Hectôr, Cycnus, Memnon, the most distinguished opponents of Achilles (Isthm. iv. 46). His name, as well as his adventures, became subjects with most of the great Attic dramatists.

<sup>2</sup> There were other local genealogies of Tegea deduced from Lykôn, eponym of the Dême Bôtachidæ at that place, was his grandfather (Nicolaus ap. Steph. Byz. v. *Βωραχίδας*).

Pursuant to the stipulation by which they had bound themselves, the Hêracleids retired, and abstained for three generations from pressing their claim upon Peloponnêsus. This valorous exploit of their great martial hero was cited and appealed to by the Tegeates before the battle of Platæa, as the principal evidence of their claim to the second post in the combined army, next in point of honor to that of the Lacedæmônians, and superior to that of the Athenians: the latter replied to them by producing as counter-evidence the splendid heroic deeds of Athens, — the protection of the Hêracleids against Eurystheus, the victory over the Kadmeians of Thêbes, and the complete defeat of the Amazons in Attica.<sup>1</sup> Nor can there be any doubt that these legendary glories were both recited by the speakers, and heard by the listeners, with profound and undoubting faith, as well as with heart-stirring admiration.

One other person there is — Ischys, son of Elatus and grand son of Arkas — in the fabulous genealogy of Arcadia whom it would be improper to pass over, inasmuch as his name and adventures are connected with the genesis of the memorable god or hero Æsculapius, or Asklēpius. Korônîs, daughter of Phlegyas, and resident near the lake Boëbêis in Thessaly, was beloved by Apollo and became pregnant by him: unfaithful to the god, she listened to the propositions of Ischys son of Elatus, and consented to wed him: a raven brought to Apollo the fatal news, which so incensed him that he changed the color of the bird from white, as it previously had been, into black.<sup>2</sup> Artemis, to

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ix. 27. Echemus is described by Pindar (Ol. xi. 69) as gaining the prize of wrestling in the fabulous Olympic games, on their first establishment by Hêraklês. He also found a place in the Hesiodic Catalogue as husband of Timandra, the sister of Helen and Klytæmnêstra (Hesiod, Fragm. 105, p. 318, Marktscheff.).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 10, 8; Hesiod, Fragm. 141-142, Marktscheff.; Strab. iv p. 442; Pherekydês, Fragm. 8; Akusilaus, Fragm. 25, Didot.

Τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ, ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς  
 Πυθῶ ἐς ἡγαθέην, καὶ ῥ' ἔφρασεν ἔργ' αἰδηλά  
 Φοίβῳ ἀκερσεκόμῃ, ὅτι Ἴσχυς γῆμε Κόρωνιν  
 Εἰλατίδης, Φλεγύαο διωγνήτοιο θυγάτρα. (Hesiod, Fr.)

The change of the color of the crow is noticed both in Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 632, in Antonin. Liberal. c. 20, and in Servius ad Virgil. *Æneid.* vii. 761,

avenge the wounded dignity of her brother, put Korôn to death; but Apollo preserved the male child of which she was about to be delivered, and consigned it to the Centaur Cheirôn, who brought up. The child was named Asklepîus or Æsculapius, and acquired, partly from the teaching of the beneficent Cheirôn, partly from inborn and superhuman aptitude, a knowledge of the virtues of herbs and a mastery of medicine and surgery, such as had never before been witnessed. He not only cured the sick, the wounded, and the dying, but even restored the dead to life. Kapanêus, Eriphylê, Hippolytus, Tyndareus, Glaukus were all affirmed by different poets and logographers to have been endued by him with a new life.<sup>1</sup> But Zeus now, finding himself under the necessity of taking precautions lest man should thus unexpectedly be protected against sickness and death, and no longer stand in need of the immortal gods: he smote Asklepîus with thunder and killed him. Apollo was so exasperated by this slaughter of his highly-gifted son, that he killed the Cyclopês who had fabricated the thunder, and Zeus was about to condemn him to Tartarus for doing so; but on the intercession of Latôna he relented, and was satisfied with imposing upon him a temporary servitude in the house of Admêtus at Phæræ.

Asklepîus was worshipped with very great solemnity at Tegeæ, at Kôs, at Knidus, and in many different parts of Greece, but especially at Epidaurus, so that more than one legend had grown

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though the name "*Corvo custode ejus*" is there printed with a capital C as if it were a man named *Corvus*.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Eurip. *Alkestis* i.; Diodôr. iv. 71; Apollodôr. iii. 10, 3; Pausanias. iii. 59; Sextus Empiric. adv. Grammatic. i. 12. p. 271. Steas named Eriphylê—the Naupaktian verses, Hippolytus—(compare *Virgil. Æneid*. vii. 761); Panyasis, Tyndareus; a proof of the popularity of this tale among the poets. Pindar says that Æsculapius was "temperamentally gold" to raise a man from the dead, and Plato (*Legg.* iii. p. 408) mentions him: this seems intended to afford some color for the subsequent mention. "*Mercede id captum* (observes Boeckh. ad *Pindar.* i. c.) *2* *plum fecisse recentior est fictio*; *Pindari fortasse ipsius, quem tragici sunt: hand dubie a medicorum avaris moribus profecta, qui Græci medicis nostrisque communes sunt.*" The rapacity of the physicians (which it is to be ever so well-founded, both then and now) appears to be more likely to have operated upon the mind of Pindar, than the disposition to extenuate the cruelty of Zeus, by imputing guilt and sordid views to him. Compare the citation from *Dikæarchus*, *infra* p. 249, note 1.

respecting the details of his birth and adventures: in particular, his mother was by some called Arsinoë. But a formal application had been made on this subject (so the Epidaurians told Pausanias) to the oracle of Delphi, and the god in reply acknowledged that Asklēpius was his son by Korōnis.<sup>1</sup> The tale above recounted seems to have been both the oldest and the most current. It is adorned by Pindar in a noble ode, wherein however he omits all mention of the raven as messenger — not specifying who or what the spy was from whom Apollo learnt the infidelity of Korōnis. By many this was considered as an improvement in respect of poetical effect, but it illustrates the mode in which the characteristic details and simplicity of the old fables<sup>2</sup> came to be exchanged for dignified generalities, adapted to the altered taste of society.

Machaôn and Podaleirius, the two sons of Asklēpius, command the contingent from Trikkā, in the north-west region of Thessaly, at the siege of Troy by Agamemnôn.<sup>3</sup> They are the leeches of the Grecian army, highly prized and consulted by all the wounded chiefs. Their medical renown was further prolonged in the subsequent poem of Arktinus, the *Iliu-Persis*, wherein the one was represented as unrivalled in surgical operations, the other as sagacious in detecting and appreciating morbid symptoms. It was Podaleirius who first noticed the glaring

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 26, where several distinct stories are mentioned, each springing up at some one or other of the sanctuaries of the god: quite enough to justify the idea of these Æsculapii (Cicero, N. D. iii. 22).

Homer, Hymn. ad Æsculap. 2. The tale briefly alluded to in the Homeric Hymn. ad Apollin. 209. is evidently different: Ischys is there the companion of Apollo, and Korōnis is an Arcadian damsel.

Aristidēs, the fervent worshipper of Asklēpius, adopted the story of Korōnis, and composed hymns on the *γάμον Κορωνίδος καὶ γένεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ* (Orat. 23. p. 463, Dind.).

<sup>2</sup> See Pindar, Byth. iii. The Scholiast puts a construction upon Pindar's words which is at any rate far-fetched, if indeed it be at all admissible: he supposes that Apollo knew the fact from his own omniscience, without any informant, and he praises Pindar for having thus transformed the old fable. But the words *οὐδ' ἔλαθε σκόπον* seem certainly to imply some informant: to suppose that *σκόπον* means the god's own mind, is a strained interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 730. The Messēnians laid claim to the sons of Asklēpius as their heroes, and tried to justify the pretension by a forced construction of Homer (Pausan. iii. 4, 2).



eyes and disturbed deportment which preceded the suicide Ajax.<sup>1</sup>

Galen appears uncertain whether Asklēpius (as well as Diæus) was originally a god, or whether he was first a man and then became afterwards a god;<sup>2</sup> but Apollodōrus professed to the exact date of his apotheosis.<sup>3</sup> Throughout all the historical ages the descendants of Asklēpius were numerous and widely diffused. The many families or gentes called Asklēpiads, who devoted themselves to the study and practice of medicine, and who principally dwelt near the temples of Asklēpius, whither sick and suffering men came to obtain relief — all recognized the god not merely as the object of their common worship, but as their actual progenitor. Like Solōn, who reckoned Nélus and Poseidōn as his ancestors, or the Milesian Hekataeus, who traced his origin through fifteen successive links to a god — like the privileged gens at Pélion in Thessaly,<sup>4</sup> who considered the wise Centaur Cheirōn as their progenitor, and who inherited from him their precious secrets respecting the medicinal herbs of which

<sup>1</sup> Arktinus, Epicc. Græc. Fragm. 2. p. 22, Düntzer. The Ilias Minor mentioned the death of Machaōn by Eurypylos, son of Téléphus (Fragm. 19, Düntzer).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀσκληπιός γέ τοι καὶ Διόνυσος, εἴτ' ἄνθρωποι πρότερον ἦσθην εἴτε ἀρχῆθεν θεοί (Galen, Protreptic. 9. t. 1. p. 22, Kuhn.). Pausanias considered him as θεὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς (ii. 26, 7). In the important temple at Smyrna he was worshipped as Ζεὺς Ἀσκληπιός (Aristides, Or. 6. p. 64; Or. 23. p. 100, Dind.).

<sup>3</sup> Apollodōr. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 381; see Heyne, Fragmentum Apollodōr. p. 410. According to Apollodōrus, the apotheosis of Hērakles and of Æsculapius took place at the same time, thirty-eight years after the death of Hērakles at Argos.

<sup>4</sup> About Hekataeus, Herodot. ii. 143; about Solōn, Diogen. Laërt. i. 110, Platon. init.

A curious fragment, preserved from the lost works of Dikæarchus, tells of the descendants of the Centaur Cheirōn at the town of Pélion, or perhaps at the neighboring town of Dēmétrias, — it is not quite certain which, — perhaps at both (see Dikæarch. Fragment. ed. Fuhr, p. 408). Ταύτην δὲ δύναμιν ἐν τῶν πολιτῶν οἶδε γένος, ὃ δὴ λέγεται Χείρωνος ἀπόγονον εἰ παραδιδόσθαι δὲ καὶ δείκνυσσι πατὴρ υἱῶ, καὶ οὕτως ἡ δύναμις φυλάσσεται οὐδεὶς ἄλλος οἶδε τῶν πολιτῶν · οὐχ ὅσιον δὲ τοῦς ἐπισταμένους τὰ φάρμακον τοῖς καμνοῦσι βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ προῖκα.

Plato, de Republ. iii. 4 (p. 391). Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Χείρῳ τεθράμμενος. Compare Xenophōn, De Venat. c. 1.

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their neighborhood was full, — Asklēpiads, even of the later times, numbered and specified all the intermediate links which separated them from their primitive divine parent. One of these genealogies has been preserved to us, and we may be sure that there were many such, as the Asklēpiads were found in many different places.<sup>1</sup> Among them were enrolled highly instructed and accomplished men, such as the great Hippocratēs and the historian Ktēsias, who prided themselves on the divine origin of themselves and their gens<sup>2</sup> — so much did the legendary element pervade even the most philosophical and positive minds of historical Greece. Nor can there be any doubt that their means of medical observation must have been largely extended by their vicinity to a temple so much frequented by the sick, who came in confident hopes of divine relief, and who, whilst they offered up sacrifice and prayer to Æsculapius, and slept in his temple in order to be favored with healing suggestions in their dreams, might, in case the god withheld his supernatural aid, consult his

<sup>1</sup> See the genealogy at length in Le Clerc, *Historie de la Médecine*, lib. ii. c. 2. p. 78, also p. 287; also Littré, *Introduction aux Œuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate*, t. i. p. 35. Hippocratēs was the seventeenth from Æsculapius.

Theopompus the historian went at considerable length into the pedigree of the Asklēpiads of Kōs and Knidus, tracing them up to Podaleirius and his first settlement at Syrnus in Karia (see Theopomp. *Fragm.* 111, Didot): Polyanthus of Kyrēnē composed a special treatise *περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδων γενέσεως* (Sextus Empiric. *adv. Grammat.* i. 12. p. 271); see Stephan. *Byz.* v. Kōs, and especially Aristidēs, *Orat.* vii. *Asklēpiadæ*. The Asklēpiads were even reckoned among the *Ἀρχηγέται* of Rhodes, jointly with the Hērakleids (Aristidēs, *Or.* 44, ad Rhod. p. 839, Dind.).

In the extensive sacred enclosure at Epidaurus stood the statues of Asklēpius and his wife Epionē (Pausan. ii. 29, 1): two daughters are coupled with him by Aristophanēs, and he was considered especially *εὐπαις* (Plutus, 654). Jaso, Panakeia and Hygieia are named by Aristidēs.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Protagor.* c. 6 (p. 311), Ἱπποκράτη τὸν Κῶον, τὸν τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδων; also Phædr. c. 121. (p. 270). About Ktēsias, Galen, *Opp.* t. v. p. 652, Basil.; and Bahrt, *Fragm. Ktēsias*, p. 20. Aristotle (see Stahr. *Aristotelis*, i. p. 32) and Xenophôn, the physician of the emperor Claudius, were both Asklēpiads (Tacit. *Annal.* xii. 61). Plato, *de Republ.* iii. 405, calls them τοὺς κομφοδὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας.

Pausanias, a distinguished physician at Ge'a in Sicily, and contemporary of the philosopher Empedoklēs, was also an Asklēpiad: see the verses of Empedoklēs upon him, Diogen. *Laërt.* viii. 61.

living descendants.<sup>1</sup> The sick visitors at Kôa, or Trikkia, or Epidaurus, were numerous and constant, and the tablets usually hung up to record the particulars of their maladies, the remedies resorted to, and the cures operated by the god, formed both an interesting decoration of the sacred ground and an instructive memorial to the Asklepiads.<sup>2</sup>

The genealogical descent of Hippocratês and the other Asklepiads from the god Asklepius is not only analogous to that of Hekateus and Solon from their respective ancestral gods, but also to that of the Lacedæmônian kings from Hêraklês, upon the basis of which the whole supposed chronology of the ante-historical times has been built, from Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus down to the chronologers of the present century.<sup>3</sup> I shall revert to this hereafter.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 374; Aristophan. Vesp. 122; Plutus, 635-750; where the visit to the temple of Æsculapius is described in great detail, though with a broad farcical coloring.

During the last illness of Alexander the Great, several of his principal officers slept in the temple of Serapis in the hope that remedies would be suggested to them in their dreams (Arrian, vii. 26).

Pausanias, in describing the various temples of Asklepius which he saw, announces as a fact quite notorious and well-understood, "Here cures are wrought by the god" (ii. 36, 1; iii. 26, 7; vii. 27, 4): see Suidas, v. Ἀσκληπιάρχος. The Orations of Aristidês, especially the 6th and 7th, *Asklepius* and the *Asklepiads*, are the most striking manifestations of faith and thanksgiving towards Æsculapius, as well as attestations of his extensive working throughout the Grecian world; also Orat. 23 and 25, *Ἱερῶν Λόγος*, 1 and 3 and Or. 45 (De Rhetoricâ, p. 22. Dind.), αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀσκληπιῷ τῶν ἀεὶ διατρεβόντων ἀγελαί, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 27, 3; 36, 1. Ταύταις ἐγγεγράμμενά ἐστι καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν βνόμενα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιῷ, πρόσεται δὲ καὶ νόσημα δ, τι ἕκαστος ἐνόησε, καὶ ὅπως λάθῃ, — the cures are wrought by the god himself.

<sup>3</sup> "Apollodorus statem Herculis pro cardine chronologie habuit" (Heyn ad Apollodôr. Fragma. p. 410).

## CHAPTER X.

ÆAKUS AND HIS DESCENDANTS.—ÆGINA, SALAMIS, AND PHTHIA

THE memorable heroic genealogy of the Æakids establishes a fabulous connection between Ægina, Salamis, and Phthia, which we can only recognize as a fact, without being able to trace its origin.

Æakus was the son of Zeus, born of Ægina, daughter of Asôpus, whom the god had carried off and brought into the island to which he gave her name: she was afterwards married to Aktôr, and had by him Menœtius, father of Patroclus. As there were two rivers named Asôpus, one between Phlius and Sikyôn, and another between Thêbes and Plataea — so the Æginêtan heroic genealogy was connected both with that of Thêbes and with that of Phlius: and this belief led to practical consequences in the minds of those who accepted the legends as genuine history. For when the Thêbans, in the 68th Olympiad, were hard-pressed in war by Athens, they were directed by the Delphian oracle to ask assistance of their next of kin: recollecting that Thêbé and Ægina had been sisters, common daughters of Asôpus, they were induced to apply to the Æginôtans as their next of kin, and the Æginêtans gave them aid, first by sending to them their common heroes, the Æakids, next by actual armed force.<sup>1</sup> Pindar dwells emphatically on the heroic brotherhood between Thêbes, his native city, and Ægina.<sup>2</sup>

Æakus was alone in Ægina: to relieve him from this solitude, Zeus changed all the ants in the island into men, and thus provided him with a numerous population, who, from their origin, were called Myrmidons.<sup>3</sup> By his wife Endêia, daughter of Chei-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. v. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Nem. iv. 22. Isthm. vii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> This tale, respecting the transformation of the ants into men, is as old as the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. See Düntzer, *Fragm. Epicæ*. 21. p. 34; evidently an etymological tale from the name Myrmidones. Pausanias throws aside both the etymology and the details of the miracle: he says

rôn, Æakus had for his sons Pêleus and Telamôn: by the Nereïd Psamathê, he had Phôkus. A monstrous crime had then recently been committed by Pelops, in killing the Arcadian prince, Styphalus, under a simulation of friendship and hospitality: for then the gods had smitten all Greece with famine and barrenness. The oracles affirmed that nothing could relieve Greece from this intolerable misery except the prayers of Æakus, the most pious of mankind. Accordingly envoys from all quarters flocked to Ægina, to prevail upon Æakus to put up prayers for them: on their supplications the gods relented, and the suffering immediately ceased. The grateful Greeks established in Ægina the temple and worship of Zeus Panhellênios, one of the lasting monuments and institutions of the island, on the spot where Æakus had offered up his prayer. The statues of the envoys who had come to solicit him were yet to be seen in the Æakeium, or sacred edifice of Æakus, in the time of Pausanias: and the Athenian Isokratês, in his eulogy of Evagoras, the despot of Salamis in Cyprus (who traced his descent through Teukrus to Æakus), enlarges upon this signal miracle, recounted and believed by other Greeks as well as by the Æginêtans, as a proof both of the great qualities and of the divine favor and patronage displayed in the career of the Æakids.<sup>1</sup> Æakus was also employed to aid Poseidôn and Apollo in building the walls of Troy.<sup>2</sup>

Pêleus and Telamôn, the sons of Æakus, contracting a je-

that Zeus raised men from the earth, at the prayer of Æakus (ii. 29, other authors retained the etymology of Myrmidons from *μύρμηκες*, but gave a different explanation (Kallimachus, *Fragm.* 114, Düntzer). *Μυρμιδόνες ἔσσην* (Strabo, viii. p. 375). *Ἐσσην, ὁ οἰκιστὴς* (Hygin. *fab.* 52).

According to the Thessalian legend, Myrmidôn was the son of Zeus Eurymedusa, daughter of Kletor; Zeus having assumed the disguise of an ant (Clemens Alex. *Admon. ad Gent.* p. 25. *Sylb.*).

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 12, 6. Isokrat. *Evagor. Encom.* vol. ii. p. 278, Auger. *Fragm.* i. 45, 13; ii. 29, 6. Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* 1253.

So in the 106th Psalm, respecting the Israelites and Phinees, v. 29, "They provoked the Lord to anger by their inventions, and the plague was given among them;" "Then stood up Phinees and prayed, and so the plague ceased;" "And that was counted unto him for righteousness, among posterities for evermore."

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, *Olymp.* viii. 41, with the Scholia. Didymus did not find this story in any other poet older than Pindar.

ousy of their bastard brother, Phôkus, in consequence of his eminent skill in gymnastic contests, conspired to put him to death. Telamôn flung his quoit at him while they were playing together, and Pêleus despatched him by a blow with his hatchet in the back. They then concealed the dead body in a wood, but Æakus, having discovered both the act and the agents, banished the brothers from the island.<sup>1</sup> For both of them eminent destinies were in store.

While we notice the indifference to the moral quality of actions implied in the old Hesiodic legend, when it imputes distinctly and nakedly this proceeding to two of the most admired persons of the heroic world—it is not less instructive to witness the change of feeling which had taken place in the age of Pindar. That warm eulogist of the great Æakid race hangs down his head with shame, and declines to recount, though he is obliged darkly to glance at the cause which forced the pious Æakus to banish his sons from Ægina. It appears that Kallimachus, if we may judge by a short fragment, manifested the same repugnance to mention it.<sup>2</sup>

Telamôn retired to Salamis, then ruled by Kychreus, the son of Poseidôn and Salamis, who had recently rescued the island from the plague of a terrible serpent. This animal, expelled from Salamis, retired to Eleusis in Attica, where it was received and harbored by the goddess Dêmêtêr in her sacred domicile.<sup>3</sup> Kychreus dying childless left his dominion to Telamôn, who, mar-

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 12, 6, who relates the tale somewhat differently; but the old epic poem Alkmaëonis gave the details (ap. Schol. Eurip. *Andromach.* 685)—

Ἐνθα μὲν ἀντίθεος Τελαμὼν τροχοειδέϊ δίσκῳ  
Πλῆξε κάρη· Πηλεὶς δὲ θοῶς ἀνὰ χεῖρα τανύσσαις  
Ἀξίνην ἐχάλκον ἐπεπλήγει μετὰ νύκτα.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, *Nem.* v. 15, with Scholia, and Kallimach. *Frag.* 136. Apollônios Rhodius represents the fratricide as inadvertent and unintentional (i. 92); one instance amongst many of the tendency to soften down and moralise the ancient tales.

Pindar, however, seems to forget this incident when he speaks in other places of the general character of Pêleus (*Olymp.* ii. 75–86. *Isthm.* vii. 40).

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. iii. 12, 7. Euphoriôn, *Fragm.* 5, Düntzer, p. 43, *Epicc. Græc.* There may have been a tutelary serpent in the temple at Eleusis, as there was in that of Athênê Polias at Athens (Herodot. viii. 41. Photius, v. *Οἰκοῦρον ὄφιν*. Aristophan. *Lysistr.* 759, with the Schol.).

rying Peribœa, daughter of Alkathoos, and grand-daughter Pelops, had for his son the celebrated Ajax. Telamôn took part both in the chase of the Kalydônian boar and in the Argonautic expedition: he was also the intimate friend and companion of Hêraklês, whom he accompanied in his enterprise against the Amazons, and in the attack made with only six ships upon Laomedôn, king of Troy. This last enterprise having proved completely successful, Telamôn was rewarded by Hêraklês with the possession of the daughter of Laomedôn, Hêsionê — who bore him Teukros, the most distinguished archer amidst the host of Agamennôn, and the founder of Salamis in Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

Pêleus went to Phthia, where he married the daughter Eurytiôn, son of Aktôr, and received from him the third part of his dominions. Taking part in the Kalydônian boar-hunt, unintentionally killed his father-in-law Eurytiôn, and was obliged to flee to Iôlkos, where he received purification from Akastus, son of Pelias: the danger to which he became exposed by calumnious accusations of the enamoured wife of Akastus, already been touched upon in a previous section. Pêleus was among the Argonauts; the most memorable event in his life, however, was his marriage with the sea-goddess Thetis. Zeus and Poseidôn had both conceived a violent passion for Thetis. But the former, having been forewarned by Promêtheus that Thetis was destined to give birth to a son more powerful than his father, compelled her, much against her own will, to marry Pêleus; who, instructed by the intimations of the wise Cheiron, was enabled to seize her on the coast called Sêpias in the southern region of Thessaly. She changed her form several times, but Pêleus held her fast until she resumed her original appearance, and she was then no longer able to resist. All the gods were present, and brought splendid gifts to these memorable nuptials: Apollo sang with his harp, Poseidôn gave to Pêleus immortal horses Xanthus and Balius, and Cheirôn presented

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<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 12, 7. Hesiod. ap. Strab. ix. p. 393.

The libation and prayer of Hêraklês, prior to the birth of Ajax, and fixing the name of the yet unborn child, from an eagle (*ἀλκιδῆς*) which appeared in response to his words, was detailed in the Hesiodic Eoia, as celebrated by Pindar (Isthm. v. 30-54). See also the Scholia.

formidable spear, cut from an ash-tree on Mount Pélion. We shall have reason hereafter to recognize the value of both these gifts in the exploits of Achilles.<sup>1</sup>

The prominent part assigned to Thetis in the *Iliad* is well known, and the post-Homeric poets of the Legend of Troy introduced her as actively concurring first to promote the glory, finally to bewail the death of her distinguished son.<sup>2</sup> Pélus, having survived both his son Achilles and his grandson Neoptolemus, is ultimately directed to place himself on the very spot where he had originally seized Thetis, and thither the goddess comes herself to fetch him away, in order that he may exchange the desertion and decrepitude of age for a life of immortality along with the Nêreids.<sup>3</sup> The spot was indicated to Xerxês when he marched into Greece by the Îônians who accompanied him, and his magi offered solemn sacrifices to her as well as to the other Nêreids, as the presiding goddesses and mistresses of the coast.<sup>4</sup>

Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, too young to engage in the commencement of the siege of Troy, comes on the stage after the death of his father as the indispensable and prominent agent in the final capture of the city. He returns victor from Troy, not to Phthia, but to Epirus, bringing with him the captive Andromachê, widow of Hectôr, by whom Molossus is

<sup>1</sup> Appollodôr. iii. 13, 5. Homer, *Iliad*, xviii. 434; xxiv. 62. Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 50-68; *Isthm.* vii. 27-50. Herodot. vii. 192. Catullus, *Carm.* 64. *Epithal. Pel. et Thetidos*, with the prefatory remarks of Döring.

The nuptials of Pélus and Thetis were much celebrated in the Hesiodic Catalogue, or perhaps in the *Eoiai* (Düntzer, *Epic. Græc. Frag.* 36. p. 39), and Ægimius—see Schol. ad Apollon. *Rhod.* iv. 869—where there is a curious attempt of Staphylus to rationalize the marriage of Pélus and Thetis.

There was a town, seemingly near Pharsalus in Thessaly, called Thetideium. Thetis is said to have been carried by Pélus to both these places: probably it grew up round a temple and sanctuary of this goddess (*Pherekyd. Frag.* 16, Didot; *Hellank. ap. Steph. Byz. Θετιδείου*).

<sup>2</sup> See the arguments of the lost poems, the *Cypria* and the *Æthiopis*, as given by Proclus, in Düntzer, *Fragm. Epic. Gr.* p. 11-16; also Schol. ad *Iliad.* xvi. 140; and the extract from the lost *Ῥυχοστράτα* of Æschylus, *ap. Plato. de Republic.* ii. c. 21 (p. 382, St.).

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. *Androm.* 1242-1260; Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 86. Herodot. vii. 198.



born to him. He himself perishes in the full vigor of life Delphi by the machinations of Orestês, son of Agamemnôn. his son Molossus — like Fieance, the son of Banquo, in Mac — becomes the father of the powerful race of Molossian king who played so conspicuous a part during the declining vigor the Grecian cities, and to whom the title and parentage of *Æas* was a source of peculiar pride, identifying them by communion of heroic origin with genuine and undisputed Hellênes.<sup>1</sup>

The glories of Ajax, the second grandson of *Æakus*, before Troy, are surpassed only by those of Achilles. He perishes by his own hand, the victim of an insupportable feeling of humiliation, because a less worthy claimant is allowed to carry off from him the arms of the departed Achilles. His son *Philaus* receives the citizenship of Athens, and the gens or *dême* called *Phila* traced up to him its name and its origin: moreover the distinguished Athenians, *Miltiadês* and *Thucydidês*, were regarded as members of this heroic progeny.<sup>2</sup>

*Teukrus* escaped from the perils of the siege of Troy as well as from those of the voyage homeward, and reached Salamis in safety. But his father *Telamôn*, indignant at his having returned without Ajax, refused to receive him, and compelled him to expatriate. He conducted his followers to Cyprus, where he founded the city of Salamis: his descendant *Evagoras* was cognized as a *Teukrid* and as an *Æakid* even in the time of *Isokratês*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 1; Justin, xi. 3; Eurip. *Androm.* 1253; Arrian, *Alexand.* i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Pherekydês* and *Hellankus* ap. Marcellin. *Vit. Thucyd.* init.; *Pa.* ii. 29, 4; Plutarch, *Solôn*, 10. According to *Apollodôrus*, however, *Pherekydês* said that *Telamôn* was only the friend of *Pêleus*, not his brother, not the son of *Æakus* (iii. 12, 7): this seems an inconsistency. There was however a warm dispute between the Athenians and the Megarians respecting the title to the hero Ajax, who was claimed by both (see *Pausan.* 4; Plutarch, *l. c.*): the Megarians accused *Peisistratus* of having interpolated a line into the Catalogue in the *Iliad* (*Strabo*, ix. p. 394).

<sup>3</sup> *Herodot.* vii. 90; *Isokrat.* *Enc. Evag.* *ut sup.*; *Sophokl.* *Ajax*, 984 *Vellei. Patercul.* i. 1; *Æschyl.* *Pers.* 891, and *Schol.* The return from of *Teukrus*, his banishment by *Telamôn*, and his settlement in Cyprus, formed the subject of the *Τεῦκρος* of *Sophoklês*, and of a tragedy under a similar title by *Æschylus*.

Such was the splendid heroic genealogy of the *Æakids*,—a family renowned for military excellence. The *Æakeion* at *Ægina*, in which prayer and sacrifice were offered to *Æakus*, remained in undiminished dignity down to the time of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> This genealogy connects together various eminent gentes in *Achaia Phthiôtis*, in *Ægina*, in *Salamis*, in *Cyprus*, and amongst the *Epirotic Molossians*. Whether we are entitled to infer from it that the island of *Ægina* was originally peopled by *Myrmidones* from *Achaia Phthiôtis*, as O. Müller imagines,<sup>2</sup> I will not pretend to affirm. These mythical pedigrees seem to unite together special clans or gentes, rather than the bulk of any community—just as we know that the Athenians generally had no part in the *Æakid* genealogy, though certain particular Athenian families laid claim to it. The intimate friendship between *Achilles* and the *Opuntian* hero *Patroclus*—and the community of name and frequent conjunction between the *Locrian Ajax*, son of *Oileus*, and *Ajax*, son of *Telamôn*—connect the *Æakids* with *Opus* and the *Opuntian Locrians*, in a manner which we have no farther means of explaining. *Pindar* too represents *Meneïtius*, father of *Patroclus*, as son of *Aktôr* and *Ægina*, and therefore maternal brother of *Æakus*.<sup>3</sup>

title by *Pacuvius* (*Cicero de Orat.* i. 58; ii. 46); *Sophokl. Ajax*, 892; *Pacuvii Fragn. Tencr.* 15.—

“Te repudio, nec recipio, natum abdico,  
Facesse.”

The legend of *Teukros* was connected in *Attic archaeology* with the peculiar functions and formalities of the judicature, *ἐν Φρεαρτοῖ* (*Pausan.* i. 28, 12; ii. 29, 7).

<sup>1</sup> *Hesiod, Fragn. Düntz. Eoiai*, 55, y. 43.—

Ἄλκην μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Ἀλακίδασι,  
Νοῦν δ' Ἀμυνθονίδαας, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι.

*Polyb.* v. 2.—

Ἀλακίδας, πολέμῳ κεχαρηότας ἦντέ δαυτί.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Æginetica*, p. 14, his earliest work.

<sup>3</sup> *Pindar, Olymp.* ix. 74. The hero *Ajax*, son of *Oileus*, was especially worshipped at *Opus*; solemn festivals and games were celebrated in his honor.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ATTIC LEGENDS AND GENEALOGIES.

THE most ancient name in Attic archæology, as far as our means of information reach, is that of Erechtheus, who is mentioned both in the Catalogue of the Iliad and in a brief allusion of the Odyssey. Born of the Earth, he is brought up by the goddess Athênê, adopted by her as her ward, and installed in his temple at Athens, where the Athenians offer to him annual sacrifices. The Athenians are styled in the Iliad, "the people of Erechtheus."<sup>1</sup> This is the most ancient testimony concerning Erechtheus, exhibiting him as a divine or heroic, certainly a superhuman person, and identifying him with the primitive generation (if I may use a term, the Grecian equivalent of which would have pleased an Athenian ear) of Attic man. And he was recognized in this same character, even at the close of the fourth century before the Christian era, by the Butadæ, one of the most ancient and important Gentes at Athens, who boasted of him as their original ancestor: the genealogy of the great Athenian orator Lykurgus, a member of this family, drawn up by his son Abrôn, and painted on a public tablet in the Erechtheion, contained as its first and highest name, Erechtheus, son of Hêphæstos and the Earth. In the Erechtheion, Erechtheus was worshipped conjointly with Athênê: he was identified with the god Poseidôn, and bore the denomination of Poseidôn Erechtheus.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, ii. 546. Odyss. vii. 81.—

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθῆνας εἶχον . . . . .  
 Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλῃτορος, δὲν ποτ' Ἀθῆνην  
 Θρέψε, Διδὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα,  
 Καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθῆνῃσ' εἰσεν ἐφ' ἐνὶ κίονι νηῶ,  
 Ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνευσις ἱλάονται  
 Κούροι Ἀθηναίων, περικτελλομένων ἐνυσσάνων.

theus: one of the family of the Butadæ, chosen among themselves by lot, enjoyed the privilege and performed the functions of his hereditary priest.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus also assigns the same earth-born origin to Erechtheus:<sup>2</sup> but Pindar, the old poem called the Danaïs, Euripidēs and Apollodōrus — all name Erichthonius, son of Hēphæstos and the Earth, as the being who was thus adopted and made the temple-companion of Athēnē, while Apollodōrus in another place identifies Erichthonius with Poseidōn.<sup>3</sup> The Homeric scholiast treated Erechtheus and Erichthonius as the same person under two names:<sup>4</sup> and since, in regard to such mythical persons, there exists no other test of identity of the subject except perfect similarity of the attributes, this seems the reasonable conclusion.

We may presume, from the testimony of Homer, that the first and oldest conception of Athens and its sacred acropolis places it under the special protection, and represents it as the settlement and favorite abode of Athēnē, jointly with Poseidōn; the latter being the inferior, though the chosen companion of the former, and therefore exchanging his divine appellation for the cognomen of Erechtheus. But the country called Attica, which, during the historical ages, forms one social and political aggregate with Athens, was originally distributed into many independent

<sup>1</sup> See the Life of Lykurgus, in Plutarch's (I call it by that name, as it is always printed with his works) Lives of the Ten Orators, tom. iv. p. 382-384, Wytt. Κατῆγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου ..... καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν λεγασμένων τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, etc. Ὅς τὴν λεωσύνην Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως εἶχε (pp. 382, 383). Erechtheus Πάρεδρος of Athēnē — Aristidēs, Panathenaic. p. 184, with the Scholia of Frommel.

Butēs, the eponymus of the Butadæ, is the first priest of Poseidōn Erichthonius: Apollod. iii. 15, 1. So Kallais (Xenoph. Sympos. viii. 40), λεπεδοθεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. viii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Harpokration, v. Αὐτοχθόν. Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ τὴν Δανάδα πεποιηκὼς φασιν, Ἐριχθόνιον ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς φανῆναι. Euripidēs, Ion. 21. Apollod. iii. 14, 6; 15, 1. Compare Plato, Timæus, c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. ad Iliad. ii. 546, where he cites also Kallimachus for the story of Erichthonius. Etymologicon Magn. Ἐρεχθεύς. Plato (Kritias, c. 4) employs vague and general language to describe the agency of Hēphæstos and Athēnē, which the old fable in Apollodōrus (iii. 14, 6) details in coarser terms. See Ovid, Metam. ii. 757.

dêmes or cantons, and included, besides, various religious or hereditary sects (if the expression may be permitted); it is, a multitude of persons not necessarily living together in the same locality, but bound together by an hereditary communion sacred rites, and claiming privileges, as well as performing obligations, founded upon the traditional authority of divine persons for whom they had a common veneration. Even down to the beginning of the Peloponnésian war, the demots of the various Attic dêmes, though long since embodied in the larger political union of Attica, and having no wish for separation, still retained the recollection of their original political autonomy. They lived in their own separate localities, resorted habitually to their own temples, and visited Athens only occasionally for private or political business, or for the great public festivals. Each of these aggregates, political as well as religious, had its own eponymous god or hero, with a genealogy more or less extended, and a train of mythical incidents more or less copious, attached to his name according to the fancy of the local exegetes and poets. The eponymous heroes Marathôn, Dekelos, Kolônus, or Phlius, had each their own title to worship, and their own position as characters of legendary narrative, independent of Erechtheus, or Poseidon or Athênê, the patrons of the acropolis common to all of them.

But neither the archæology of Attica, nor that of its various component fractions, was much dwelt upon by the ancient poets of Greece. Thêseus is noticed both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as having carried off from Krête Ariadnê, the daughter of Minos — thus commencing that connection between Krétan and Athenian legends which we afterwards find so largely amplified — and the sons of Thêseus take part in the Trojan war.<sup>1</sup> The chief collectors and narrators of the Attic myths were, the prose logographers, authors of the many compositions called *Atthides*, or works on Attic archæology. These writers Hellanikus, the contemporary of Herodotus, is the earliest composer of an *Atthis* expressly named, though Pherekydês touched upon the Attic fables — these writers, I say, interwove into one chronological series the legends which either greatly cupied their own fancy, or commanded the most general reverence.

<sup>1</sup> Æthra, mother of Thêseus, is also mentioned (*Homer, Iliad, iii. 144*)

among their countrymen. In this way the religious and political legends of Eleusis, a town originally independent of Athens, but incorporated with it before the historical age, were worked into one continuous sequence along with those of the Erechtheids. In this way, Kekrops, the eponymous hero of the portion of Attica called Kekropia, came to be placed in the mythical chronology at a higher point even than the primitive god or hero Erechtheus.

Ogygès is said to have reigned in Attica<sup>1</sup> 1020 years before the first Olympiad, or. 1796 years B. C. In his time happened the deluge of Deukaliôn, which destroyed most of the inhabitants of the country: after a long interval, Kekrops, an indigenous person, half man and half serpent, is given to us by Apollodôrus as the first king of the country: he bestowed upon the land, which had before been called Actê, the name of Kekropia. In his day there ensued a dispute between Athênê and Poseidôn respecting the possession of the acropolis at Athens, which each of them coveted. First, Poseidôn struck the rock with his trident, and produced the well of salt water which existed in it, called the Erechthêis: next came Athênê, who planted the sacred olive-tree ever afterwards seen and venerated in the portion of Erechtheion called the cell of Pandrosus. The twelve gods decided the dispute; and Kekrops having testified before them that Athênê had rendered this inestimable service, they adjudged the spot to her in preference to Poseidôn. Both the ancient olive-tree and the well produced by Poseidôn were seen on the acropolis, in the temple consecrated jointly to Athênê and Erechtheus, throughout the historical ages. Poseidôn, as a mark of his wrath for the

<sup>1</sup> Hellanikus, Fragm. 62; Philochor. Fragm. 8, ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. x. 10. p. 489. Larcher (Chronologie d'Hérodote, ch. ix. s. 1. p. 278) treats both the historical personality and the date of Ogygès as perfectly well authenticated.

It is not probable that Philochorus should have given any calculation of time having reference to Olympiads; and hardly conceivable that Hellanikus should have done so. Justin Martyr quotes Hellanikus and Philochorus as having mentioned Moses, — *ὡς σφόδρα ἀρχαίου καὶ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχοντος Μωϋσέως μὲνηνται* — which is still more incredible even than the assertion of Eusebius about their having fixed the date of Ogygès 17 Olympiads (see Philochor. Fragm. 9).

preference given to Athênê, inundated the Thriasian plain with water.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Kekrops, Attica was laid waste by Kar pirates on the coast, and by invasions of the Aônia inhabitants from Boeôtia. Kekrops distributed the inhabitants of Attica into twelve local sections — Kekropia, Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekelê, Eleusis, Aphidna, Thorikus, Braurôn, Kythêrus, Sphêttus, Ilphisus, Phalerus. Wishing to ascertain the number of inhabitants, he commanded each man to cast a single stone into a general heap; the number of stones was counted, and it was found that there were twenty thousand.<sup>2</sup>

Kekrops married the daughter of Aktæus, who (according to Pausanias's version) had been king of the country before him, and had called it by the name of Aktæa.<sup>3</sup> By her he had three daughters, Aglaurus, Erê and Pandrosus, and a son, Eryaichthon. Kekrops is called by Pausanias contemporary of the Arcadian Lykaôn, and is favorably contrasted with that savage prince in respect of his piety and humanity.<sup>4</sup> Though he has been often designated in modern histories as an immigrant from Egypt into Attica,

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 14, 1; Herodot. viii. 55; Ovid. Metam. vi. 72. The story current among the Athenians represented Kekrops as the judge of this controversy (Xenoph. Memor. iii. 5, 10).

The impressions of the trident of Poseidôn were still shown upon the rocks in the time of Pausanias (Pausan. i. 26, 4). For the sanctity of the ancient olive-tree, see the narrative of Herodotus (*l. c.*), relating what happened when Xerxês occupied the acropolis. As this tale seems to have attached itself specially to the local peculiarities of the Erechtheion, the part which Poseidôn plays in it is somewhat mean: that god appears to greater advantage in the neighborhood of the Ἰπποτῆς Κολωνός, as described in the beautiful Chorus of Sophoklês (Cedip. Colon. 690-712).

A curious rationalization of the monstrous form ascribed to Kekrops (κεκρόπων) in Plutarch (Sera Num. Vindict. p. 551).

<sup>2</sup> Philochor. ap. Strabo. ix. p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> The Parian chronological marble designates Aktæus as an autochthonous person. Marmor Parium, Epoch. 3. Pausan. i. 2, 5. Philochorus treats Aktæus as a fictitious name (Fragm. 8, *ut sup.*).

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. viii. 2. 2. The three daughters of Kekrops were not unknown in the myths (Ovid, Metam. ii. 739): the tale of Kephalus, son of Hermes, who was stolen away by the goddess Eôs or Hêméra in consequence of his surpassing beauty, was told in more than one of the Hesiodic poems (Pausan. i. 3, 1; Hesiod. Theog. 986). See also Eurip. Ion. 269.

yet the far greater number of ancient authorities represent him as indigenous or earth-born.<sup>1</sup>

Erysichtôn died without issue, and Kranaüs succeeded him, — another autochthonous person and another eponymus, — for the name Kranai was an old denomination of the inhabitants of Attica.<sup>2</sup> Kranaus was dethroned by Amphiktyôn, by some called an autochthonous man; by others, a son of Deukaliôn: Amphiktyôn in his turn was expelled by Erichthonius, son of Hêphæstos and the Earth, — the same person apparently as Erechtheus, but inserted by Apollodôrus at this point of the series. Erichthonius, the pupil and favored companion of Athênê, placed in the acropolis the original Palladium or wooden statue of that goddess, said to have dropped from heaven: he was moreover the first to celebrate the festival of the Panathenæa. He married the nymph Pasithea, and had for his son and successor Pandiôn.<sup>3</sup> Erichthonius was the first person who taught the art of breaking in horses to the yoke, and who drove a chariot and four.<sup>4</sup>

In the time of Pandiôn, who succeeded to Erichthonius, Dionysus and Dêmêtêr both came into Attica: the latter was received by Keleos at Eleusis.<sup>5</sup> Pandiôn married the nymph Zeuxippê, and had twin sons, Erechtheus and Butês, and two daughters, Proknê and Philomêla. The two latter are the subjects of a memorable and well-known legend. Pandiôn having received aid in repelling the Thêbans from Têreus, king of Thrace, gave him his daughter Proknê in marriage, by whom he had a son, Itys. The beautiful Philomêla, going to visit her sister, inspired the barbarous Thracian with an irresistible passion: he violated her person, confined her in a distant pastoral hut, and pretended that she was dead, cutting out her tongue to prevent her from revealing the truth. After a long interval, Philomêla found means to acquaint her sister of the cruel deed which had been perpetrated; she wove into a garment words describing her melancholy condition, and despatched it

<sup>1</sup> Jul. Africanus also (ap. Euseb. x. 9. p. 486-488) calls Kekrops γηγενής and αὐτοχθόν.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. viii. 44. Κραναί 'Αθῆναι, Pindar.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. iii. 14. Pausan. i. 26, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Virgil, Georgic iii. 114.

<sup>5</sup> The mythe of the visit of Dêmêtêr to Eleusis, on which occasion she vouchsafed to teach her holy rites to the leading Eleusinians, is more fully touched upon in a previous chapter (see *ante*, p. 50).



by a trusty messenger. Prokné, overwhelmed with sorrow and grief, took advantage of the free egress enjoyed by women during Bacchanalian festival to go and release her sister: the two sisters then revenged themselves upon Têreus by killing the boy Ikaros and serving him up for his father to eat: after the meal had been finished, the horrid truth was revealed to him. Têreus snatched a hatchet to put Prokné to death: she fled, along with Philomêla and all the three were changed into birds — Prokné became a swallow, Philomêla a nightingale, and Têreus an hoopoe.<sup>1</sup> This tale so popular with the poets, and so illustrative of the general character of Grecian legend, is not less remarkable in another point of view — that the great historian Thucydîdês seems to allude to it as an historical fact,<sup>2</sup> not however directly mentioning the metamorphosis.

After the death of Pandîon, Erechtheus succeeded to the kingdom, and his brother, Butês, became priest of Poseidôn Erechthonius, a function which his descendants ever afterwards exercised, the Butadæ or Eteobutadæ. Erechtheus seems to appear in three characters in the fabulous history of Athens — as a

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 14, 8; Æsch. Supplic. 61; Soph. Elektr. 107; Ovid, Metamorph. vi. 425–670. Hyginus gives the fable with some additional circumstances, fab. 45. Antoninus Liberalis (Narr. 11), or Boëus, from whose copies, has composed a new narrative by combining together the names of Pandareos and Aëdon, as given in the Odyssey, xix. 523, and the adventures of the old Attic fable. The hoopoe still continued the habit of chasing the nightingale; it was to the Athenians a present fact. See Schol. Arist. *Æves*, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. ii. 29. He makes express mention of the nightingale in connection with the story, though not of the metamorphosis. See below, p. xvi. p. 544, note 2. So also does Pausanias mention and reason upon it as a real incident: he founds upon it several moral reflections (i. 5, 4; x. 4). The author of the *Λόγος Ἐπιτάφιος*, ascribed to Demosthenês, treats it in the same manner, as a fact ennobling the tribe Pandionis, of which Pandîon was the eponymus. The same author, in touching upon Kekrops, the eponymus of the Kekropis tribe, cannot believe literally the story of his being half man and half serpent: he rationalizes it by saying that Kekrops was so called because in wisdom he was like a man, in strength like a serpent (Dem. p. 1397, 1398, Reiske). Hesiod glances at the fable (Opp. Di. 566), *ὄρνις Πανδίωνις ὥρτο χελιδόν*; see also Ælian, V. H. xii. 20. The subject is handled by Sophoklês in his lost Têreus.

Poseidôn Erechtheus<sup>1</sup> — as a hero, Erechtheus, son of the Earth — and now, as a king, son of Pandiôn : so much did the ideas of divine and human rule become confounded and blended together in the imagination of the Greeks in reviewing their early times.

The daughters of Erechtheus were not less celebrated in Athenian legend than those of Pandiôn. Prokris, one of them, is among the heroines seen by Odysseus in Hādēs : she became the wife of Kephalus, son of Deionēa, and lived in the Attic dēme of Thorikna. Kephalus tried her fidelity by pretending that he was going away for a long period ; but shortly returned, disguising his person and bringing with him a splendid necklace. He presented himself to Prokris without being recognized, and succeeded in triumphing over her chastity. Having accomplished this object, he revealed to her his true character : she earnestly besought his forgiveness, and prevailed upon him to grant it. Nevertheless he became shortly afterwards the unintentional author of her death : for he was fond of hunting, and staid out a long time on his excursions, so that Prokris suspected him of visiting some rival. She determined to watch him by concealing herself in a thicket near the place of his midday repose ; and when Kephalus implored the presence of Nephelē (a cloud) to protect him from the sun's rays, she suddenly started from her hiding-place : Kephalus, thus disturbed, cast his hunting-spear unknowingly into the thicket and slew his wife. Erechtheus interred her with great magnificence, and Kephalus was tried for the act before the court of Areopagus, which condemned him to exile.<sup>2</sup>

Kreüsa, another daughter of Erechtheus, seduced by Apollo, becomes the mother of Iôn, whom she exposes immediately after his birth in the cave north of the acropolis, concealing the fact from every one. Apollo prevails upon Hermēs to convey the new-born child to Delphi, where he is brought up as a servant of the temple, without knowing his parents. Kreüsa marries Xuthus, son of Æolus, but continuing childless, she goes with Xuthus to

<sup>1</sup> Poseidôn is sometimes spoken of under the name of Erechtheus simply (Lycophrôn, 158). See Hesychius, v. 'Ερεχθεύς.

<sup>2</sup> Pherekydēs, Fragm. 77, Didot ; ap. Schol. ad Odys. xi. 320 ; Hellanikus Fr. 82 ; ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1648. Apollodōrus (iii 15, 1) gives the story differently.

the Delphian oracle to inquire for a remedy. The god pres to them Iôn, and desires them to adopt him as their son: t son Achæus is afterwards born to them, and Iôn and Ach become the eponyms of the Iônians and Achæans.<sup>1</sup>

Oreithyia, the third daughter of Erechtheus, was stolen a by the god Boreas while amusing herself on the banks of Ilissus, and carried to his residence in Thrace. The two son this marriage, Zêtês and Kalais, were born with wings: t took part in the Argonautic expedition, and engaged in the suit of the Harpies: they were slain at Tênos by Hêrak Kleopatra, the daughter of Boreas and Oreithyia, was married Phineus, and had two sons, Plexippus and Pandiôn; but Phineus afterwards espoused a second wife, Idæa, the daughter of Danaus, who, detesting the two sons of the former bed, accused them falsely of attempting her chastity, and persuaded Phineus in wrath to put out the eyes of both. For this cruel proceeding was punished by the Argonauts in the course of their voyage.

On more than one occasion the Athenians derived, or at least believed themselves to have derived, important benefits from the marriage of Boreas with the daughter of their primæval hero: one inestimable service, rendered at a juncture highly critical

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<sup>1</sup> Upon this story of Iôn is founded the tragedy of Euripidês which bears that name. I conceive many of the points of that tragedy to be of the invention of Euripidês himself: but to represent Iôn as son of Apollo, not Xuthus, seems a genuine Attic legend. Respecting this drama, see O. Müller, *Hist. of Dorians*, ii. 2. 13-15. I doubt however the distinction which he draws between the Ionians and the other population of Attica.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 2; Plato, *Phædr.* c. 3; Sophok. *Antig.* 984; also the copious Scholion on Apollôn. Rhod. i. 212.

The tale of Phineus is told very differently in the Argonautic expedition as given by Apollônios Rhodius, ii. 180. From Sophoklês we learn that this was the Attic version.

The two winged sons of Boreas and their chase of the Harpies were noticed in the Hesiodic Catalogue (see Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 296). Whether the Attic legend of Oreithyia was recognized in the Hesiodic poem seems not certain.

Both Æschylus and Sophoklês composed dramas on the subject of Oreithyia (Longin. de Sublimit. c. 3). "Oreithyia Atheniensis, filia Terribilis et a Borea in Thraciam rapta." (Servius ad Virg. *Æneid.* xii. 83). The origin of the γυνή τις Ἐρεχθίδης. Philochorus (*Fragm.* 30) rationalized the story, and said that it alluded to the effects of a violent wind.

Grecian independence, deserves to be specified.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxês, the Grecian fleet was assembled at Chalcis and Artemision in Eubœa, awaiting the approach of the Persian force, so overwhelming in its numbers as well by sea as on land. The Persian fleet had reached the coast of Magnêsia and the south-eastern corner of Thessaly without any material damage, when the Athenians were instructed by an oracle "to invoke the aid of their son-in-law." Understanding the advice to point to Boreas, they supplicated his aid and that of Oreithyia, most earnestly, as well by prayer as by sacrifice,<sup>2</sup> and the event corresponded to their wishes. A furious north-easterly wind immediately arose, and continued for three days to afflict the Persian fleet as it lay on an unprotected coast; the number of ships driven ashore, both vessels of war and of provision, was immense, and the injury done to the armament was never thoroughly repaired. Such was the powerful succor which the Athenians derived, at a time of their utmost need, from their son-in-law Boreas; and their gratitude was shown by consecrating to him a new temple on the banks of the Ilissus.

The three remaining daughters of Erechtheus — he had six in all<sup>3</sup> — were in Athenian legend yet more venerated than their sisters, on account of having voluntarily devoted themselves to death for the safety of their country. Eumolpus of Eleusis was the son of Poseidôn and the eponymous hero of the sacred gens called the Eumolpids, in whom the principal functions, appertaining to the mysterious rites of Dêmêtêr at Eleusis, were vested by hereditary privilege: he made war upon Erechtheus and the

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 189. Οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφί λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορρὴν πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἱδρύναντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσον

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. l. c. Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορρὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου, τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικουρὸν καλέσασθαι. Βορρὴς δὲ, κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὀρειθυίην τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβαλλόμενοι σφί τὸν Βορρὴν γαμβρὸν εἶναι, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas and Photius, v. Πάρθεναι: Protogenesis and Pandôra are given as the names of two of them. The sacrifice of Pandôra, in the Iambi of Hippônax (Hippônact. Fragm. xxi. Welck. ap. Athen. ix. p. 370), seems to allude to this daughter of Erechtheus.

Athenians, with the aid of a body of Thracian allies; indeed appears that the legends of Athens, originally foreign and friendly to those of Eleusis, represented him as having been himself a Thracian born and an immigrant into Attica.<sup>1</sup> Respect Eumolpus however and his parentage, the discrepancies must exceed even the measure of license usual in the legendary genealogies, and some critics, both ancient and modern, have sought to reconcile these contradictions by the usual stratagem of supposing two or three different persons of the same name. Even Pausanias, so familiar with this class of unsworn witnesses, complains of the want of native Eleusinian genealogists,<sup>2</sup> and of the extreme license of fiction in which other authors had indulged.

In the Homeric Hymn to Dēmêtêr, the most ancient testimony before us, — composed, to all appearance, earlier than the complete incorporation of Eleusis with Athens, — Eumolpus appears (to repeat briefly what has been stated in a previous chapter) one of the native chiefs or princes of Eleusis, along with Triptolemus.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 3; Thucyd. ii. 15; Iskoratês (Panegyri, t. i. p. 111; Panathenaeic. t. ii. p. 560, Anger), Lykurgus, cont. Leocrat. p. 201, Reiske; Pausan. i. 38, 3; Euripid. Erechth. Fragm. The Schol. ad. Soph. Oed. i. 1048 gives valuable citations from Ister, Akastodoros and Androtion: see that the inquirers of antiquity found it difficult to explain how the Eumolpids could have acquired their ascendant privileges in the management of the Eleusinia, seeing that Eumolpus himself was a foreigner. — Ζητεῖται δὴ ποτε οἱ Εὐμολπίδαι τῶν τελετῶν ἐξάρχοντο, ξένοι ὄντες. Thucydides does not call Eumolpus a Thracian: Strabo's language is very large and vague (vii. p. 321): Iskoratês says that he assailed Athens in order to vindicate the rights of his father Poseidôn to the sovereign patronage of the city. Pausanias copies this (fab. 46).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 38, 3. Ἐλευσίνιοι τε ἀρχαῖοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσόντων σφισι γὰρ λόγων, ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδόκασι καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων. Heyne ad Apollodôr. iii. 15, 4. "Eumolpi nomen modo communice pluribus, modo plurium hominum res et facta cumalata in unum. Iam quem Hercules venisse dicitur, serior ætate fuit: antiquior est is de quo loco agitur. . . . . antecessisse tamen hunc debet alius, qui cum Triptolemo vixit," etc. See the learned and valuable comments of Lobbeck in his *Asiatickum*, tom. i. p. 206–213: in regard to the discrepancies of this narrative he observes, I think, with great justice (p. 211), "quo uno exemplo ex mirabilibus delecto, arguitur eorum temeritas, qui ex variis discordibus poetarum et mythographorum narrationibus, antiquæ fæmæ formam et lineamenta recognosci posse sperant."

lemus, Dioklêa, Polyxeinus and Dolichus: Keleos is the king, or principal among these chiefs, the son or lineal descendant of the eponymous Eleusis himself. To these chiefs, and to the three daughters of Keleos, the goddess Dêmêtêr comes in her sorrow for the loss of her daughter Persephonê: being hospitably entertained by Keleos she reveals her true character, commands that a temple shall be built to her at Eleusis, and prescribes to them the rites according to which they are to worship her.<sup>1</sup> Such seems to have been the ancient story of the Eleusinians respecting their own religious antiquities: Keleos, with Metaneira his wife, and the other chiefs here mentioned, were worshipped at Eleusis, and from thence transferred to Athens as local gods or heroes.<sup>2</sup> Eleusis became incorporated with Athens, apparently not very long before the time of Solôn; and the Eleusinian worship of Dêmêtêr was then received into the great religious solemnities of the Athenian state, to which it owes its remarkable subsequent extension and commanding influence. In the Atticized worship of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr, the Eumolpids and the Kêrýkes were the principal hereditary functionaries: Eumolpus, the eponym of this great family, came thus to play the principal part in the Athenian legendary version of the war between Athens and Eleusis. An oracle had pronounced that Athens could only be rescued from his attack by the death of the three daughters of Erechtheus; their generous patriotism consented to the sacrifice, and their father put them to death. He then went forth confidently to the battle, totally vanquished the enemy, and

<sup>1</sup> Homer, Hymn. ad Cerer. 153-475.—

.....'Η δὲ κίονσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι  
 Δείξεν Τρεπτολέμῳ τε, Διόκλει τε κληξίππῳ,  
 Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ, Κελέῳ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,  
 Ἀρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν.

Also v. 105.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδὼν Κελεοῖο 'Ελευσινίδαο θυγάτρει.

The hero Eleusis is mentioned in Pausanias, i. 38, 7: some said that he was the son of Hermês, others that he was the son of Ogygus. Compare Hygin. f. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Keleos and Metaneira were worshipped by the Athenians with divine honors (Athenagoras, Legat. p. 53, ed. Oxon.): perhaps he confounds divine and heroic honors, as the Christian controversialists against Paganism were disposed to do. Triptolemus had a temple at Eleusis (Pansan. i. 38, 6).

killed Eumolpus with his own hand.<sup>1</sup> Erechtheus was shipped as a god, and his daughters as goddesses, at Athens. Their names and their exalted devotion were cited along those of the warriors of Marathôn, in the public assembly at Athens, by orators who sought to arouse the languid patriot to denounce the cowardly deserter; and the people listened to one and the other with analogous feelings of grateful veneration as well as with equally unsuspecting faith in the matter of

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 4. Some said that Immaradus, son of Eumolpus, been killed by Erechtheus (Pansan. i. 5, 2); others, that both Eumolpus and his son had experienced this fate (Schol. ad Eurip. Phœniss. 854). But we learn from Pausanias himself what the story in the interior of the Erechtheion was, — that Erechtheus killed Eumolpus (i. 27, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, Nat. Deor. iii. 19; Philochor. ap. Schol. Œdip. Col. 100. The three daughters of Erechtheus perished, and three daughters were worshipped (Apollodôr. iii. 15, 4; Hesychius, Ζεῦχος τριπύρθεον; Eurip. Erechtheus Fragm. 3, Dindorf); but both Euripidês and Apollodôrus said that Erechtheus was only required to sacrifice, and only did sacrifice, one, — the two slew themselves voluntarily, from affection for their sister. I cannot think (in spite of the opinion of Welcker to the contrary, Griechisch. Trilog. ii. p. 722) that the genuine legend represented Erechtheus as having sacrificed all three, as appears in the Iôn of Euripidês (276): —

ΙὼΝ. Πατὴρ Ἐρεχθεὺς σὺς ἔδυσσε συγγόνους;

ΚΡΕΪΣΑ. Ἐγλὴ πρὸ γαίαι σφύγια παρθένους κτανεῖν.

ΙὼΝ. Σὸ δ' ἐξεσώθης πῶς κασιγνήτων μόνῃ;

ΚΡΕΪΣΑ. Βρόφος νέοντων μητρὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγκάλαις.

Compare with this passage, Demosthen. Δόγμ. Ἐπιταφ. p. 1397, I. Just before, the death of the three daughters of Kekrops, for infringing the commands of Athênê, had been mentioned. Euripidês modified this in Erechtheus, for he there introduced the mother Praxithea consenting to the immolation of one daughter, for the rescue of the country from a foreign invader: to propose to a mother the immolation of three daughters at once would have been too revolting. In most instances we find the striking features, the distinct and glaring incidents as well as the dark traits, belong to the Hesiodic or old Post-Homeric legend; the changes afterwards go to soften, dilute, and to complicate, in proportion as the feelings of the public become milder and more humane; sometimes however later poets add new horrors.

<sup>3</sup> See the striking evidence contained in the oration of Lykurgus against Leocratês (p. 201-204. Reiske; Demosthen. Δόγμ. Ἐπιταφ. l. c.; and Demosthen. Memor. iii. 5, 9): from the two latter passages we see that the Athenian story represented the invasion under Eumolpus as a combined attack from the western continent.

Though Erechtheus gained the victory over Eumolpus, yet the story represents Poseidôn as having put an end to the life and reign of Erechtheus, who was (it seems) slain in the battle. He was succeeded by his son Kekrops II., and the latter again by his son Pandiôn II.,<sup>1</sup>—two names unmarked by any incidents, and which appear to be mere duplication of the former Kekrops and Pandiôn, placed there by the genealogizers for the purpose of filling up what seemed to them a chronological chasm. The Attic legends were associated chiefly with a few names of respected eponymous personages; and if the persons called the children of Pandiôn were too numerous to admit of their being conveniently ascribed to one father, there was no difficulty in supposing a second prince of the same name.

Apollodôrus passes at once from Erechtheus to his son Kekrops II., then to Pandiôn II., next to the four sons of the latter, Ægeus, Pallas, Nisus and Lykus. But the tragedians here insert the story of Xuthus, Kreüsa and Iôn; the latter being the son of Kreüsa by Apollo, but given by the god to Xuthus, and adopted by the latter as his own. Iôn becomes the successor of Erechtheus, and his sons Teleon, Hoplês, Argadês and Aigikorês become the eponyms of the four ancient tribes of Athens, which subsisted until the revolution of Kleisthenês. Iôn himself is the eponym of the Iônian race both in Asia, in Europe, and in the Ægean islands: Dôrus and Achæus are the sons of Kreüsa by Xuthus, so that Iôn is distinguished from both of them by being of divine parentage.<sup>2</sup> According to the story given by Philochorus, Iôn rendered such essential service in rescuing the Athenians from the attack of the Thracians under Eumolpus, that he was afterwards made king of the country, and distributed all the inhabitants into four tribes or castes, corresponding to different modes of life,—soldiers, husbandmen, goatherds, and artisans.<sup>3</sup> And it seems that the legend explanatory of the origin of the festival Boëdromia, originally important enough to furnish a name

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 5; Eurip. Iôn, 282; Erechth. Fragm. 20, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Iôn. 1570–1595. The Kreüsa of Sophoklês, a lost tragedy, seems to have related to the same subject.

Pausanias (vii. 1, 2) tells us that Xuthus was chosen to arbitrate between the contending claims of the sons of Erechtheus.

<sup>3</sup> Philochor. ap. Harpocrat. v. *Boëδρόμια*; Strabo, viii. p. 383



to one of the Athenian months, was attached to the aid thus dèred by Iôn.<sup>1</sup>

We pass from Iôn to persons of far greater mythical dig and interest; — Ægeus and his son Thêseus.

Pandîôn had four sons, Ægeus, Nisus, Lykus, and Pa between whom he divided his dominions. Nisus received territory of Megaris, which had been under the sway of Pand and there founded the seaport of Nissæa. Lykus was made of the eastern coast, but a dispute afterwards ensued, and he ted the country altogether, to establish himself on the south coast of Asia Minor among the Termilæ, to whom he gave name of Lykians.<sup>2</sup> Ægeus, as the eldest of the four, bec king of Athens; but Pallas received a portion both of the so western coast and the interior, and he as well as his child appear as frequent enemies both to Ægeus and to Thê Pallas is the eponym of the dême Pallênê, and the st respecting him and his sons seem to be connected with old standing feuds among the different dêmes of Attica, origi independent communities. These feuds penetrated into legend, and explain the story which we find that Ægeus Thêseus were not genuine Erechtheids, the former being der nated a supposititious child to Pandîôn.<sup>3</sup>

Ægeus<sup>4</sup> has little importance in the mythical history exce the father of Thêseus: it may even be doubted whether his is anything more than a mere cognomen of the god Poseidôn was (as we are told) the real father of this great Attic Hêr As I pretend only to give a very brief outline of the ge territory of Grecian legend, I cannot permit myself to recou

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<sup>1</sup> Philochor. ap. Harpocratt. v. Βοηδρόμια.

<sup>2</sup> Sophokl. ap. Strab. ix. p. 392; Herodot. i. 173; Strabo, xii. p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 13. *Αλγερὸς θεοῦ γινόμενος Πανδίωνι, καὶ τοῖς Ἐρεχθεΐδαϊς προσήκων.* Apollodôr. iii. 15, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ægeus had by Mèdeia (who took refuge at Athens after her flight Corinth) a son named Mêdus, who passed into Asia, and was conside the eponymus and progenitor of the Median people. Datis, the generi commanded the invading Persian army at the battle of Marathôn, formal communication to the Athenians announcing himself as the de ant of Mêdus, and requiring to be admitted as king of Attica: such statement of Diodôrus (Exc. Vatic. vii. — x. 48: see also Schol. Arist Pac. 289).

detail the chivalrous career of Théséus, who is found both in the Kalydônian boar-hunt and in the Argonautic expedition — his personal and victorious encounters with the robbers Sinnis, Procrustês, Periphêtês, Scirôn and others — his valuable service in ridding his country of the Krommyonian sow and the Marathônian bull — his conquest of the Minotaur in Krête, and his escape from the dangers of the labyrinth by the aid of Ariadnê, whom he subsequently carries off and abandons — his many amorous adventures, and his expeditions both against the Amazons and into the under-world along with Peirithous.<sup>1</sup>

Thucydides delineates the character of Théséus as a man who combined sagacity with political power, and who conferred upon his country the inestimable benefit of uniting all the separate and self-governing dêmes of Attica into one common political society.<sup>2</sup> From the well-earned reverence attached to the assertion of Thucydides, it has been customary to reason upon this assertion as if it were historically authentic, and to treat the romantic attributes which we find in Plutarch and Diodorus as if they were fiction superinduced upon this basis of fact. Such a view of the case is in my judgment erroneous. The athletic and amorous knight-errant is the old version of the character — the profound

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 433. —

..... "Te, maxime Thésœu,  
Mirata est Marathon Cretæ sanguine Tauri :  
Quodque Suis securus arat Cromyona colonus,  
Munus opusque tuum est. Tellus Epidauria per te  
Clavigeram vidit Vulcani occumbere prolem :  
Vidit et immanem Cephisias ora Procrustæm.  
Cercyonis letum vidit Cerealis Elensin.  
Occidit ille Sinis," etc.

Respecting the amours of Théséus, Ister especially seems to have entered into great details; but some of them were noticed both in the Hesiodic poems and by Kekrops, not to mention Pherekydês (*Athen.* xiii. p. 557). Peirithous, the intimate friend and companion of Théséus, is the epônimo hero of the Attic dême or gens Perithoidæ (*Ephorus ap. Photium*, v. Περιθοῖδαι).

<sup>2</sup> *Thuc.* ii. 15. 'Επειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γινόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνοτοῦ καὶ δυνατοῦ, τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατάλυσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν ..... ξυνῴκισε πάντας.

and long-sighted politician is a subsequent correction, introduced indeed by men of superior mind, but destitute of historical rant, and arising out of their desire to find reasons of their for concurring in the veneration which the general public more easily and heartily to their national hero. Thêseus, in Iliad and Odyssey, fights with the Lapithæ against the Centaurs; Thêseus, in the Hesiodic poems, is misguided by his passion for the beautiful Æglê, daughter of Panopæus;<sup>1</sup> and the Thêseus described in Plutarch's biography is in great part a continuation and expansion of these same or similar attributes, mingled with many local legends, explaining, like the Fasti of Ovid, or the lost Aitia of Kallimachus, the original genesis of prevalent religious and social customs.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch has doubtless greatly selected down and modified the adventures which he found in the logographers as well as in the poetical epics called *Thêseïdes*. For in his preface to the life of Thêseus, after having emphatically declared that he is about to transcend the boundary between the known and the knowable, but that the temptation of comparing the founder of Athens with the founder of Rome is irresistible, he concludes with the following remarkable words: "I pray this fabulous matter may be so far obedient to my endeavor to receive, when purified by reason, the aspect of history, that those cases where it haughtily scorns plausibility and will admit no alliance with what is probable, I shall beg for indulgent readers, willing to receive antique narrative in a mild spirit."<sup>3</sup> We see here that Plutarch sat down, not to recount the old fables as he found them, but to purify them by reason and to impart to them the aspect of history. We have to thank him for having retained, after this purification, so much of what is romantic and marvellous; but we may be sure that the sources from which he borrowed were more romantic and marvellous still. It was

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, i. 265; Odyss. xi. 321. I do not notice the suspected line, Oxi. 630.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôrus also, from his disposition to assimilate Thêseus to Hêraclês, has given us his chivalrous as well as his political attributes (iv. 61).

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, i. *Εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν, ἐκκαθαίρομενον λόγῳ τὸ μὲν ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὅψιν· ὅπου δ' ἂν αὐθαδῶς τοῦ πιθανοῦ φρονῇ, καὶ μὴ δέχεται τὴν πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς μίξιν, ἐγγνωμόνων ἀκροθετούμεθα, καὶ πρῶς τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν προσδεχομένων.*

tendency of the enlightened men of Athens, from the days of Solón downwards, to refine and politicize the character of Thêseus:<sup>1</sup> even Peisistratus expunged from one of the Hesiodic poems the line which described the violent passion of the hero for the fair Æglê:<sup>2</sup> and the tragic poets found it more congenial to the feelings of their audience to exhibit him as a dignified and liberal sovereign, rather than as an adventurous single-handed fighter. But the logographers and the Alexandrine poets remained more faithful to the old fables. The story of Hekalê, the hospitable old woman who received and blessed Thêseus when he went against the Marathônian bull, and whom he found dead when he came back to recount the news of his success, was treated by Kallimachus:<sup>3</sup> and Virgil must have had his mind full of the unrefined legends when he numbered this Attic Hêraklês among the unhappy sufferers condemned to endless penance in the under-world.<sup>4</sup>

Two however among the Thêseian fables cannot be dismissed without some special notice, — the war against the Amazons, and the expedition against Krête. The former strikingly illustrates the facility as well as the tenacity of Grecian legendary faith; the latter embraces the story of Dædalus and Minos, two of the most eminent among Grecian ante-historical personages.

The Amazons, daughters of Arês and Harmonia,<sup>5</sup> are both

<sup>1</sup> See Isokratês, Panathenaic. (t. ii. p. 510-512, Anger); Xenoph. Memor. iii. 5, 10. In the Helenæ Encomium, Isokratês enlarges more upon the personal exploits of Thêseus in conjunction with his great political merits (t. ii. p. 342-350, Anger).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, 20.

<sup>3</sup> See the epigram of Krinagoras, Antholog. Pal. vol. ii. p. 144; ep. xv. ed. Brunck. and Kallimach. Frag. 40.

<sup>4</sup> 'Αεῖδει δ' (Kallimachus) 'Εκάλῃς τε φιλοξείνοιο καλῆς,  
Καὶ Θησεὶ Μαραθῶν οὐς ἐπέθηκε πόνους.

Some beautiful lines are preserved by Suidas, v. 'Επαύλια, περὶ 'Εκάλῃς θανούσης (probably spoken by Thêseus himself, see Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 14).

Τῷ, πρὸς γυναικῶν,  
Τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν ἀνία θυμαλγέες οὐ περῶσιν.  
Πόλλακι σεῖ', ὦ μαῖα, φιλοξείνοιο καλῆς  
Μνησόμεθα· ξυνὸν γὰρ ἐπαύλιον ἔσκεν ἅπασι.

<sup>5</sup> Virgil, Æneid, vi. 617: "Sedet æternumque sedebit Infelix Thêseus."

<sup>6</sup> Pherekyd. Fragm. 25, Didot.

early creations and frequent reproductions of the ancient epic which was indeed, we may generally remark, largely occupied both with the exploits and sufferings of women, or heroines, wives and daughters of the Grecian heroes—and which recognized in Pallas Athênê the finished type of an irresistible female warrior. A nation of courageous, hardy and indefatigable women dwelling apart from men, permitting only a short temporary intercourse for the purpose of renovating their numbers, and bringing out their right breast with a view of enabling themselves draw the bow freely,—this was at once a general type stimulating to the fancy of the poet and a theme eminently popular with his hearers. Nor was it at all repugnant to the faith of the latter—who had no recorded facts to guide them, and no other standard of credibility as to the past except such poetical narratives themselves—to conceive communities of Amazons having actually existed in anterior time. Accordingly we find these warlike females constantly reappearing in the ancient poetry and universally accepted as past realities. In the *Iliad*, when Priam wishes to illustrate emphatically the most numerous in which he ever found himself included, he tells us that it was assembled in Phrygia, on the banks of the Sangarius, for the purpose of resisting the formidable Amazons. When Bellêphôn is to be employed on a deadly and perilous undertaking by those who indirectly wish to procure his death, he is despatched against the Amazons. In the *Æthiopis* of Arktinus, describing the post-Homeric war of Troy, Penthesileia, queen of the Amazons, appears as the most effective ally of the besieged city, as the most formidable enemy of the Greeks, succumbing to the invincible might of Achilles.<sup>2</sup> The Argonautic heroes find the Amazons on the river Thermôdon, in their expedition a

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 186 ; vi. 152.

<sup>2</sup> See Proclus's Argument of the lost *Æthiopis* (Fragm. Epicor. Græcæ ed. Düntzer, p. 16). We are reduced to the first book of Quintus Smyrnaeus for some idea of the valor of Penthesileia ; it is supposed to be copied more or less closely from the *Æthiopis*. See Tychsen's Dissertation prefixed to his edition of Quintus, sections 5 and 12. Compare Dio. Chrysostomus xi. p. 350, Reiske. Philostratus (*Heroica*, c. 19. p. 751) gives a slight transformation of this old epical narrative into a descent of Amazons to the island sacred to Achilles.

the southern coast of the Euxine. To the same spot Hēraklēs goes to attack them, in the performance of the ninth labor imposed upon him by Eurystheus, for the purpose of procuring the girdle of the Amazonian queen, Hippolytē;<sup>1</sup> and we are told that they had not yet recovered from the losses sustained in this severe aggression when Théseus also assaulted and defeated them, carrying off their queen, Antiopē.<sup>2</sup> This injury they avenged by invading Attica,—an undertaking as Plutarch justly observes) “neither trifling nor feminine,” especially if according to the statement of Hellanikus, they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the winter ice, beginning their march from the Asiatic side of the Páulus Mæotis.<sup>3</sup> They overcame all the resistances and difficulties of this prodigious march, and penetrated even into Athens itself, where the final battle, hard-fought and at one time doubtful, by which Théseus crushed them, was fought—in the very

<sup>1</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 966, 1004; Apollod. ii. 5-9; Diodôr. ii. 46; iv. 16. The Amazons were supposed to speak the Thracian language (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 953), though some authors asserted them to be natives of Libya, others of Æthiopia (ib. 965).

Hellanikus (Frag. 33, ap. Schol. Pindar. Nem. iii. 65) said that all the Argonauts had assisted Hēraklēs in this expedition: the fragment of the old epic poem (perhaps the *Ἀμαζόνια*) there quoted mentions Telamôn specially.

<sup>2</sup> The many diversities in the story respecting Théseus and the Amazon Antiopē are well set forth in Bachet de Meziriac (Commentaires sur Ovide, t. i. p. 317).

Welcker (Der Epische Cyclus, p. 313) supposes that the ancient epic poem called by Suidas *Ἀμαζόνια*, related to the invasion of Attica by the Amazons, and that this poem is the same, under another title, as the *Ἀρτίς* of Hegesinous cited by Pausanias: I cannot say that he establishes this conjecture satisfactorily, but the chapter is well worth consulting. The epic Théséis seems to have given a version of the Amazonian contest in many respects different from that which Plutarch has put together out of the logographers (see Plut. Thés. 28): it contained a narrative of many unconnected exploits belonging to Théseus, and Aristotle censures it on that account as ill-constructed (Poetic. c. 17).

The *Ἀμαζονίς* or *Ἀμαζονικά* of Onasus can hardly have been (as Heyne supposes, ad Apollod. ii. 5, 9) an epic poem: we may infer from the rationalizing tendency of the citation from it (Schol. ad Theocrit. xiii. 46, and Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 1207) that it was a work in prose. There was an *Ἀμαζονίς* by Possis of Magnësia (Athenæus, vii. p. 296).

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Théseus, 27. Pindar (Olymp. xiii. 84) represents the Amazons as having come from the extreme north, when Bellerophôn conquers them.

heart of the city. Attic antiquaries confidently pointed out the exact position of the two contending armies: the left wing of the Amazons rested upon the spot occupied by the commemorative monument called the Amazoneion; the right wing touched the Pnyx, the place in which the public assemblies of the Athenian democracy were afterwards held. The details and fluctuations of the combat, as well as the final triumph and consequent truce, were recounted by these authors with as complete faith and as much circumstantiality as those of the battle of Plataea by Herodotus. The sepulchral edifice called the Amazoneion, the tomb or pillar of Antiopê near the western gate of the city — the spot called the Horkomosion near the temple of Thêseus — even the hill of Areiopagus itself, and the sacrifices which it was customary to offer to the Amazons at the periodical festival of the Thêseia — were all so many religious mementos of this victory;<sup>1</sup> which was moreover a favorite subject of art both with the sculptor and the painter, at Athens as well as in other parts of Greece.

No portion of the ante-historical epic appears to have been more deeply worked into the national mind of Greece than this invasion and defeat of the Amazons. It was not only a constant theme of the logographers, but was also familiarly appealed to by the popular orators along with Marathôn and Salamis, among those antique exploits of which their fellow-citizens might justly be proud. It formed a part of the retrospective faith of Herodotus, Lysias, Plato and Isokratês,<sup>2</sup> and the exact date of the event was settled

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, 27-28; Pausan. i. 2, 4; Plato, Axiochus, c. 2; Harpocration, v. Ἀμαζονείον; Aristophan. Lysistrat. 678, with the Scholia. Æschyl. (Eumenid. 685) says that the Amazons assaulted the citadel from the Areiopagus:—

Πάγον τ' Ἀρειον τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν  
 Σκηπὰς τ', ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φῶνον  
 Στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεόπολιν  
 Τήνδ' ὑπὶ πυργῶν ἀντεπύργωσάν ποτε.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. ix. 27, Lysias (Epitaph, c. 3) represents the Amazons as ἄρχουσai πολλῶν ἔθνων: the whole race, according to him, was nearly extinguished in their unsuccessful and calamitous invasion of Attica. Isokratês (Panegyric. t. i. p. 206, Auger) says the same; also Panathênæic, t. iii. p. 560, Auger; Demosth. Epitaph. p. 1391. Reisk. Pausanias quotes Pindar's notice of the invasion, and with the fullest belief of its historical reality (vii. 2, 4)

by the chronologists.<sup>1</sup> Nor did the Athenians stand alone in such a belief. Throughout many other regions of Greece, both European and Asiatic, traditions and memorials of the Amazons were found. At Megara, at Trœzen, in Laconia near Cape Tænarus, at Chæroneia in Bœœtia, and in more than one part of Thessaly, sepulchres or monuments of the Amazons were preserved. The warlike women (it was said), on their way to Attica, had not traversed those countries, without leaving some evidences of their passage.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the Asiatic Greeks the supposed traces of the Amazons were yet more numerous. Their proper territory was asserted to be the town and plain of Themiskyra, near the Grecian colony of Amisus, on the river Thermôdôn, a region called after their name by Roman historians and geographers.<sup>3</sup> But they were believed to have conquered and occupied in early times a much wider range of territory, extending even to the coast of Iônia and Æolia. Ephesus, Smyrna, Kymê, Myrina, Paphos and Sinopê were affirmed to have been founded and denominated by them.<sup>4</sup> Some

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Plato mentions the invasion of Attica by the Amazons in the Menæxenus (c. 9), but the passage in the treatise De Legg. c. ii. p. 804, — ἀκούων γὰρ δὴ μύθους παλαιὸς πέπεισμαι, etc. — is even a stronger evidence of his own belief. And Xenophôn in the Anabasis, when he compares the quiver and the hatchet of his barbarous enemies to "those which the Amazons carry," evidently believed himself to be speaking of real persons, though he could have seen only the costumes and armature of those painted by Mikôn and others (Anabas. iv. 4, 10; compare Æschl. Supplic. 293, and Aristophan. Lysistr. 678; Lucian. Anachars, c. 34. v. iii. p. 318).

How copiously the tale was enlarged upon by the authors of the *Anthides* we see in Plutarch, *Théseus*, 27–28.

Hekataeus (ap. Steph. Byz. *Ἀμαζονείον*; also *Fragm.* 350, 351, 352, Didot) and Xanthus (ap. Hesychium, v. *Βουλεψίη*) both treated of the Amazons: the latter passage ought to be added to the collection of the *Fragments* of Xanthus by Didot.

<sup>1</sup> Clemens Alexandr. *Stromat.* i. p. 336; *Marmor Parium*, Epoch. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Thés.* 27–28. Steph. Byz. v. *Ἀμαζονείον*. Pausan. ii. 32, 8; iii. 25, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pherekydês ap. Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 373–992; Justin, ii. 4; Strabo, xii. p. 547, *Θεμισκυραν, τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων οἰκητήριον*; Diodôr. ii. 45–46; Sallust ap. Serv. ad Virgil. *Æneid.* xi. 659; Pompon. Mela, i. 19; Plin. H. N. vi. 4. The geography of Quintus Curtius (vi. 4) and of Philostratus (Herol. c. 19) is on this point indefinite, and even inconsistent.

Ephor. *Fragm.* 87, Didot. Strabo, xi. p. 505; xiii. p. 573; xiii. p. 622



authors placed them in Libya or Ethiopia; and when the Po  
Greeks on the north-western shore of the Euxine had be-  
acquainted with the hardy and daring character of the Sarma-  
maiden, — who were obliged to have slain each an enemy  
battle as the condition of obtaining a husband, and who artifi-  
prevented the growth of the right breast during childhood, —  
could imagine no more satisfactory mode of accounting for  
attributes than by deducing the Sarmatians from a colony of  
grant Amazons, expelled by the Grecian heroes from their  
tory on the Thermôdôn.<sup>1</sup> Pindar ascribed the first establish-  
of the memorable temple of Artemis at Ephesus to the Ama-  
And Pausanias explains in part the preëminence which this  
ple enjoyed over every other in Greece by the widely diff.  
renown of its female founders,<sup>2</sup> respecting whom he obser-  
(with perfect truth, if we admit the historical character of the  
epic), that women possess an unparalleled force of resolution  
resisting adverse events, since the Amazons, after having  
first roughly handled by Hêraklês and then completely defe-

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Pausan. iv. 31, 6; vii. 2. 4. Tacit. Ann. iii. 61. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. 965.

The derivation of the name Sinopé from an Amazon was given by E-  
tæus (Fragm. 352). Themiskyra also had one of the Amazons for its ep-  
mus (Appian, Bell. Mithridat. 78).

Some of the most venerated religious legends at Sinopé were attach-  
the expedition of Hêraklês against the Amazons: Antolykus, the or-  
giving hero, worshipped with great solemnity even at the time when the  
was besieged by Lucullus, was the companion of Hêraciês (Appian, ib. c.  
Even a small mountain village in the territory of Ephesus, called Lat-  
derived its name from one of the Amazons (Athenæ. i. p. 31).

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. iv. 108-117, where he gives the long tale, imagined by the  
tic Greeks, of the origin of the Sarmatian nation. Compare Hippokratês  
Aëre, Locis et Aquis, c. 17; Ephorus, Fragm. 103; Skymn. Chius, v.  
Plato, Legg. vii. p. 804; Diodôr. ii. 34.

The testimony of Hippokratês certifies the practice of the Sarmatian  
men to check the growth of the right breast: *Τὸν δέξιον δὲ μαστὸν οὐκ ἔχο-  
Παῖδιόισι γὰρ τοῦσιν ἐπὶ νηπίοισιν αἱ μητέρες χαλκεῖον τετεχνήμενον ἐπ' α-  
τοῦτῳ διάπυρον ποιεῖν, πρὸς τὸν μαστὸν τιθέναι τὸν δέξιον· καὶ ἐπικαί-  
δοτε τὴν ἀΐξιν φθείρεσθαι, ἐξ δὲ τὸν δέξιον ὤμον καὶ βραχίονα πῦσαι  
ισχὺν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκιδύναται.*

Ktêsias also compares a warlike Sakian woman to the Amazons (Fr  
Persic. ii. pp. 221, 449, Bähr).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iv. 31, 6; vii. 2, 4. Dionys. Periêgêt. 828

by Thêseus, could yet find courage to play so conspicuous a part in the defence of Troy against the Grecian besiegers.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus that in what is called early Grecian history, as the Greeks themselves looked back upon it, the Amazons were among the most prominent and undisputed personages. Nor will the circumstance appear wonderful if we reflect, that the belief in them was first established at a time when the Grecian mind was fed with nothing else but religious legend and epic poetry, and that the incidents of the supposed past, as received from these sources, were addressed to their faith and feelings, without being required to adapt themselves to any canons of credibility drawn from present experience. But the time came when the historians of Alexander the Great audaciously abused this ancient credence. Amongst other tales calculated to exalt the dignity of that monarch, they affirmed that after his conquest and subjugation of the Persian empire, he had been visited in Hyrcania by Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, who admiring his warlike prowess, was anxious to be enabled to return into her own country in a condition to produce offspring of a breed so invincible.<sup>2</sup> But the Greeks had now been accustomed for a century and a half to historical and philosophical criticism — and that uninquiring faith, which was readily accorded to the wonders of the past, could no longer be invoked for them when tendered as present reality. For the fable of the Amazons was here reproduced in its naked simplicity, without being rationalized or painted over with historical colors.

Some literary men indeed, among whom were Dêmêtrius of Skepsis, and the Mitylenæan Theophanês, the companion of Pompey in his expeditions, still continued their belief both in Amazons present and Amazons past; and when it becomes notorious that at least there were none such on the banks of the Thermôdôn, these authors supposed them to have migrated from their original locality, and to have settled in the unvisited regions north of Mount Caucasus.<sup>3</sup> Strabo, on the contrary, feeling that the grounds

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 15, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 13; compare iv. 15; Quint. Curt. vi. 4; Justin, xlii. 4. The note of Freinshemius on the above passage of Quintus Curtius is full of valuable references on the subject of the Amazons.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xi. p. 503-504; Appian, *Bell. Mithridat.* c. 103; Plutarch, *Pom*

of disbelief applied with equal force to the ancient stories and the modern, rejected both the one and the other. But he remained at the same time, not without some surprise, that it was usual with most persons to adopt a middle course, — to retain the Amazons as historical phenomena of the remote past, but to disallow them as realities of the present, and to maintain that the breed had died out.<sup>1</sup> The accomplished intellect of Julius Cæsar did not scruple to acknowledge them as having once conquered and held in dominion a large portion of Asia;<sup>2</sup> and the compromise between early, traditional, and religious faith on the one hand, and

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peius, c. 35. Plin. N. H. vi. 7. Plutarch still retains the old description of the Amazons from the mountains near the Thermōdōn. Appian keeps clear of this geographical error, probably copying more exactly the language of Timophanēs, who must have been well aware that when Lucullus besieged Tomyriakya, he did not find it defended by the Amazons (see Appian, Bell. Mithridat. c. 78). Ptolemy (v. 9) places the Amazons in the imperfectly known regions of Asiatic Sarmatia, north of the Caspian and near the river Volga. "This fabulous community of women (observes Forbiger) Hasenbuch der alten Geographie, ii. 77, p. 457) was a phenomenon much too interesting for the geographers easily to relinquish."

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xi. p. 506. Ἰδιὸν δέ τι συμβέβηκε τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μυθώδες καὶ τὸ ἱστορικὸν διωρίσμενον ἔχουσι· τὰ γὰρ παλαιὰ καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ τερατώδεις, μῦθοι καλοῦνται. [Note. Strabo does not always speak of the μῦθοι in this disrespectful tone; he is sometimes much displeased with those who dispute the existence of an historical kernel in the legends, especially with regard to Homer.] ἡ δ' ἱστορία βούλεται ἀληθὲς, ἅντε παλαιὸν, ἅντε νέον· καὶ τὸ τερατώδες ἢ οὐκ ἔχει, ἢ σπάνιον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται καὶ νῦν καὶ παλαιά, τερατώδεις τ' ὄντα, καὶ πίστεως πόρρον. Τίς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειεν, ὡς γυναικῶν στρατός, ἢ πόλις, ἢ ἔθνος, συσταίη ἄνευ ἄνδρῶν; καὶ οὐ μόνον συσταίη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφόδους ποιῆσαιτο ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ κρατήσειεν οὐ τῶν ἐγγυὲς μόνον, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἰσχυροῦς προελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαπόντιον στείλειτο στρατίαν μέχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς; Ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν· ἐπιτείνει δὲ τὰ ἰδιότῃ καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσθαι τὰ παλαιὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νῦν. There are however, other passages in which he speaks of the Amazons as realities.

Justin (ii. 4) recognizes the great power and extensive conquests of the Amazons in very early times, but says that they gradually declined down to the reign of Alexander, in whose time there were *just a few remaining*; the queen with these few visited Alexander, but shortly afterwards the whole breed became extinct. This hypothesis has the merit of convenience, and of ingenuity.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, Jul. Cæsar, c. 22. "In Syria quoque regnasse Semiramidem."

established habits of critical research on the other, adopted by the historian Arrian, deserves to be transcribed in his own words, as illustrating strikingly the powerful sway of the old legends even over the most positive-minded Greeks:—"Neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy (he observes), nor any other competent witness, has recounted this (visit of the Amazons and their queen to Alexander): nor does it seem to me that the race of the Amazons was preserved down to that time, nor have they been noticed either by any one before Alexander, or by Xenophôn, though he mentions both the Phasians and the Kolchians, and the other barbarous nations which the Greeks saw both before and after their arrival at Trapezus, in which marches they must have met with the Amazons, if the latter had been still in existence. Yet it is incredible to me that this race of women, celebrated as they have been by authors so many and so commanding, should never have existed at all. The story tells of Héraklès, that he set out from Greece and brought back with him the girdle of their queen Hippolytê; also of Thêseus and the Athenians, that they were the first who defeated in battle and repelled these women in their invasion of Europe; and the combat of the Athenians with the Amazons has been painted by Mikôn, not less than that between the Athenians and the Persians. Moreover Herodotus has spoken in many places of these women, and those Athenian orators who have pronounced panegyrics on the citizens slain in battle, have dwelt upon the victory over the Amazons as among the most memorable of Athenian exploits. If the satrap of Media sent any equestrian women at all to Alexander, I think that they must have come from some of the neighboring tribes, practised in riding and equipped in the costume generally called Amazonian."<sup>1</sup>

There cannot be a more striking evidence of the indelible force

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(Julius Cæsar said this), magnamque Asiæ partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam."

In the splendid triumph of the emperor Aurelian at Rome after the defeat of Zenobia, a few Gothic women who had been taken in arms were exhibited among the prisoners; the official placard carried along with them announced them as *Amazons* (Vopiscus Aurel. in *Histor. August. Scrip.* p. 260, ed. Paris).

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, *Expedition of Alexander*, vii. 13.

with which these ancient legends were worked into the nation faith and feelings of the Greeks, than these remarks of a judicious historian upon the fable of the Amazons. Probably if a plausible mode of rationalizing it, and of transforming it into quasi-political event, had been offered to Arrian, he would have been better pleased to adopt such a middle term, and would have rested comfortably in the supposition that he believed the legend in its true meaning, while his less inquiring countrymen were imposed upon by the exaggerations of poets. But as the story was presented to him plain and unvarnished, either for acceptance or rejection, his feelings as a patriot and a religious man prevented him from applying to the past such tests of credibility as his untrammelled reason acknowledged to be paramount regard to the present. When we see moreover how much belief was strengthened, and all tendency to scepticism shut out by the familiarity of his eye and memory with sculptured or painted Amazons<sup>1</sup>—we may calculate the irresistible force of this sensible demonstration on the convictions of the unlettered public, once more deeply retentive of passive impressions, and unaccustomed to the countervailing habit of rational investigation in evidence. Had the march of an army of warlike women, from the Thermôdôn or the Tanais into the heart of Attica, been counted to Arrian as an incident belonging to the time of Alexander the Great, he would have rejected it no less emphatically than Strabô; but cast back as it was into an undefined past, it took rank among the hallowed traditions of divine or heroic antiquity—gratifying to extol by rhetoric, but repulsive to scrutinize argument.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ktésias described as real animals, existing in wild and distant regions the heterogeneous and fantastic combinations which he saw sculptured in the East (see this stated and illustrated in Bähr, Preface to the Fragm. Ktésias, pp. 58, 59).

<sup>2</sup> Heyne observes (Apollodôr. ii. 5, 9) with respect to the fable of the Amazons, "In his historiarum fidem aut vestigia nemo quæsierit." Admittit the wisdom of this counsel (and I think it indisputable), why are we required to presume, in the absence of all proof, an historical basis for each of the other narratives, such as the Kalydônian boar-hunt, the Argonautic expedition, or the siege of Troy, which go to make up, along with the story of the Amazons, the aggregate matter of Grecian legendary faith? If the tale

## CHAPTER XII.

## KRETAN LEGENDS.—MINOS AND HIS FAMILY.

To understand the adventures of Thêseus in Krête, it will be necessary to touch briefly upon Minôs and the Krêtan heroic genealogy.

Minôs and Rhadamanthus, according to Homer, are sons of Zeus, by Europê,<sup>1</sup> daughter of the widely-celebrated Phoenix,

the Amazons could gain currency without any such support, why not other portions of the ancient epic ?

An author of easy belief, Dr. F. Nagel, vindicates the historical reality of the Amazons (*Geschichte der Amazonen*, Stuttgart, 1838). I subjoin here a different explanation of the Amazonian tale, proceeding from another author who rejects the historical basis, and contained in a work of learning and value (*Guhl, Ephesiaca*, Berlin, 1843, p. 132):—

“Id tantum monendum videtur, Amazonas nequaquam historice accipiendas esse, sed e contrario totas ad mythologiam pertinere. Earum enim fabulas quum ex frequentium hierodularum gregibus in cultibus et sacris Asiaticis ortas esse ingeniose ostenderit Tolken, jam *inter omnes mythologica peritos constat*, Amazonibus nihil fere nisi peregrini cujusdam cultûs notionem expressum esse, ejusque cum Græcorum religione certamen frequentibus istis pugnis designatum esse, quas cum Amazonibus tot Græcorum heroes habuisse credebantur, Hercules, Bellerophon, Theseus, Achilles, et vel ipse, quem Ephesi cultum fuisse supra ostendimus, Dionysus. Quæ Amazonum notio primaria, quum paulatim Euemeristicâ (ut ita dicam) ratione ita transformaretur, ut Amazones pro vero feminarum populo haberentur, necesse quoque erat, ut omnibus fere locis, ubi ejusmodi religionum certamina locum habuerunt, Amazones habitasse, vel eo usque processisse, crederentur. Quod cum nusquam manifestius fuerit, quam in Asiâ minore, et potissimum in eâ parte quæ Græciam versus vergit, haud mirandum est omnes fere ejus oræ urbes ab Amazonibus conditas putari.”

I do not know the evidence upon which this conjectural interpretation rests, but the statement of it, though it boasts so many supporters among mythological critics, carries no appearance of probability to my mind. Priam fights against the Amazons as well as the Grecian heroes.

<sup>1</sup> Europê was worshipped with very peculiar solemnity in the island of Krête (see Dictys Cretensis, *De Bello Trojano*, i. c. 2).

The venerable plane-tree, under which Zeus and Europê had reposed, was

born in Krête. Minôs is the father of Deukaliôn, whose son Idomeneus, in conjunction with Mërionês, conducts the Krétan troops to the host of Agamemnôn before Troy. Minôs is ruler of Knossus, and familiar companion of the great Zeus. He is spoken of as holding guardianship in Krête—not necessarily meaning the whole of the island: he is farther decorated with a golden sceptre, and constituted judge over the dead in the underworld to settle their disputes, in which function Odysseus finds him—this however by a passage of comparatively late interpolation into the *Odyssey*. He also had a daughter named Ariadné, for whom the artist Dædalus fabricated in the town of Knossus the representation of a complicated dance, and who was ultimately carried off by Thêseus: she died in the island of Dia, deserted by Thêseus and betrayed by Dionysos to the fatal wrath of Artemis. Rhadamanthus seems to approach to Minôs both in judicial functions and posthumous dignity. He is conveyed expressly to Eubœa, by the semi-divine sea-carriers the Phæacians, to inspect the gigantic corpse of the earth-born Tityus—the longest voyage they ever undertook. He is moreover after death promoted to an abode of undisturbed bliss in the Elysian plain at the extremity of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

According to poets later than Homer, Europê is brought over by Zeus from Phœnicia to Krête, where she bears to him three sons, Minôs, Rhadamanthus and Sarpêdôn. The latter leaves Krête and settles in Lykia, the population of which, as well as that of many other portions of Asia Minor, is connected by va-

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still shown, hard by a fountain at Goetyn in Krête, in the time of Theophrastus: it was said to be the only plane-tree in the neighborhood which never cast its leaves (*Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 9*).

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 249, 450; xiv. 321. *Odys.* xi. 322-568; xix. 179; iv. 564-vii. 321.

The Homeric Minôs in the under-world is not a judge of the previous lives of the dead, so as to determine whether they deserve reward or punishment for their conduct on earth: such functions are not assigned to him earlier than the time of Plato. He administers justice among the dead, who are conceived as a sort of society, requiring some presiding judge: *θεμιστεύοντα νεκύεσσι*, with regard to Minôs, is said very much like (*Odys.* xi. 484) *νῦν δ' αὖτε μέγα κρείετ' νεκύεσσι* with regard to Achilles. See this matter partially illustrated in Heyne's *Excursus* xi. to the sixth book of the *Æneid* of Virgil.

rious mythical genealogies with Krête, though the Sarpêdôn of the Iliad has no connection with Krête, and is not the son of Europê. Sarpêdôn having become king of Lykia, was favored by his father, Zeus, with permission to live for three generations.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the youthful Milêtus, a favorite of Sarpêdôn, quitted Krête, and established the city which bore his name on the coast of Asia Minor. Rhadamanthus became sovereign of and lawgiver among the islands in the Ægean: he subsequently went to Bœôtia, where he married the widowed Alkmênô, mother of Hêrâklês.

Europê finds in Krête a king Asterius, who marries her and adopts her children by Zeus: this Astêrius is the son of Krês, the eponym of the island, or (according to another genealogy by which it was attempted to be made out that Minôs was of Dôrian race) he was a son of the daughter of Krês by Tektamus, the son of Dôrus, who had migrated into the island from Greece.

Minôs married Pasiphaë, daughter of the god Hêlios and Perseis, by whom he had Katreus, Deukaliôn, Glaukus, Androgeos, names marked in the legendary narrative, — together with several daughters, among whom were Ariadnê and Phædra. He offended Poseidôn by neglecting to fulfil a solemnly-made vow, and the displeased god afflicted his wife Pasiphaë with a monstrous passion for a bull. The great artist Dædalus, son of Eupalamus, a fugitive from Athens, became the confidant of this amour, from which sprang the Minôtaur, a creature half man and half bull.<sup>2</sup> This Minôtaur was imprisoned by Minôs in the labyrinth, an inextricable inclosure constructed by Dædalus for that express purpose, by order of Minôs.

Minôs acquired great nautical power, and expelled the Karian inhabitants from many of the islands of the Ægean, which he placed under the government of his sons on the footing of tribu-

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<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 1, 2. Καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐνὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ὥν. This circumstance is evidently imagined by the logographers to account for the appearance of Sarpêdôn in the Trojan war, fighting against Idomeneus, the grandson of Minôs. Nisus is the eponymus of Nisæa, the port of the town of Megara: his tomb was shown at Athens (Pausan. i. 19, 5). Minôs is the eponym of the island of Minoa (opposite the port of Nisæa), where it was affirmed that the fleet of Minôs was stationed (Pausan. i. 44, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 1 2.



taries. He undertook several expeditions against various places on the coast—one against Nisos, the son of Pandiôn, king of Lagara, who had amongst the hair of his head one peculiar lock a purple color: an oracle had pronounced that his life and reign would never be in danger so long as he preserved this precious lock. The city would have remained inexpugnable, if Scylla the daughter of Nisus, had not conceived a violent passion for Minôs. While her father was asleep, she cut off the lock which his safety hung, so that the Krêtean king soon became victorious. Instead of performing his promise to carry Scylla away with him to Krête, he cast her from the stern of his vessel into the sea:<sup>1</sup> both Scylla and Nisus were changed into birds.

Androgeos, son of Minôs having displayed such rare qualities as to vanquish all his competitors at the Panathenaic festival at Athens, was sent by Ægeus the Athenian king to contend against the bull of Marathôn,—an enterprise in which he perished, and Minôs made war upon Athens to avenge his death. He was a long time unable to take the city: at length he prayed to his father Zeus to aid him in obtaining redress from the Athenians, and Zeus sent upon them pestilence and famine. In vain did they endeavor to avert these calamities by offering up as propitiatory sacrifices the four daughters of Hyacinthus. Their sufferings still continued, and the oracle directed them to submit to any terms which Minôs might exact. He required that they should send to Krête a tribute of seven youths and seven maidens, periodically, to be devoured by the Minôtaur,<sup>2</sup>—offered him in a labyrinth constructed by Dædalus, including countless different passages, out of which no person could escape.

Every ninth year this offering was to be despatched. The more common story was, that the youths and maidens thus destined to destruction were selected by lot—but the logographer Hellanikus said that Minôs came to Athens and chose them himself.<sup>3</sup> The third period for despatching the victims had arrived

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 8. See the Ciris of Virgil, a juvenile poem on the subject of this fable; also Hyginus, f. 198; Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 1; Propertius (iii. 19, 21) gives the features of the story with tolerable fidelity; Ovid takes considerable liberties with it (Metam. viii. 5–150).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 15, 8.

<sup>3</sup> See, on the subject of Theseus and the Minôtaur, Eckermann, Lehrb.

and Athens was plunged in the deepest affliction, when Théséus determined to devote himself as one of them, and either to terminate the sanguinary tribute or to perish. He prayed to Poséidon for help, and the Delphian god assured him that Aphrodié would sustain and extricate him. On arriving at Knossus he was fortunate enough to captivate the affections of Ariadné, the daughter of Minôs, who supplied him with a sword and a clue of thread. With the former he contrived to kill the Minôtaur, the latter served to guide his footsteps in escaping from the labyrinth. Having accomplished this triumph, he left Krête with his ship and companions unhurt, carrying off Ariadné, whom however he soon abandoned on the island of Naxos. On his way home to Athens, he stopped at Dêlos, where he offered a grateful sacrifice to Apollo for his escape, and danced along with the young men and maidens whom he had rescued from the Minôtaur, a dance called the Geranus, imitated from the twists and convolutions of the Krêtan labyrinth. It had been concerted with his father Ægeus, that if he succeeded in his enterprise against the Minôtaur, he should on his return hoist white sails in his ship in place of the black canvas which she habitually carried when employed on this mournful embassy. But Théséus forgot to make the change of sails; so that Ægeus, seeing the ship return with her equipment of mourning unaltered, was impressed with the sorrowful conviction that his son had perished, and cast himself into the sea. The ship which made this voyage was preserved by the Athenians with careful solicitude, being constantly repaired with new timbers, down to the time of the Phalerian Dêmêtrius: every year she was sent from Athens to Dêlos with a solemn sacrifice and specially-nominated envoys. The priest of Apollo decked her stern with garlands before she quitted the port, and during the time which elapsed until her return, the city was understood to abstain from all acts carrying with them public impurity, so that it was unlawful to put to death any person even under formal sentence by the dikastery. This accidental circumstance

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der Religions Geschichte und Mythologie, vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 133. He maintains that the tribute of these human victims paid by Athens to Minôs is an historical fact. Upon what this belief is grounded, I confess I do not see.

becomes especially memorable, from its having postponed thirty days the death of the lamented Socratēs.<sup>1</sup>

The legend respecting Thêseus, and his heroic rescue of seven noble youths and maidens from the jaws of the Minôtaur was thus both commemorated and certified to the Athenian public by the annual holy ceremony and by the unquestioned identity of the vessel employed in it. There were indeed many varieties in the mode of narrating the incident; and some of the Attic logographers tried to rationalize the fable by transforming Minôtaur into a general or a powerful athlete, named Taurus whom Thêseus vanquished in Krête.<sup>2</sup> But this altered version never overbore the old fanciful character of the tale as maintained by the poets. A great number of other religious ceremonies and customs, as well as several chapels or sacred enclosures in honor of different heroes, were connected with different acts and special ordinances of Thêseus. To every Athenian who

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Phædon, c. 2, 3; Xenoph. Memor. iv. 8. 2. Plato especially mentions τῶν δὲ ἐντὶ ἐκείνους, the seven youths and the seven maidens which Thêseus conveyed to Krête and brought back safely: this number seems an old and constant feature in the legend, maintained by Sappho and Bacchylidês as well as by Euripidês (Herc. Fur. 1318). See Servius ad Virg. Æneid. vi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> For the general narrative and its discrepancies, see Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 15-19; Diodôr. iv. 60-62; Pausan. i. 17, 3; Ovid, Epist. Ariadn. 104. In that other portion of the work of Diodôrus which relates more especially to Krête, and is borrowed from Kretan logographers and historians (v. 64-80), he mentions nothing at all respecting the war of Minôtaur at Athens.

In the drama of Euripidês called Thêseus, the genuine story of the youths and maidens about to be offered as food to the Minôtaur was introduced (Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. 312).

Ariadnê figures in the Odyssey along with Thêseus: she is the daughter of Minôtaur, carried off by Thêseus from Krête, and killed by Artemis in the home: there is no allusion to Minôtaur, or tribute, or self-devotion of Thêseus (Odys. xi. 324). This is probably the oldest and simplest form of the legend—one of the many amorous (compare Theognis, 1232) adventures of Thêseus: the rest is added by post-Homeric poets.

The respect of Aristotle for Minôtaur induces him to adopt the hypothesis that the Athenian youths and maidens were not put to death in Krête, but grew old in servitude (Aristot. Fragm. Βορρῖαιὸν Πολιτεία, p. 10 Neumann. of the Fragments of the treatise Περὶ Πολιτείας. Plutarch, Q. Græc. p. 298).

part in the festivals of the Oschophoria, the Pyanepsia, or the Kybernêsia, the name of this great hero was familiar, and the motives for offering to him solemn worship at his own special festival of the Thêseia, became evident and impressive.

The same Athenian legends which ennobled and decorated the character of Thêseus, painted in repulsive colors the attributes of Minôs; and the traits of the old Homeric comrade of Zeus were buried under those of the conqueror and oppressor of Athens. His history like that of the other legendary personages of Greece, consists almost entirely of a string of family romances and tragedies. His son Katreus, father of Aëropê, wife of Atreus, was apprized by an oracle that he would perish by the hand of one of his own children: he accordingly sent them out of the island, and Althæmenês, his son, established himself in Rhodes. Katreus having become old, and fancying that he had outlived the warning of the oracle, went over to Rhodes to see Althæmenês. In an accidental dispute which arose between his attendants and the islanders, Althæmenês inadvertently took part and slew his father without knowing him. Glaukus, the youngest son of Minôs, pursuing a mouse, fell into a reservoir of honey and was drowned. No one knew what had become of him, and his father was inconsolable; at length the Argeian Polyeidus, a prophet wonderfully endowed by the gods, both discovered the boy and restored him to life, to the exceeding joy of Minôs.<sup>1</sup>

The latter at last found his death in an eager attempt to overtake and punish Dædalus. This great artist, the eponymous hero of the Attic gens or dême called the Dædalidæ, and the descendant of Erechtheus through Mêtion, had been tried at the tribunal of Areiopagus and banished for killing his nephew Talos, whose rapidly improving skill excited his envy.<sup>2</sup> He took refuge in Krête, where he acquired the confidence of Minôs, and was employed (as has been already mentioned) in constructing the labyrinth; subsequently however he fell under the displeasure of Minôs, and was confined as a close prisoner in the inextricable windings of his own edifice. His unrivalled skill and resourcée however did not forsake him. He manufactured wings both for

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<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. cap. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Pherekyd. Fragm. 105; Hellanik. Fragm. 82 (Didot); Pausan. vii. 4. 5

himself and for his son Ikarus, with which they flew over sea: the father arrived safely in Sicily at Kamikus, the resid of the Sikanian king Kokalus, but the son, disdainig pate example and admonition, flew so high that his wings were me by the sun and he fell into the sea, which from him was ca the Ikarian sea.<sup>1</sup>

Dædalus remained for some time in Sicily, leaving in var parts of the island many prodigious evidences of mechanical architectural skill.<sup>2</sup> At length Minôs bent upon regaining pos sion of his person, undertook an expedition against Kokalus a numerous fleet and army. Kokalus affecting readiness to liver up the fugitive, and receiving Minôs with apparent fri ship, ordered a bath to be prepared for him by his three da ters, who, eager to protect Dædalus at any price, drowned Krêtan king in the bath with hot water.<sup>3</sup> Many of the Kr who had accompanied him remained in Sicily and founded town of Minoa, which they denominated after him. But not afterwards Zeus roused all the inhabitants of Krête (except towns of Polichna and Præsus) to undertake with one accom expedition against Kamikus for the purpose of avenging death of Minôs. They besieged Kamikus in vain for five y until at last famine compelled them to return. On their along the coast of Italy, in the Gulf of Tarentum, a ter storm destroyed their fleet and obliged them to settle pe nently in the country: they founded Hyria with other cities became Messapian Iapygians. Other settlers, for the most Greeks, immigrated into Krête to the spots which this move

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 79; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 181. Both Ephorus and tus mentioned the coming of Dædalus to Kokalus in Sicily (Ephor. *Philist.* *Fragm.* I, Didot): probably Antiochus noticed it also (Diodôr. 71). Kokalus was the point of commencement for the Sicilian histori

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. vii. 4, 5; Schol. Pindar. *Nem.* iv. 95; Hygin. *fab.* 44; ( Narr. 25; Ovid, *Ibis*, 291. —

"Vel tua maturet, sicut Minotia fata,  
Per caput infusæ fervidus humor aquæ."

This story formed the subject of a lost drama of Sophoklès, *Kamikus*; it was also told by Kallimachus, *ἐν Αἰτίαις*, as well as by Phanous (Schol. *Iliad*, ii. 145).

had left vacant, and in the second generation after Minôs occurred the Trojan war. The departed Minôs was exceedingly offended with the Krêtans for coöperating in avenging the injury to Menelaus, since the Greeks generally had lent no aid to the Krêtans in their expedition against the town of Kamikus. He sent upon Krête, after the return of Idomeneus from Troy, such terrible visitations of famine and pestilence, that the population again died out or expatriated, and was again renovated by fresh immigrations. The intolerable suffering<sup>1</sup> thus brought upon the Krêtans by the anger of Minôs, for having coöperated in the general Grecian aid to Menelaus, was urged by them to the Greeks as the reason why they could take no part in resisting the invasion of Xerxês; and it is even pretended that they were advised and encouraged to adopt this ground of excuse by the Delphian oracle.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the Minôs of the poets and logographers, with his legendary and romantic attributes: the familiar comrade of the great Zeus,—the judge among the dead in Hadês,—the husband of Pasiphaê, daughter of the god Hêlios,—the father of the goddess Ariadnê, as well as of Androgeos, who perishes and is worshipped at Athens,<sup>3</sup> and of the boy Glaukus, who is miraculously restored to life by a prophet,—the person beloved by Scylla, and the amorous pursuer of the nymph or goddess Britomartis,<sup>4</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> This curious and very characteristic narrative is given by Herodot. vii. 169–171.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 169. The answer ascribed to the Delphian oracle, on the question being put by the Krêtan envoys whether it would be better for them to aid the Greeks against Xerxês or not, is highly emphatic and poetical: *ἂ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμψεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελέω τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ ξυνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γεόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ κείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβαρὸν γυναῖκα.*

If such an answer was ever returned at all, I cannot but think that it must have been from some oracle in Krête itself, not from Delphi. The Delphian oracle could never have so far forgotten its obligations to the general cause of Greece, at that critical moment, which involved moreover the safety of all its own treasures, as to deter the Krêtans from giving assistance.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Theogon. 949; Pausan. i. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Kallimach. Hymn. ad Dian. 189. Strabo (x. p. 476) dwells also upon

the proprietor of the Labyrinth and of the Minôtaur, and exacter of a periodical tribute of youths and maidens from Athens as food for this monster,—lastly, the follower of the fugitive artist Dædalus to Kamikos, and the victim of the three ill-posed daughters of Kokalos in a bath. With this strongly marked portrait, the Minôs of Thucydidês and Aristotle scarcely anything in common except the name. He is the one who is to acquire *Thalassokraty*, or command of the *Ægean* sea: he expels the Karian inhabitants from the Cyclades islands, and sends thither fresh colonists under his own sons; he puts down piracy in order that he may receive his tribute regularly; lastly, he attempts to conquer Sicily, but fails in the enterprise and perishes. Here we have conjectures, derived from the analogy of the Athenian maritime empire in the historical times, substituted in place of the fabulous incidents, and attached to the name of Minôs.

In the fable, a tribute of seven youths and seven maidens is paid to him periodically by the Athenians; in the historical narrative this character of a tribute-collector is preserved, but the tribute is money collected from dependent islands;<sup>2</sup> and

the strange contradiction of the legends concerning Minôs: I agree with Hoeckh (Kreta, ii. p. 93) that *δασμολόγος* in this passage refers to the tribute exacted from Athens for the Minôtaur.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 4. Μίνως γὰρ, παλαιάτατος ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, ναυτικὸν ἐκτὶ καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκράτησε, καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἤρξε τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς αὐτὸς τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κάρας ἐξελάσας τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τό τε ληστικὸν, ὡς εἰκός, ἔπειρε ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον λέναι. See also c. 8.

Aristot. Polit. ii. 7, 2, Δοκεῖ δ' ἡ νῆσος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεφυκέναι καὶ κείσθαι καλῶς . . . . . διὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, τὰς δὲ ἔκτισε· τέλος θέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Κάμικον.

Ephorus (ap. Skymn. Chi. 542) repeated the same statement: he mentioned also the autochthonous king Krês.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that Herodotus expressly denies this, and in language which shews that he had made special inquiries about it: he says that the Karians or Leleges in the islands (who were, according to Thucydidês, expelled by Minôs) paid no tribute to Minôs, but manned his navy, i. e. they stood to Minôs much in the same relation as Chios and Lesbos stood to Athens (Herodot. i. 171). One may trace here the influence of those disci-

totle points out to us how conveniently Krête is situated to exercise empire over the Ægean. The expedition against Kamikna, instead of being directed to the recovery of the fugitive Dædalus, is an attempt on the part of the great thalassokrat to conquer Sicily. Herodotus gives us generally the same view of the character of Minôs as a great maritime king, but his notice of the expedition against Kamikus includes the mention of Dædalus as the intended object of it.<sup>1</sup> Ephorus, while he described Minôs as a commanding and comprehensive lawgiver imposing his commands under the sanction of Zeus, represented him as the imitator of an earlier lawgiver named Rhadamanthus, and also as an immigrant into Krête from the Æolic Mount Ida, along with the priests or sacred companions of Zeus called the Idæi Dactyli. Aristotle too points him out as the author of the Sysitia, or public meals common in Krête as well as at Sparta,—other divergences in a new direction from the spirit of the old fables.<sup>2</sup>

The contradictory attributes ascribed to Minôs, together with the perplexities experienced by those who wished to introduce a regular chronological arrangement into these legendary events, has led both in ancient and in modern times to the supposition of two kings named Minôs, one the grandson of the other, — Minôs I., the son of Zeus, lawgiver and judge, — Minôs II., the thalassokrat, — a gratuitous conjecture, which, without solving the problem required, only adds one to the numerous artifices employed for imparting the semblance of history to the disparate matter of legend. The Krêtans were at all times, from Homer downward, expert and practised seamen. But that they were ever united

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which must have been prevalent at that time respecting the maritime empire of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 170. *Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνω κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην, τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλουμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. Ἄνδ' δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφί' ἐποτρυνόντος, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 7, 1; vii. 9, 2. Ephorus, Fragm. 63, 64, 65. He set aside altogether the Homeric genealogy of Minôs, which makes him brother of Rhadamanthus and born in Krête.

Strabo, in pointing out the many contradictions respecting Minôs, remarks, *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος οὐχ ὁμολογούμενος, τῶν μὲν ξένον τῆς νήσου τὸν Μίνω λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπιχώριον.* By the former he doubtless means Ephorus, though he has not here specified him (x. p. 477).



under one government, or ever exercised maritime dominion the Ægean is a fact which we are neither able to affirm nor deny. The Odyssey, in so far as it justifies any inference as points against such a supposition, since it recognizes a great variety both of inhabitants and of languages in the island, designates Minôs as king specially of Knôssus: it refutes more positively the idea that Minôs put down piracy, which Homeric Krêtans as well as others continue to practise with scruple.

Herodotus, though he in some places speaks of Minôs as a son historically cognizable, yet in one passage severs him peculiarly from the generation of man. The Samian despot "Polykratês (he tells us) was the first person who aspired to naval dominion, excepting Minôs of Knôssus, and others before (if any such there ever were) who may have ruled the sea; Polykratês is the first of that which is called *the generative man* who aspired with much chance of success to govern the islands of the Ægean."<sup>1</sup> Here we find it manifestly intimated that Minôs did not belong to the generation of man; the tale given by the historian respecting the tremendous calamities which the wrath of the departed Minôs inflicted on Knôssus confirms the impression. The king of Knôssus is a god-hero, but not a man; he belongs to legend, not to history. He is the son as well as the familiar companion of Zeus; he marries the daughter of Hêlios, and Ariadnê is numbered among his offspring. To this superhuman person are ascribed the most ancient and most revered institutions of the island, religious and political, together with a period of supposed ante-historical dominion. That there is much of Krêtan religious ideas and practices embodied in the fables concerning Minôs can hardly be doubted, nor is it improbable that the tale of the youths and maiden

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. iii. 122. Πολυκράτης γάρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδμενων, ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, παρὲς Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρότεροι τούτου ἤρξε τῆς θαλάττης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρώπου λεγομένης γενέως Πολυκράτης ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἑλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν.

The expression exactly corresponds to that of Pausanias, ix. 5, 1, καλουμένων Ἑρώων, for the age preceding the ἀνδραπῆτι γενέῃ; also 1, ἐς τὰ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους.

from Athens may be based in some expiatory offerings rendered to a Krétan divinity. The orgiastic worship of Zeus, solemnized by the armed priests with impassioned motions and violent excitement, was of ancient date in that island, as well as the connection with the worship of Apollo both at Delphi and at Délos. To analyze the fables and to elicit from them any trustworthy particular facts, appears to me a fruitless attempt. The religious recollections, the romantic invention, and the items of matter of fact, if any such there be, must forever remain indissolubly amalgamated as the poet originally blended them, for the amusement or edification of his auditors. Hoeckh, in his instructive and learned collection of facts respecting ancient Krête, construes the mythical genealogy of Minôs to denote a combination of the orgiastic worship of Zeus, indigenous among the Eteokrêtes, with the worship of the moon imported from Phœnicia, and signified by the names Europê, Pasiphaâ, and Ariadnê.<sup>1</sup> This is specious as a conjecture, but I do not venture to speak of it in terms of greater confidence.

From the connection of religious worship and legendary tales between Krête and various parts of Asia Minor, — the Trôad, the coast of Milêtus and Lykia, especially between Mount Ida in Krête and Mount Ida in Æôlia, — it seems reasonable to infer an ethnographical kindred or relationship between the inhabitants anterior to the period of Hellenic occupation. The tales of Krétan settlement at Minoa and Engyîon on the south-western coast of Sicily, and in Iapygia on the Gulf of Tarentum, conduct us to a similar presumption, though the want of evidence forbids our tracing it farther. In the time of Herodotus, the Eteokrêtes, or aboriginal inhabitants of the island, were confined to Polichna and Præsus; but in earlier times, prior to the encroachments of the Hellênes, they had occupied the larger portion, if not the whole of the island. Minôs was originally their hero, subsequently adopted by the immigrant Hellênes, — at least Herodotus considers him as barbarian, not Hellenic.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hoeckh, Kreta, vol. ii. pp. 56-67. K. O. Müller also (Dorier. ii. 2, 14) puts a religious interpretation upon these Kreto-Attic legends, but he explains them in a manner totally different from Hoeckh.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 173

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

THE ship *Argô* was the theme of many songs during the earliest periods of the Grecian epic, even earlier than the *Odyssey*. The king *Ætês*, from whom she is departing, the hero *Jasôn* who commands her, and the goddess *Hêrê*, who watches over him, enabling the *Argô* to traverse distances and to escape dangers which no ship had ever before encountered, are all circumstances briefly glanced at by *Odysseus* in his narrative to *Athena*. Moreover, *Eunêus*, the son of *Jasôn* and *Hypsipyle* governs *Lemnos* during the siege of *Troy* by *Agamemnon*, carries on a friendly traffic with the Grecian camp, purchases from them their Trojan prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

The legend of *Halus* in *Achaia Phthiôtis*, respecting the religious solemnities connected with the family of *Athamas* and *Phryxus* (related in a previous chapter), is also interwoven in the voyage of the *Argonauts*; and both the legend and the solemnities seem evidently of great antiquity. We know further, that the adventures of the *Argô* were narrated not only by *Hesiod* in the *Hesiodic poems*, but also by *Eumêlus* and the author of *Naupactian verses* — by the latter seemingly at considerable length.<sup>2</sup> But these poems are unfortunately lost, nor have

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<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* xii. 69. —

Οἷη δὲ κείνη γε παρέπλει ποντόπορος νῆς,  
'Αργὸν πασιμέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα  
Καὶ νῦν κε τὴν ἐνθ' ὧκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας.  
'Αλλ' Ἥρῃ παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.

See also *Iliad*, vii. 470.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hesiod, Fragm. Catalog.* Fr. 6. p. 33, *Düntz.*; *Eoiai*, *Frag.* 39; *Frag.* 72. p. 47. Compare *Schol. ad Apollôn. Rhod.* i. 45; ii. 178, 1125; iv. 254–284. Other poetical sources —

The old epic poem *Ægimius*, *Frag.* 5. p. 57, *Düntz.*

any means of determining what the original story was; for the narrative, as we have it, borrowed from later sources, is enlarged by local tales from the subsequent Greek colonies — Kyzikus, Herakléia, Sinopé, and others.

Jasôn, commanded by Pelias to depart in quest of the golden fleece belonging to the speaking ram which had carried away Phryxus and Hellê, was encouraged by the oracle to invite the noblest youth of Greece to his aid, and fifty of the most distinguished amongst them obeyed the call. Hêraklês, Thêseus, Telamôn and Pêleus, Kastôr and Pollux, Idas and Lynkeus — Zêtês and Kalais, the winged sons of Boreas — Meleager, Amphiarauus, Kêpheus, Laertês, Autolykus, Menœtius, Aktor, Erginus, Euphêmus, Ankæus, Pœas, Periklymenus, Augeas, Eurytus, Admêtus, Akastus, Kæneus, Euryalus, Pênelleôs and Lêitus, Askalaphus and Ialmenus, were among them. Argus the son of Phryxus, directed by the promptings of Athênê, built the ship, inserting in the prow a piece of timber from the celebrated oak of Dodona, which was endued with the faculty of speech:<sup>1</sup> Tiphys was the steersman, Idmôn the son of Apollo and Mopsus

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*Kinæthôn* in the *Herakléia* touched upon the death of Hylas near Kius in Mysia (Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 1357).

The epic poem *Naupactia*, Frag. 1 to 6, Düntz. p. 61.

*Exanêlus*, Frag. 2, 3, 5, p. 65, Düntz.

*Epimenidês*, the Krêtan prophet and poet, composed a poem in 6500 lines, Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε, καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀποπλοῦν (Diogen. Laër. i. 10, 5), which is noticed more than once in the Scholia on Apollônios, on subjects connected with the poem (ii. 1125; iii. 42). See *Mimnerm.* Frag. 10, Schneidewin, p. 15.

*Antimachus*, in his poem *Lyde*, touched upon the Argonautic expedition, and has been partially copied by Apollônios Rhod. (Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 1290; ii. 296; iii. 410; iv. 1153).

The logographers Pherekydês and Hekataëus seem to have related the expedition at considerable length.

The Bibliothek der alten Literatur und Kunst (Göttingen, 1786, 2<sup>te</sup> Stück, p. 61) contains an instructive Dissertation by Groddeck, Ueber die Argonautika, a summary of the various authorities respecting this expedition.

<sup>1</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. i. 525; iv. 580. Apollodôr. i. 9, 16. Valerius Flaccus (i. 300) softens down the speech of the ship Argô into a dream of Jasôn. Alexander Polyhistor explained what wood was used (Plin. H. N. xiii. 22).

accompanied them as prophets, while Orpheus came to an their weariness and reconcile their quarrels with his harp.<sup>1</sup>

First they touched at the island of L  mnos, in which at time there were no men ; for the women, infuriated by jeal and ill-treatment, had put to death their fathers, husbands brothers. The Argonauts, after some difficulty, were received friendship, and even admitted into the greatest intimacy. They staid some months, and the subsequent population of the island

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<sup>1</sup> Apoll  nius Rhodius, Apollod  rus, Valerius Flaccus, the Orphic Argica, and Hyginus, have all given Catalogues of the Argonautic heroes : was one also in the lost tragedy called *  γυναι* of Sophokl  s, see We Gr. Trag. i. 327) : the discrepancies among them are numerous and irreconcilable. Burmann, in the *Catalogus Argonautarum*, prefixed to his edition of Valerius Flaccus, has discussed them copiously. I transcribe one or two of the remarks of this conscientious and laborious critic, out of many of a similar tenor, on the impracticability of a fabulous chronology. Immediately before the first article, *Acastus* — “ Neque enim in   tatibus Argonautarum ullam rationem temporum constare, neque in stirpe et stemmate deducere ordinem ipsum natur   congruere videbam. Nam et huic militi   ac videbam Heroas, qui per natur   leges et ordinem fati eo usque vitam trahere non potu  re, ut aliis ab hac expeditione remotis Heroum militum mina dedisse narrari deberent a Poetis et Mythologis. In idem etiam tataros et Nepotes conjici, consanguineos   tate longe inferiores prioribus   quales adjungi, concoquere vix posse videtur.” — Art. *Anc  us* : “ Scilicet posse, si seriem illam majorem respiciamus, hunc Anc  um simul cum Troo suo Talao in eandem profectum fuisse expeditionem. Sed similia etiam in aliis occurrunt, et in fabulis rationem temporum non semper a se tam licet deducere.” — Art. *Jason* : “ Herculi enim jam provecta   tate h  sset Theseus juvenis, et in Amazoni   expeditione socius fuit, interfuit expeditioni, venatui   pri Calydonii, et rapuit Helenam, qu   circa Troam bellum maxime floruit : qu   omnia si Theseus tot temporum intervalla distincta egit, secula duo vel tria vixisse debuit. Certe Jason Hypsipylem Ariadn  s, nec videre, nec Lemni cognoscere potuit.” — Art. *Argos* : “ Unum est quod alicui longum ordinem majorum recensenti saltem movere possit : nimis longum intervallum inter   eolum et Meleagrum intercedere, ut potuerit interfuisse huic expeditioni : cum nonus fere   tetur ab   eol  , et plurimi ut Jason, Argus, et alii terti   tantum ab expeditione distent. Sed s  pe jam notavimus, frustra temporum intervalla in fabulis qu  eri.”

Read also the articles *Cast  r and Pollux*, *Nest  r P  l  us*, *Staphylus*, &c.

We may stand excused for keeping clear of a chronology which is only in difficulties, and ends in nothing but illusions.

the fruit of their visit. Hypsipylê, the queen of the island, bore to Jasôn two sons.<sup>1</sup>

They then proceeded onward along the coast of Thrace, up the Hellespont, to the southern coast of the Propontis, inhabited by the Dôliones and their king Kyzikus. Here they were kindly entertained, but after their departure were driven back to the same spot by a storm; and as they landed in the dark, the inhabitants did not know them. A battle took place, in which the chief, Kyzikus, was killed by Jasôn; whereby much grief was occasioned as soon as the real facts became known. After Kyzikus had been interred with every demonstration of mourning and solemnity, the Argonauts proceeded along the coast of Mysia.<sup>2</sup> In this part of the voyage they left Hêraklê's behind. For Hylas, his favorite youthful companion, had been stolen away by the nymphs of a fountain, and Hêraklê's, wandering about in search of him, neglected to return. At last he sorrowfully retired, exacting hostages from the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Kius that they would persist in the search.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 17; Apollôn. Rhod. i. 609-915; Herodot. iv. 145. Theocritus (Idyll. xiii. 29) omits all mention of Lêmnos, and represents the Argô as arriving on the third day from Iôlkos at the Hellespont. Diodôrus (iv. 41) also leaves out Lêmnos.

<sup>2</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. 940-1020; Apollodôr. i. 9, 18

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 19. This was the religious legend, explanatory of a ceremony performed for many centuries by the people of Prusa: they ran round the lake Askanias shouting and clamoring for Hylas—"ut littus Hyla, Hyla: mne sonaret." (Virgil, Eclog.). . . . . "in cujus memoriam adhuc solemnî cursatione lacum populus circuit et Hylam voce clamat." Solinus, c. 42.

There is endless discrepancy as to the concern of Hêraklê's with the Argonautic expedition. A story is alluded to in Aristotle (Politie. iii. 9) that the ship Argô herself refused to take him on board, because he was so much superior in stature and power to all the other heroes—*οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἄγειν τὴν Ἀργὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ὑπερβάλλοντα πολὺ τῶν πλωτῆρων*. This was the story of Pherekydês (Fr. 67, Didot) as well as of Antimachus (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1290): it is probably a very ancient portion of the legend, inasmuch as it ascribes to the ship sentient powers, in consonance with her other miraculous properties. The etymology of Aphetæ in Thesaly was connected with the tale of Hêraklê's having there been put on shore from the Argô (Herodot. vii. 193): Ephorus said that he staid away voluntarily from fondness for Omphalê (Frag. 9, Didot). The old epic poet

They next stopped in the country of the Bebrykians, where the boxing contest took place between the king Amykus and Argonaut Pollux:<sup>1</sup> they then proceeded onward to Bithy the residence of the blind prophet Phineus. His blindness been inflicted by Poseidôn as a punishment for having commended to Phryxus the way to Kolchis. The choice had been allowed to him between death and blindness, and he had preferred the latter.<sup>2</sup> He was also tormented by the harpies, winged monsters who came down from the clouds whenever his table set, snatched the food from his lips and imparted to it a rank and unapproachable odor. In the midst of this misery, he welcomed the Argonauts as his deliverers—his prophetic powers had enabled him to foresee their coming. The meal being prepared for him, the harpies approached as usual, but Zêtês and Kios the winged sons of Boreas, drove them away and pursued them. They put forth all their speed, and prayed to Zeus to be enabled to overtake the monsters; when Hermês appeared and directed them to desist, the harpies being forbidden further to molest Phineus,<sup>3</sup> and retiring again to their native cavern in Krête.

Phineus, grateful for the relief afforded to him by the Argonauts, forewarned them of the dangers of their voyage and of the precautions necessary for their safety; and through his suggestions they were enabled to pass through the terrific rocks called the *plêgades*. These were two rocks which alternately opened

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Kinæthôn said that Hêraklês had placed the Kian hostages at Trachis, and that the Kians ever afterwards maintained a respectful correspondence with that place (Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 1357). This is the explanatory legend connected with some existing custom, which we are unable further to understand.

<sup>1</sup> See above, chap. viii. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Such was the old narrative of the Hesiodic Catalogue and Eoia (Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 181-296).

<sup>3</sup> This again was the old Hesiodic story (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 296).

*Ἐνθ' οἷ' εὐχασθὼν Ἀλκίῳ ὑπὸ μέδοντι.*

Apollodôrus (l. 9, 21), Apollônios (178-300), and Valerius Flacc. (iv. 530) agree in most of the circumstances.

<sup>4</sup> Such was the fate of the harpies as given in the old Naupaktian version (See Fragm. Ep. Græc. Düntzer, Naupakt. Fr. 2. p. 61).

The adventure of the Argonauts with Phineus is given by Diodôrus in a manner totally different (Diodôr. iv. 44): he seems to follow Dionysius of Mitylênê (see Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 207).

shut, with a swift and violent collision, so that it was difficult even for a bird to fly through during the short interval. When the Argô arrived at the dangerous spot, Euphêmus let loose a dove, which flew through and just escaped with the loss of a few feathers of her tail. This was a signal to the Argonauts, according to the prediction of Phineus, that they might attempt the passage with confidence. Accordingly they rowed with all their might, and passed safely through: the closing rocks, held for a moment asunder by the powerful arms of Athênê, just crushed the ornaments at the stern of their vessel. It had been decreed by the gods, that so soon as any ship once got through, the passage should forever afterwards be safe and easy to all. The rocks became fixed in their separate places, and never again closed.<sup>1</sup>

After again halting on the coast of the Maryandinians, where their steersman Tiphys died, as well as in the country of the Amazons, and after picking up the sons of Phryxus, who had been cast away by Poseidôn in their attempt to return from Kolchis to Greece, they arrived in safety at the river Phasis and the residence of Æetes. In passing by Mount Caucasus, they saw the eagle which gnawed the liver of Promêtheus nailed to the rock, and heard the groans of the sufferer himself. The sons of Phryxus were cordially welcomed by their mother Chalciope.<sup>2</sup> Application was made to Æetes, that he would grant to the Argonauts, heroes of divine parentage and sent forth by the mandate of the gods, possession of the golden fleece: their aid in return was proffered to him against any or all of his enemies. But the king was wroth, and peremptorily refused, except upon conditions which seemed impracticable.<sup>3</sup> Hêphæstos had given him two ferocious and untamable bulls, with brazen feet, which breathed fire from their nostrils: Jasôn was invited, as a proof both of his illustrious descent and of the sanction of the gods to his voyage, to harness these animals to the yoke, so as to plough a large field and sow it with dragon's teeth.<sup>4</sup> Perilous as the condition was, each one of the heroes volunteered to make the

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<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 22. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 310-615.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 23. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 850-1257.

<sup>3</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 320-385.

<sup>4</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 410. Apollodôr. i. 9, 22



attempt. Idmôn especially encouraged Jasôn to undertake and the goddesses Hêrê and Aphroditê made straight the way for him.<sup>2</sup> Mêdea, the daughter of Ætês and Eidyia, had seen the youthful hero in his interview with her father, had conceived towards him a passion which disposed her to employ every means for his salvation and success. She had received from Hekatê preëminent magical powers, and she prepared for Jasôn the powerful Prometheian unguent, extracted from an herb which had grown where the blood of Promêtheus dropped. The body of Jasôn having been thus pre-medicated, became invulnerable either by fire or by warlike weapons. He undertook the enterprise, yoked the bulls without suffering injury, and ploughed the field: when he had sown the dragon's teeth, armed men sprang out of the furrows. But he had been forewarned by Mêdea to cast a vast rock into the midst of them, upon which they began to fight with each other, so that he was easily enabled to subdue them all.<sup>4</sup>

The task prescribed had thus been triumphantly performed. Yet Ætês not only refused to hand over the golden fleece, even took measures for secretly destroying the Argonauts by burning their vessel. He designed to murder them during the night after a festal banquet; but Aphroditê, watchful for the safety of Jasôn,<sup>5</sup> inspired the Kolchian king at the critical moment with an irresistible inclination for his nuptial bed. When he slept, the wise Idmôn counselled the Argonauts to make their escape, and Mêdea agreed to accompany them.<sup>6</sup> She lulled to sleep by a magic potion the dragon who guarded the golden fleece.

<sup>1</sup> This was the story of the Naupaktian Verses (Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 515-525): Apollônios and others altered it. Idmôn, according to the story, died in the voyage before the arrival at Kolchis.

<sup>2</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 50-200. Valer. Flacc. vi. 440-480. Hygin. fab. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 835. Apollodôr. i. 9, 23. Valer. Flacc. vii. 1-10. Ovid, Epist. xii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Isset anhelatos non præmedicatus in ignes  
Immemor Æsonides, oraque adunca boum."*

<sup>5</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 1230-1400.

<sup>6</sup> The Naupaktian Verses stated this (see the Fragm. 6, ed. Düntzer, 61), ap. Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 59-86).

<sup>7</sup> Such was the story of the Naupaktian Verses (See Fragm. 6, ed. Düntzer ap. Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 59, 86, 87).

placed that much-desired prize on board the vessel, and accompanied Jasôn with his companions in their flight, carrying along with her the young Apsyrtus, her brother.<sup>1</sup>

Ætês, profoundly exasperated at the flight of the Argonauts with his daughter, assembled his forces forthwith, and put to sea in pursuit of them. So energetic were his efforts that he shortly overtook the retreating vessel, when the Argonauts again owed their safety to the stratagem of Mædea. She killed her brother Apsyrtus, cut his body in pieces and strewed the limbs round about in the sea. Ætês on reaching the spot found these sorrowful traces of his murdered son; but while he tarried to collect the scattered fragments, and bestow upon the body an honorable interment, the Argonauts escaped.<sup>2</sup> The spot on which the unfortunate Apsyrtus was cut up received the name of Tomi.<sup>3</sup> This fratricide of Mædea, however, so deeply provoked the indignation of Zeus, that he condemned the Argô and her crew to a trying

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 23. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 220.

Pherekydês said that Jasôn killed the dragon (Fr. 74, Did.).

<sup>2</sup> This is the story of Apollodôrus (i. 9, 24), who seems to follow Pherekydês (Fr. 73, Didot). Apollônios (iv. 225-480) and Valerius Flaccus (viii. 262 seq.) give totally different circumstances respecting the death of Apsyrtus; but the narrative of Pherekydês seems the oldest: so revolting a story as that of the cutting up of the little boy cannot have been imagined in later times.

Sophoklês composed two tragedies on the adventures of Jasôn and Mædea, both lost — the *Κολχίδες* and the *Εκύθα*. In the former he represented the murder of the child Apsyrtus as having taken place in the house of Ætês: in the latter he introduced the mitigating circumstance, that Apsyrtus was the son of Ætês by a different mother from Mædea (Schol. Apollôn Rhod. iv. 223).

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 24, τὸν τόπον προσηγόρευσε Τόμους. Ovid. Trist. iii. 9. The story that Apsyrtus was cut in pieces, is the etymological legend explanatory of the name Tomi.

There was however a place called Apsarus, on the southern coast of the Euxine, west of Trapezus, where the tomb of Apsyrtus was shown, and where it was affirmed that he had been put to death. He was the eponymus of the town, which was said to have been once called Apsyrtus, and only corrupted by a barbarian pronunciation (Arrian. Periplus, Euxin. p. 6; Geogr. Min. v. 1). Compare Procop. Bell. Goth. iv. 2.

Strabo connects the death of Apsyrtus with the Apsyrtides, islands off the coast of Illyria, in the Adriatic (vii. p. 315).

voyage, full of hardship and privation, before she was permitted to reach home. The returning heroes traversed an immeasurable length both of sea and of river: first up the river Phasis into the ocean which flows round the earth — then following the course of that circumfluous stream until its junction with the Nile,<sup>1</sup> came down the Nile into Egypt, from whence they carried Argô on their shoulders by a fatiguing land-journey to the Tritônian in Libya. Here they were rescued from the extremity of want and exhaustion by the kindness of the local god Triton, who treated them hospitably, and even presented to Euphêmus a clod of earth, as a symbolical promise that his descendants should one day found a city on the Libyan shore. The promise was amply redeemed by the flourishing and powerful city of Kyrene, whose princes the Battians boasted themselves as lineal descendants of Euphêmus.

Refreshed by the hospitality of Triton, the Argonauts returned to themselves again on the waters of the Mediterranean in their homeward voyage. But before they arrived at Iolkos they visited (first) at the island of Ææa, where Mædea was purified for the murder of Apsyrtus: they also stopped at Korkyra, then called Drepanon, where Alkinous received and protected them. The cave in Korkyra, where the marriage of Mædea with Jasôn was consummated, was still shown in the time of the historian Timæus, as well as the altars to Apollo which she had erected, and the

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<sup>1</sup> The original narrative was, that the Argô returned by navigating the circumfluous ocean. This would be almost certain, even without positive testimony, from the early ideas entertained by the Greeks respecting geography; but we know further that it was the representation of the Heroic Age, as well as of Mimnermus, Hekataeus and Pindar, and even of Herodotus. Schol. Parisina Ap. Rhod. iv. 254. 'Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῦ Φάσιδος ἀνελθεῖν φησὶν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν· διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Νεῖλου εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Πυθιονίκαϊς καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Λυδῇ διὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φασὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Λιβύην· εἰτα βασιλεύσαντας τὴν Λιβύην εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀφικέσθαι πέλαγος. Compare the Schol. Edit. ad iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar, and Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 1551. The tripod of Jasôn was preserved by the Euesperitæ in Libya, Diogenes Laërtius, vi. 56: but the legend, connecting the Argonauts with the lake Tritônian in Libya, is given with some considerable differences in Herodotus, iv. 179.

and sacrifices which she had first instituted.<sup>1</sup> After leaving Korkyra, the Argô was overtaken by a perilous storm near the island of Thêra. The heroes were saved from imminent peril by the supernatural aid of Apollo, who, shooting from his golden bow an arrow which pierced the waves like a track of light, caused a new island suddenly to spring up in their track and present to them a port of refuge. The island was called Anaphê; and the grateful Argonauts established upon it an altar and sacrifices in honor of Apollo Æglêtês, which were ever afterwards continued, and traced back by the inhabitants to this originating adventure.<sup>2</sup>

On approaching the coast of Krête, the Argonauts were prevented from landing by Talôs, a man of brass, fabricated by Hêphæstos, and presented by him to Minôs for the protection of the island.<sup>3</sup> This vigilant sentinel hurled against the approaching vessel fragments of rock, and menaced the heroes with destruction. But Mèdeia deceived him by a stratagem and killed him; detecting and assailing the one vulnerable point in his body. The Argonauts were thus enabled to land and refresh themselves. They next proceeded onward to Ægina, where however they again experienced resistance before they could obtain water—then along the coast of Eubœa and Locris back to Iôlkos in the gulf of Pagasæ, the place from whence they had started. The proceedings of Pelias during their absence, and the signal revenge taken upon him by Mèdeia after their return, have already been narrated in a preceding section.<sup>4</sup> The ship Argô herself, in which the chosen heroes of Greece had performed so long a voyage and braved so many dangers, was consecrated by Jasôn to Poseidôn at the isthmus of Corinth. According to another

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<sup>1</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 1153–1217. Timæus, Fr. 7–8, Didot. Τίμαιος ἐν Κερκύρα λέγων γενέσθαι τοὺς γάμους, καὶ περὶ τῆς θυσίας ἱστορεῖ, ἐτι καὶ νῦν λέγων ἄγεσθαι αὐτὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, Μηδείας κρᾶτον θυσίας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπολλῶνος ἱερῷ. Καὶ βωμοδὸς δὲ φησι μνημεῖα τῶν γάμων ἰδρῆσασθαι συνεγγὺς μὲν τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐ μακρὰν δὲ τῆς πόλεως. Ὀνομάζονσι δὲ τὸν μὲν, Νυμφῶν· τὸν δὲ, Νηρηίδων.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 25. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 1700–1725.

<sup>3</sup> Some called Talôs a remnant of the brazen race of men (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1641).

<sup>4</sup> Apollodôr. i. 9, 26. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 1638.

account, she was translated to the stars by Athênê, and became a constellation.<sup>1</sup>

Traces of the presence of the Argonauts were found not only in the regions which lay between Iôlkos and Kolchis, but also in the western portion of the Grecian world — distributed more or less over all the spots visited by Grecian mariners or settled by Grecian colonists, and scarcely less numerous than the wanderings of the dispersed Greeks and Trojans after the capture of Troy. The number of Jasonia, or temples for the heroic worship of Jasôn, was very great, from Abdêra in Thrace,<sup>2</sup> eastward along the coast of the Euxine, to Armenia and Medea. The Argonauts had left their anchoring-stone on the coast of Bebrykia, near Kyzikus, and there it was preserved during the historical ages in the temple of the Jasonian Athênê.<sup>3</sup> They had founded the great temple of the Idæan mother on the mountain Dindymon, near Kyzikus, and the Hieron of Zeus Urios on the Asiatic point at the mouth of the Euxine, near which was also the harbor of Phryxus.<sup>4</sup> Idmôn, the prophet of the expedition, who was believed to have died of a wound by a wild boar on the Mary-andynian coast, was worshipped by the inhabitants of the Pontic Hêrakteia with great solemnity, as their Hêros Poliuchus, and that too by the special direction of the Delphian god. Autolykus, another companion of Jasôn, was worshipped as Œkist by the inhabitants of Sinopê. Moreover, the historians of Hêrakteia pointed out a temple of Hekatê in the neighboring country of

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<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 53. Eratosth. Catasterism. c. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xi. p. 526-531.

<sup>3</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. i. 955-960, and the Scholia.

There was in Kyzikus a temple of Apollo under different *ἐπικλήσεις*; some called it the temple of the Jasonian Apollo.

Another anchor however was preserved in the temple of Rhea on the banks of the Phasis, which was affirmed to be the anchor of the ship Argô. Arrian saw it there, but seems to have doubted its authenticity (Periplus, Euxin. Pont. p. 9. Geogr. Min. v. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Neanthês ap. strabo. i. p. 45. Apollôn. Rhod. i. 1125, and Schol. Steph. Byz. v. *Φρίξος*.

Apollônius mentions the fountain called Jasonææ, on the hill of Dindymon. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 532, and the citations from Timosthenês and Herodôrus in the Scholia. See also Appian. Syriac. c. 63.

Paphlagonia, first erected by Mèdeas;<sup>1</sup> and the important town of Pantikapæon, on the European side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, ascribed its first settlement to a son of Ætêas.<sup>2</sup> When the returning ten thousand Greeks sailed along the coast, called the Jasonian shore, from Sinopê to Hêrakleia, they were told that the grandson of Ætêas was reigning king of the territory at the mouth of the Phasis, and the anchoring-places where the Argô had stopped were specially pointed out to them.<sup>3</sup> In the lofty regions of the Moschi, near Kolchia, stood the temple of Leukothea, founded by Phryxus, which remained both rich and respected down to the times of the kings of Pontus, and where it was an inviolable rule not to offer up a ram.<sup>4</sup> The town of Dioskurias, north of the river Phasis, was believed to have been hallowed by the presence of Kastôr and Pollux in the Argô, and to have received from them its appellation.<sup>5</sup> Even the interior of Mèdeas and Armenia was full of memorials of Jasôn and Mèdeas and their son Mêdus, or of Armenus the son of Jasôn, from whom the Greeks deduced not only the name and foundation of the Mœdes and Armenians, but also the great operation of cutting a channel through the mountains for the efflux of the river Araxes, which they compared to that of the Peneius in Thessaly.<sup>6</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> See the historians of Hêrakleia, Nymphis and Promathidas, *Fragm. Orelli*, pp. 99, 100–104. *Schol. ad Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 247.* Strabo, xii. p. 546. Autolykus, whom he calls companion of Jasôn, was, according to another legend, comrade of Hêraklês in his expedition against the Amazons.

<sup>2</sup> Stephan. Byz. v. Παντικαπαιον, *Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 311.*

<sup>3</sup> Xenophôn, *Anabasis. vi. 2, 1; v. 7, 37.*

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xi. p. 499.

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *Mithridatic. c. 101.*

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, xi. p. 499, 503, 526, 531; i. p. 45–48. Justin, xlii. 3, whose statements illustrate the way in which men found a present home and application for the old fables, — “Jason, primus humanorum post Herculem et Liberum, qui reges Orientis fuisse traduntur, eam cœli plagam demuisse dicitur. Cum Albanis fœdus percussit, qui Herculem ex Italiâ ab Albano monte, cum, Geryone extincto, armenta ejus per Italiam duceret, secuti dicuntur; quique, memores Italicæ originis, exercitum Cn. Pompeii bello Mithridatico fratres consalutavêre. Itaque Jasoni totus fere Oriens, ut conditori, divinos honores templaque constituit; quæ Parmenio, dux Alexandri Magni, post multos annos dirui jussit, ne cujusquam nomen in Oriente venerabilius quam Alexandri esset.”

The Thessalian companions of Alexander the Great, placed by his victories in possession of rich acquisitions in these regions, pleased themselves by

Roman general Pompey, after having completed the conquest and expulsion of Mithridatês, made long marches through Kolchis into the regions of Caucasus, for the express purpose of contemplating the spots which had been ennobled by the exploits of Argonauts, the Dioskurî and Hêraklêas.<sup>1</sup>

In the west, memorials either of the Argonauts or of the slaying of Kolchians were pointed out in Korkyra, in Krête, in Italy near the Akrokeraunian mountains, in the islands called Syrtides near the Illyrian coast, at the bay of Caieta as well as Poseidônia on the southern coast of Italy, in the island of Ælia or Elba, and in Libya.<sup>2</sup>

Such is a brief outline of the Argonautic expedition, on the most celebrated and widely-diffused among the ancient tales of Greece. Since so many able men have treated it as an undisputed reality, and even made it the pivot of systematic chronological calculations, I may here repeat the opinion long expressed by Heyne, and even indicated by Burmann, that the process of dissecting the story, in search of a basis of fact, is altogether fruitless.<sup>3</sup> Not only are we unable to assign the

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vivifying and multiplying all these old fables, proving an ancient kinship between the Medes and Thessalians. See Strabo, xi. p. 530. The ten of Jasôn were *τιμώμενα σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων* (ib. p. 526).

The able and inquisitive geographer Eratosthenês was among those fully believed that Jasôn had left his ships in the Phasis, and had undertaken a land expedition into the interior country, in which he had conquered Armenia (Strabo, i. p. 48).

<sup>1</sup> Appian, Mithridatic. 103 : *τοὺς Κόλχους ἐπήει, καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς ἑλάνων καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπιδημίας, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος ἐθέλων, ὃ Προμηθεὶ φασὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ Κaucasou ὄρος*. The lofty of Caucasus called Strobilus, to which Promêtheus had been attached was pointed out to Arrian himself in his Periplus (p. 12. Geogr. R. vol. i.).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, i. pp. 21, 45, 46 ; v. 224-252. Pompon. Mel. ii. 3. Diodô. 56. Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 656. Lycophron, 1273. —

*Τῶσιν μακεδνὰς ἀμφὶ Κιρκαίου νάπας  
'Αργοῦς τε κλεινὸν ὄρμον Αἰήτην μέγαν.*

<sup>3</sup> Heyne, Observ. ad Apollodôr. i. 9, 16. p. 72. "Mirum in modum falsum in his commentis certum fundum historicum vel geographicum au

or identify the crew, or decipher the log-book, of the *Argô*, but we have no means of settling even the preliminary question, whether the voyage be matter of fact badly reported, or legend from the beginning. The widely-distant spots in which the monuments of the voyage were shown, no less than the incidents of the voyage itself, suggests no other parentage than epical fancy. The supernatural and the romantic not only constitute an inseparable portion of the narrative, but even embrace all the prominent and characteristic features; if they do not comprise the whole, and if there be intermingled along with them any sprinkling of historical or geographical fact, — a question to us indeterminate, — there is at least no solvent by which it can be disengaged, and no test by which it can be recognized. Wherever the Grecian mariner sailed, he carried his religious and patriotic mythes along with him. His fancy and his faith were alike full of the long wanderings of *Jasôn*, *Odysseus*, *Perseus*, *Hêraklès*, *Dionysus*, *Triptolemus* or *Iô*; it was pleasing to him in success, and consoling to him in difficulty, to believe that their journeys had brought them over the ground which he was himself traversing. There was no tale amidst the wide range of the Grecian epic more calculated to be popular with the seaman, than the history of the primæval ship *Argô* and her distinguished crew, comprising heroes from all parts of Greece, and especially the

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*quirere studet, aut se reperisse, atque historicam vel geographicam aliquam doctrinam, systema nos dicimus, inde procudi posse, putat," etc.*

See also the observations interspersed in *Burmam's Catalogus Argonautarum*, prefixed to his edition of *Valerius Flaccus*.

The Persian antiquarians whom *Herodotus* cites at the beginning of his history (i. 2-4 — it is much to be regretted that *Herodotus* did not inform us who they were, and whether they were the same as those who said that *Perseus* was an Assyrian by birth and had become a Greek, vi. 54), joined together the abductions of *Iô* and of *Eurôpê*, of *Mêdea* and of *Helen*, as pairs of connected proceedings, the second injury being a retaliation for the first, — they drew up a debtor and creditor account of abductions between Asia and Europe. The *Kolchian* king (they said) had sent a herald to Greece to ask for his satisfaction for the wrong done to him by *Jasôn* and to re-demand his daughter *Mêdea*; but he was told in reply that the Greeks had received no satisfaction for the previous rape of *Iô*.

There was some ingenuity in thus binding together the old fables, so as to represent the invasions of Greece by *Darius* and *Xerxès* as retaliations for the unexplained destruction wrought by *Agamemnôn*.



Tyndarids Kastôr and Pollux, the heavenly protectors, invoked during storm and peril. He localized the legend anew where he went, often with some fresh circumstances suggested either his own adventures or by the scene before him. He took a sort of religious possession of the spot, connecting it by a bond of faith with his native land, and erecting in it a temple or an altar with appropriate commemorative solemnities. The Jasons thus established, and indeed every visible object called after the name of the hero, not only served to keep alive the legend of the Argô in the minds of future comers or inhabitants, but was accepted as an obvious and satisfactory proof that this marvellous vessel had actually touched there in her voyage.

The epic poets, building both on the general love of fabulous incident and on the easy faith of the people, dealt with distant and unknown space in the same manner as with past and unrecorded time. They created a mythical geography for the former, and a mythical history for the latter. But there was no material difference between the two: that while the unrecorded time was beyond the reach of verification, the unknown space gradually became trodden and examined. In proportion as authentic local knowledge was enlarged, it became necessary to modify the geography, or shift the scene of action, of the mythes; and this perplexing problem was undertaken by some of the ablest historians and geographers of antiquity, — for it was painful to them to abandon any portion of the old epic, as they were destitute of an ascertainable basis of truth.

Many of these fabulous localities are to be found in Homer and Hesiod, and the other Greek poets and logographers, — the Garden of the Hesperides, the garden of Phœbus, which Boreas transported the Attic maiden Orithyia, the famous country of the Hyperboreans, the Elysian plain,<sup>2</sup> the island of Æolus, Thrinakia, the country of the Æthiopians.

<sup>1</sup> Sophokl. ap. Strabo. vii. p. 295. —

Ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἰσχάτα χθονός,  
 Νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανόθ' ἤ ἀναπνευχὰς,  
 Φοίβου τε παλαιὸν κῆπον.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. iv. 562. The Islands of the Blessed, in Hesiod, are near the ocean (Opp. Di. 169).

Læstrygonæ, the Kyklôpes, the Lotophagi, the Sirens, the Cimmerians and the Gorgons,<sup>1</sup> etc. These are places which (to use the expression of Pindar respecting the Hyperboreans) you cannot approach either by sea or by land:<sup>2</sup> the wings of the poet alone can carry you thither. They were not introduced into the Greek mind by incorrect geographical reports, but, on the contrary, had their origin in the legend, and passed from thence into the realities of geography,<sup>3</sup> which they contributed much to pervert and confuse. For the navigator or emigrant, starting with an unsuspecting faith in their real existence, looked out for them in his distant voyages, and constantly fancied that he had seen or heard of them, so as to be able to identify their exact situation. The most contradictory accounts indeed, as might be expected, were often given respecting the latitude and longitude of such fanciful spots, but this did not put an end to the general belief in their real existence.

In the present advanced state of geographical knowledge, the story of that man who after reading Gulliver's Travels went to

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theogon. 275-290. Homer, Iliad, i. 423. Odys. i. 23; ix. 86-206; x. 4-83; xii. 135. Mimnerm. Fragm. 13, Schneidewin.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, Pyth. x. 29.—

Ναῦσι δ' οὐτε πεζοῖς λὼν ἂν εἵροις  
 Ἔς ῾Υπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυματοῦν ἰδόν.  
 Παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδάϊσατο λαγετῶς, etc.

Hesiod, and the old epic poem called the Epigoni, both mentioned the Hyperboreans (Herod. iv. 32-34).

<sup>3</sup> This idea is well stated and sustained by Völcker (Mythische Geographie der Griechen und Römer, cap. i. p. 11), and by Nitzsch in his Comments on the Odyssey—Introduct. Remarks to b. ix. p. xii.-xxxiii. The twelfth and thirteenth chapters of the History of Orchomenos, by O. Müller, are also full of good remarks on the geography of the Argonautic voyage (pp. 274-299).

The most striking evidence of this disposition of the Greeks is to be found in the legendary discoveries of Alexander and his companions, when they marched over the untrodden regions in the east of the Persian empire (see Arrian, Hist. Al. v. 3: compare Lucian. Dialog. Mortuor. xiv. vol. i. p. 212. Tauch), because these ideas were first broached at a time when geographical science was sufficiently advanced to canvass and criticize them. The early settlers in Italy, Sicily and the Euxine, indulged their fanciful vision without the fear of any such monitor: there was no such thing as a map before the days of Anaximander, the disciple of Thalès.

look in his map for Lilliput, appears an absurdity. But t  
 who fixed the exact locality of the floating island of Æol  
 the rocks of the Sirens did much the same;<sup>1</sup> and, with thei  
 norance of geography and imperfect appreciation of histo  
 evidence, the error was hardly to be avoided. The ancient  
 lief which fixed the Sirens on the islands of Sirensæ off  
 coast of Naples—the Kyklôpes, Erytheia, and the Læstryg  
 in Sicily—the Lotophagi on the island of Mêninx<sup>2</sup> near  
 Lesser Syrtis—the Phæakians at Korkyra—and the go  
 Circê at the promontory of Circeium—took its rise at a  
 when these regions were first Hellenized and comparatively  
 visited. Once embodied in the local legends, and attested b  
 ible monuments and ceremonies, it continued for a long tim  
 assailed; and Thucydîdês seems to adopt it, in reference to  
 kyra and Sicily before the Hellenic colonization, as mat  
 fact generally unquestionable,<sup>3</sup> though little avouched as  
 tails. But when geograpical knowledge became extende  
 the criticism upon the ancient epic was more or less system  
 by the literary men of Alexandria and Pergamus, it appea  
 many of them impossible that Odysseus could have se  
 many wonders, or undergone such monstrous dangers,  
 limits so narrow, and in the familiar track between the Ni  
 the Tiber. The scene of his weather-driven course wa  
 shifted further westward. Many convincing evidences we  
 covered, especially by Asklepiadês of Myrlea, of his havi  
 ited various places in Iberia:<sup>4</sup> several critics imagined

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Payne Knight, *Prolegg. ad Homer. c. 49.* Compare f  
 “de extremâ Odysseus parte”—p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xvii. p. 834. An altar of Odysseus was shown upon thi  
 as well as some other evidences (σύμβολα) of his visit to the place.

Apollônios Rhodios copies the *Odyssey* in speaking of the island  
 nakia and the cattle of Helios (iv. 965, with Schol.). He conceiv  
 as Thrinakia, a name afterwards exchanged for Trinakria. The  
 ad Apoll. (1. c.) speaks of Trinax king of Sicily. Compare iv. 291  
 Scholia.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 25-vi. 2. These local legends appear in the eyes  
 convincing evidence (i. p. 23-26),—the tomb of the siren Parth  
 Naples, the stories at Cumæ and Dikæarchia about the νεκρομα  
 Avernus, and the existence of places named after Baius and Mi  
 companions of Odysseus, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 150-157. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ

had wandered about in the Atlantic Ocean outside of the Strait of Gibraltar,<sup>1</sup> and they recognized a section of Lotophagi on the

τόποι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες τῶν τοιούτων σημεῖα ἐπογράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ὀδύσσεια πόλις δέικνυται, καὶ Ἀθηνῶς ἱερὸν, καὶ ἄλλα μύρια ἰχνη τῆς ἐκείνου πλάνης, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου περιγενομένων (I adopt Grosskurd's correction of the text from γενομένων to περιγενομένων, in the note to his German translation of Strabo).

Asklepiadēs (of Myrleia in Bithynia, about 170 B. C.) resided some time in Turditania, the south-western region of Spain along the Guadalquivir, as a teacher of Greek literature (παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικὰ), and composed a periëgesis of the Iberian tribes, which unfortunately has not been preserved. He made various discoveries in archæology, and successfully connected his old legends with several portions of the territory before him. His discoveries were, — 1. In the temple of Athênê, at this Iberian town of Odysseia, there were shields and beaks of ships affixed to the walls, monuments of the visit of Odysseus himself. 2. Among the Kallaki, in the northern part of Portugal, several of the companions of Teukros had settled and left descendants: there were in that region two Grecian cities, one called Hellenês, the other called Amphilochei; for Amphilocheus also, the son of Amphiaræus, had died in Iberia, and many of his soldiers had taken up their permanent residence in the interior. 3. Many new inhabitants had come into Iberia with the expedition of Héraklēs; some also after the conquest of Mesênê by the Lacedæmonians. 4. In Cantabria, on the north coast of Spain, there was a town and region of Lacedæmônian colonists. 5. In the same portion of the country there was the town of Opsikella, founded by Opsikellas, one of the companions of Antenor in his emigration from Troy (Strabo, iii. p. 157).

This is a specimen of the manner in which the seeds of Grecian mythus came to be distributed over so large a surface. To an ordinary Greek reader, these legendary discoveries of Asklepiadês would probably be more interesting than the positive facts which he communicated respecting the Iberian tribes; and his Turditanian auditors would be delighted to hear — while he was reciting and explaining to them the animated passage of the Iliad, in which Agamemnôn extols the inestimable value of the bow of Teukros (viii. 281) — that the heroic archer and his companions had actually set foot in the Iberian peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of Kratês of Mallus, one of the most distinguished of the critics on Homer: it was the subject of an animated controversy between him and Aristarchus (Aulus Gellius, N. A. xiv. 6; Strabo, iii. p. 157). See the instructive treatise of Lehrs, De Aristarchi Studiis, c. v. § 4. p. 251. Much controversy also took place among the critics respecting the ground which Menelaus went over in his wanderings (Odys. iv.). Kratês affirmed that he had circumnavigated the southern extremity of Africa and gone to

coast of Mauritania, over and above those who dwelt on island of Mêninx.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Eratosthenês and A lodôrus treated the places visited by Odysseus as altogether real, for which scepticism they incurred much reproach.<sup>2</sup>

The fabulous island of Erytheia, — the residence of the th headed Geryôn with his magnificent herd of oxen, under custody of the two-headed dog Orthrus, and described by siod, like the garden of the Hesperides, as extra-terrestrial, on farther side of the circumfluous ocean; — this island was posed by the interpreters of Stesichorus the poet to be named him off the south-western region of Spain called Tartêssus, in the immediate vicinity of Gadês. But the historian H tæus, in his anxiety to historicize the old fable, took upon self to remove Erytheia from Spain nearer home to Epirus. thought it incredible that Hêraklês should have traversed Eu from east to west, for the purpose of bringing the cattle of yôn to Eurystheus at Mykênæ, and he pronounced Geryôn have been a king of Epirus, near the Gulf of Ambrakia. oxen reared in that neighborhood were proverbially magnificent and to get them even from thence and bring them to Myk (he contended) was no inconsiderable task. Arrian, who this passage from Hekataëus, concurs in the same view, — a lustration of the license with which ancient authors fitted their fabulous geographical names to the real earth, and bro down the ethereal matter of legend to the lower atmosphere history.<sup>3</sup>

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India: the critic Aristonikûs, Strabo's contemporary, enumerated a different opinions (Strabo, i. p. 38).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, i. p. 22-44; vii. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Stesichori Fragm. ed. Kleine; Geryonis, Fr. 5. p. 60; ap. Strabo. 148; Herodot. iv. 8. It seems very doubtful whether Stesichorus meant indicate any neighboring island as Erytheia, if we compare Fragm. 67 of the Geryonis, and the passages of Athenæus and Eustathius cited. He seems to have adhered to the old fable, placing Erytheia the opposite side of the ocean-stream, for Hêraklês crosses the ocean to it.

Hekataëus, ap. Arrian. *Histor. Alex.* ii. 16. Skylax places Erytheia "whither Geryôn is said to have come to feed his oxen," in the Kastion tory near the Greek city of Apollônia on the Ionic Gulf, northward Keraunian mountains. There were splendid cattle consecrated to

Both the track and the terminus of the Argonautic voyage appear in the most ancient epic as little within the conditions of reality, as the speaking timbers or the semi-divine crew of the vessel. In the *Odyssey*, *Ætês* and *Circê* (*Hesiod* names *Mêdea* also) are brother and sister, offspring of *Hêlios*. The *Ææan* island, adjoining the circumfluous ocean, "where the house and dancing-ground of *Eôs* are situated, and where *Hêlios* rises," is both the residence of *Circê* and of *Ætês*, inasmuch as *Odysseus*, in returning from the former, follows the same course as the *Argô* had previously taken in returning from the latter.<sup>1</sup> Even in the conception of *Mimnermus*, about 600 B. C., *Æa* still retained its fabulous attributes in conjunction with the ocean and *Hêlios*, without having been yet identified with any known portion of the solid earth;<sup>2</sup> and it was justly remarked by *Dêmêtrius* of *Skêpsis* in antiquity<sup>3</sup> (though

near *Apollônia*, watched by the citizens of the place with great care (*Herodot.* ix. 93; *Skylax*, c. 26).

About *Erytheia*, *Cellerius* observes (*Geogr. Ant.* ii. 1, 227), "*Insula Erythra, quam veteres adjungunt Gadibus, vel demersa est, vel in scopulis quærenda, vel pars est ipsarum Gadum, neque hodie ejus formæ aliqua, uti descripta est, fertur superesse.*" To make the disjunctive catalogue complete, he ought to have added, "or it never really existed,"—not the least probable supposition of all.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesiod*, *Theogon.* 956–992; *Homer*, *Odyss.* xii. 3–69.—

Νῆσον ἐς Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἦοῦς ἠριγενείης  
Οἴκια καὶ χόροι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀντολαὶ ἡελίοιο.

<sup>2</sup> *Mimnerm.* *Fragm.* 10–11, *Schneidewin*; *Athensæ.* vii. p. 277.—

Οὐδέ κοτ' ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἴησων  
'Εξ Αἰῆς τελέσας ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδὸν,  
'Υβρίσῃ Πελίῃ τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἐσθλον,  
Οὐδ' ἄν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ καλὸν ἱκόντο ῥῶον.

\* \* \* \* \*

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκεὸς Ἡελίοιο  
'Ακτίνες χρυσέῳ κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ,  
'Ωκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλεσ', ἐν' ὄχετο θεῖος Ἴησων.

<sup>3</sup> *Strabo*, i. p. 45–46. *Δεμήτριος ὁ Σκῆψιος*.....πρὸς Νεάνθη τὸν Κυζικηνὸν φιλοτιμοτέρως ἀντιλέγων, εἰπόντα, ὅτι οἱ Ἀργοναῦται πλεόντες εἰς Φᾶσιν τὸν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογούμενον πλοῦν, ἰδρύσαντο τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας μητρὸς ἱερὰ ἐπὶ Κυζικον.....ἀρχὴν φησὶ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν εἰς Φᾶσιν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ Ἰάσονος Ὀμηρον. Again, p. 46, παραλαβὼν μάρτυρα Μίμνερμον, ὃς ἐν τῷ Ὠκεανῷ ποιήσας οἰκησιν Αἰήτου, etc.

The adverb *φιλοτιμοτέρως* reveals to us the municipal rivalry and conten-

Strabo vainly tries to refute him), that neither Homer nor Mimnermus designates Kolchis either as the residence of Ætês, or as the terminus of the Argonautic voyage. Hesiod carried the returning Argonauts through the river Phasis into the ocean. But some of the poems ascribed to Eumêlus were the first which mentioned Ætês and Kolchis, and interwove both of them into the Corinthian mythical genealogy.<sup>1</sup> These poems seem to have been composed subsequent to the foundation of Sinopê, and to the commencement of Grecian settlement on the Borys-thenês, between the years 600 and 500 B. C. The Greek mariners who explored and colonized the southern coast of the Euxine, found at the extremity of their voyage the river Phasis and its barbarous inhabitants: it was the easternmost point which Grecian navigation (previous to the time of Alexander the Great) ever attained, and it was within sight of the impassable barrier of Caucasus.<sup>2</sup> They believed, not unnaturally, that they had here found "the house of Eôs (the morning) and the rising place of the sun," and that the river Phasis, if they could follow it to its unknown beginning, would conduct them to the circumfluous ocean. They gave to the spot the name of Æa, and the fabulous and real title gradually became associated together into one compound appellation, — the Kolchian Æa, or Æa of Kolchis.<sup>3</sup> While Kolchis was thus entered on the map as a fit representative for the Homeric "house of the morning," the narrow strait of the Thracian Bosphorus attracted to itself the poetical fancy of the Symplêgades, or colliding rocks, through which the heaven-protected Argo had been the first to pass. The powerful Greek cities of Kyzikus, Hêrakleia and Sinopê, each fertile in local legends, still farther contributed to give this direction to the voyage; so that in the time of Hekateus it had become the established belief that the Argô had started from Iôlkos and gone to Kolchis.

Ætês thus received his home from the legendary faith and

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tion between the small town Skêpsis and its powerful neighbor Kyzikus, respecting points of comparative archæology.

<sup>1</sup> Eumêlus, *Fragm. Εἰωνία* 7, *Κορινθιακὰ* 2-5. pp. 63-68, Dantzer.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Periplus Pont. Euxin.* p. 12; *ap. Geogr. Minor.* vol. i. He saw the Caucasus from Dioskûrias,

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. i. 2; vii. 193-197. Eurip. *Med.* 2. Valer. Flacc. v. 51

fancy of the eastern Greek navigators: his sister Circê, originally his fellow-resident, was localized by the western. The Hesiodic and other poems, giving expression to the imaginative impulses of the inhabitants of Cumæ and other early Grecian settlers in Italy and Sicily,<sup>1</sup> had referred the wanderings of Odysseus to the western or Tyrrhenian sea, and had planted the Cyclôpeæ, the Læstrygonææ, the floating island of Æolus, the Lotophagi, the Phæacians, etc., about the coast of Sicily, Italy, Libya, and Korkyra. In this way the Ææan island,—the residence of Circê, and the extreme point of the wanderings of Odysseus, from whence he passes only to the ocean and into Hadês—came to be placed in the far west, while the Æa of Æêtês was in the far east,—not unlike our East and West Indies. The Homeric brother and sister were separated and sent to opposite extremities of the Grecian terrestrial horizon.<sup>2</sup>

The track from Iôlkos to Kolchis, however, though plausible as far as it went, did not realize all the conditions of the genuine fabulous voyage: it did not explain the evidences of the visit of these maritime heroes which were to be found in Libya, in Krêtê

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. p. 23. Völeker (Ueber Homerische Geographie, v. 66) is instructive upon this point, as upon the geography of the Greek poets generally. He recognizes the purely mythical character of Æa in Homer and Hesiod, but he tries to prove—unsuccessfully, in my judgment—that Homer places Æêtês in the east, while Circê is in the west, and that Homer refers the Argonautic voyage to the Euxine Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (or Polybius, whom he has just been citing) contends that Homer knew the existence of Æêtês in Kolchis, and of Circê at Circeium, as historical persons, as well as the voyage of Jasôn to Æa as an historical fact. Upon this he (Homer) built a superstructure of fiction (*προσμίθευμα*): he invented the brotherhood between them, and he placed both the one and the other in the exterior ocean (*συγγενείας τε ἐπλάσσε τῶν οὕτω διακισμένων, καὶ ἐξωκεανισμὸν ἄφοδόν*, i. p. 20); perhaps also Jasôn might have wandered as far as Italy, as evidences (*σημεῖά τινα*) are shown that he did (*ib.*).

But the idea that Homer conceived Æêtês in the extreme east and Circê in the extreme west, is not reconcilable with the Odyssey. The supposition of Strabo is alike violent and unsatisfactory.

Circê was worshipped as a goddess at Circeii (Cicero, Nat. Deor. iii. 19). Hesiod, in the Theogony, represents the two sons of Circê by Odysseus as reigning over all the warlike Tyrrhenians (Theog. 1012), an undefined western sovereignty. The great Mamiliæ gens at Tusculum traced their descent to Odysseus and Circê (Dionys. Hal. iv. 45).



in Anaphà, in Korkyra, in the Adriatic Gulf, in Italy and in Æthalia. It became necessary to devise another route for them in their return, and the Hesiodic narrative was (as I have before observed), that they came back by the circumfluous ocean; first going up the river Phasis into the circumfluous ocean; following that deep and gentle stream until they entered the Nile, and came down its course to the coast of Libya. This seems also to have been the belief of Hekataeus.<sup>1</sup> But presently several Greeks (and Herodotus among them) began to discard the idea of a circumfluous ocean-stream, which had pervaded their old geographical and astronomical fables, and which explained the supposed easy communication between one extremity of the earth and another. Another idea was then started for the returning voyage of the Argonauts. It was supposed that the river Ister, or Danube, flowing from the Rhipæan mountains in the north-west of Europe, divided itself into two branches, one of which fell into the Euxine Sea, and the other into the Adriatic.

The Argonauts, fleeing from the pursuit of Ætês, had been obliged to abandon their regular course homeward, and had gone from the Euxine Sea up the Ister; then passing down the other branch of that river, they had entered into the Adriatic, the Kolchian pursuers following them. Such is the story given by Apollônios Rhodius from Timagêtus, and accepted even by so able a geographer as Eratosthenês — who preceded him by one generation, and who, though sceptical in regard to the localities visited by Odysseus, seems to have been a firm believer in the reality of the Argonautic voyage.<sup>2</sup> Other historians again, among

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 239. There is an opinion cited from Hekataeus in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 284. contrary to this, which is given by the same scholiast on iv. 259. But, in spite of the remarks of Klausen (ad Fragment. Hekataei, 187. p. 98), I think that the Schol. ad. iv. 284 has made a mistake in citing Hekataeus; the more so as the scholiast, as printed from the Codex Parisinus, cites the same opinion without mentioning Hekataeus. According to the old Homeric idea, the ocean stream flowed all round the earth, and was the source of all the principal rivers which flowed into the great internal sea, or Mediterranean (see Hekataeus, Fr. 349; Klausen, ap. Arrian. ii. 16, where he speaks of the Mediterranean as the *μεγάλη θάλασσα*). Retaining this old idea of the ocean-stream, Hekataeus would naturally believe that the Phasis joined it: nor can I agree with Klausen (ad Fr. 187) that this implies a degree of ignorance too gross to impute to him.

<sup>2</sup> Apollôn. Rhod. iv. 287; Schol. ad iv. 284; Pindar, Pyth. iv. 447, with

whom was Timæus, though they considered the ocean as an outer sea, and no longer admitted the existence of the old Homeric ocean-stream, yet imagined a story for the return-voyage of the Argonauts somewhat resembling the old tale of Hesiod and Hekateus. They alleged that the Argô, after entering into the Palus Mæotis, had followed the upward course of the river Tanais; that she had then been carried overland and launched in a river which had its mouth in the ocean or great outer sea. When in the ocean, she had coasted along the north and west of Europe until she reached Gadês and the Strait of Gibraltar, where she entered into the Mediterranean, and there visited the many places specified in the fable. Of this long voyage, in the outer sea to the north and west of Europe, many traces were affirmed to exist along the coast of the ocean.<sup>1</sup> There was again a third version, according to which the Argonauts came back as they went, through the Thracian Bosphorus and the Hellespont. In this way geographical plausibility was indeed maintained, but a large portion of the fabulous matter was thrown overboard.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the various attempts made to reconcile the Argonautic legend with enlarged geographical knowledge and improved historical criticism. The problem remained unsolved, but the

Schol.; Strabo, i. p. 46-57; Aristot. *Mirabil. Auscult.* c. 105. Altars were shown in the Adriatic, which had been erected both by Jasôn and by Mædea (ω).

Aristotle believed in the forked course of the Ister, with one embouchure in the Euxine and another in the Adriatic: he notices certain fishes called *ριχταί*, who entered the river (like the Argonauts) from the Euxine, went up it as far as the point of bifurcation and descended into the Adriatic (*Histor. Animal.* viii. 15). Compare Ukert, *Geographie der Griech. und Römer*, vol. iii. p. 145-147, about the supposed course of the Ister.

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 56; Timæus, *Fragm.* 53. Gôller. Skymnus the geographer also adopted this opinion (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 284-287). The pseudo-Orpheus in the poem called *Argonautica* seems to give a jumble of all the different stories.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 49. This was the tale both of Sophoklês and of Kallimachus (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 284).

See the Dissertation of Ukert, *Beilage* iv. vol. i. part 2. p. 320 of his *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, which treats of the Argonautic voyage at some length; also J. H. Voss, *Alte Weltkunde über die Gestalt der Erde*, published in the second volume of the *Kritische Blätter*, pp. 162, 314-326; and Forbiger, *Handbuch der Alten Geographie-Einleitung*, p. 8.

faith in the legend did not the less continue. It was a faith originally generated at a time when the unassisted narrative of the inspired poet sufficed for the conviction of his hearers; it consecrated one among the capital exploits of that heroic and superhuman race, whom the Greek was accustomed at once to look back upon as his ancestors and to worship conjointly with his gods: it lay too deep in his mind either to require historical evidence for its support, or to be overthrown by geographical difficulties as they were then appreciated. Supposed traces of the past event, either preserved in the names of places, or embodied in standing religious customs with their explanatory comments, served as sufficient authentication in the eyes of the curious inquirer. And even men trained in a more severe school of criticism contented themselves with eliminating the palpable contradictions and softening down the supernatural and romantic events, so as to produce an Argonautic expedition of their own invention as the true and accredited history. Strabo, though he can neither overlook nor explain the geographical impossibilities of the narrative, supposes himself to have discovered the basis of actual fact, which the original poets had embellished or exaggerated. The golden fleece was typical of the great wealth of Kolchis, arising from gold-dust washed down by the rivers; and the voyage of Jasôn was in reality an expedition at the head of a considerable army, with which he plundered this wealthy country and made extensive conquests in the interior.<sup>1</sup> Strabo has nowhere laid down what he supposes to have been the exact measure and direction of Jasôn's march, but he must have regarded it as very long, since he classes Jasôn with Dionysus and Hêraklês, and emphatically characterizes all the three as having

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. p. 45. He speaks here of the voyage of Phryxus, as well as that of Jasôn, as having been a military undertaking (*στρατεία*): so again, iii. p. 149, he speaks of the military expedition of Odysseus—*ἡ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς στρατία*, and *ἡ Ἡρακλέους στρατία* (ib.). Again xi. p. 498. *Οἱ μῦθοι, ἀνιπτόμενοι τὴν Ἰάσονος στρατείαν προελθόντος μέχρι καὶ Μηδίας· ἐτι δὲ πρότερον τὴν Φρίξον.* Compare also Justin, xlii. 2-3; Tacit. Annal. vi. 34.

Strabo cannot speak of the old fables with literal fidelity: he unconsciously transforms them into quasi-historical incidents of his own imagination. Diodôrus gives a narrative of the same kind, with decent substitutes for the fabulous elements (iv. 40-47-56).

traversed wider spaces of ground than any moderns could equal. Such was the compromise which a mind like that of Strabo made with the ancient legends. He shaped or cut them down to the level of his own credence, and in this waste of historical criticism, without any positive evidence, he took to himself the credit of greater penetration than the literal believers, while he escaped the necessity of breaking formally with the bygone heroic world

## CHAPTER XIV.

### LEGENDS OF THEBES.

THE Bœôtiens generally, throughout the historical age, though well endowed with bodily strength and courage,<sup>2</sup> are represented as proverbially deficient in intelligence, taste and fancy. But the legendary population of Thêbes, the Kadmeians, are rich in mythical antiquities, divine as well as heroic. Both Dionysus and Hêrklês recognize Thêbes as their natal city. Moreover, the two sieges of Thêbes by Adrastus, even taken apart from

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. p. 48. The far-extending expeditions undertaken in the eastern regions by Dionysus and Hêrklês were constantly present to the mind of Alexander the Great as subjects of comparison with himself: he imposed upon his followers perils and trying marches, from anxiety to equal or surpass the alleged exploits of Semiramis, Cyrus, Perseus, and Hêrklês. (Arrian, v. 2, 3; vi. 24, 3; vii. 10, 12. Strabo, iii. p. 171; xv. p. 686; xvii. p. 81).

<sup>2</sup> The eponym Bœôtus is son of Poseidôn and Arnê (Euphorion ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. 507). It was from Arnê in Thessaly that the Bœôtiens were said to have come, when they invaded and occupied Bœôtia. Euripidês made him son of Poseidôn and Melanippê. Another legend recited Bœôtus and Hellên as sons of Poseidôn and Antiopê (Hygin. f. 157-186).

The Tanagræan poetess Korinna (the rival of Pindar, whose compositions in the Bœôtian dialect are unfortunately lost) appears to have dwelt upon this native Bœôtian genealogy: she derived the Ogygian gates of Thêbes from Ogygus, son of Bœôtus (Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. iii. 1178), also the Fragments of Korinna in Schneidewin's edition, fr. 2. p. 432.

Kadmus, Antiopê, Amphiôn and Zethus, etc., are the most prominent and most characteristic exploits, next to the siege of Troy, of that preëxisting race of heroes who lived in the imagination of the historical Hellènes.

It is not Kadmus, but the brothers Amphiôn and Zethus, who are given to us in the *Odyssey* as the first founders of Thêbes and the first builders of its celebrated walls. They are the sons of Zeus by Antiopê, daughter of Asôpus. The scholiasts who desire to reconcile this tale with the more current account of the foundation of Thêbes by Kadmus, tell us that after the death of Amphiôn and Zethus, Eurymachus, the warlike king of the Phlegyæ, invaded and ruined the newly-settled town, so that Kadmus on arriving was obliged to re-found it.<sup>1</sup> But Apollodôrus, and seemingly the older logographers before him, placed Kadmus at the top, and inserted the two brothers at a lower point in the series. According to them, Bêlus and Agenôr were the sons of Epaphus, son of the Argeian Iô, by Libya. Agenôr went to Phœnicia and there became king: he had for his offspring Kadmus, Phœnix, Kilix, and a daughter Eurôpa; though in the *Iliad* Eurôpa is called daughter of Phœnix.<sup>2</sup> Zeus fell in love with Eurôpa, and assuming the shape of a bull, carried her across the sea upon his back from Egypt to Krête, where she bore to him Minôs, Rhadamanthus and Sarpêdôn. Two out of the three sons sent out by Agenôr in search of their lost sister, wearied out by a long-protracted as well as fruitless voyage, abandoned the idea of returning home: Kilix settled in Kilikia, and Kadmus in Thrace.<sup>3</sup> Thasus, the brother or nephew of

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Odyss.* xi. 262, and Eustath. ad loc. Compare Schol. ad *Iliad.* xiii. 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xiv. 321. Iô is *κερσεσσα προμάτωρ* of the Thêbans. Eurip. *Phœniss.* 247-676.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 1, 3; iii. 1, 8. In the Hesiodic poems (ap. Schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 178), Phœnix was recognized as son of Agenôr. Pherekydês also described both Phœnix and Kadmus as sons of Agenôr (Pherekyd. *Fragm.* 40, Didot). Compare Servius ad. Virgil. *Æneid.* i. 338. Pherekydês expressly mentioned Kilix (Apollod. *ib.*). Besides the *Εὐρώπη* of Stesichorus (see Stesichor. *Fragm.* xv. p. 73, ed. Kleine), there were several other ancient poems on the adventures of Europa; one in particular by Eumêlus (Schol. ad *Iliad.* vi. 138), which however can hardly be the same as the *τὸ*

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Kadmus, who had accompanied them in the voyage, settled and gave name to the island of Phasus.

Both Herodotus and Euripidēs represent Kadmus as an emigrant from Phœnicia, conducting a body of followers in quest of Eurōpa. The account of Apollodōrus describes him as having come originally from Libya or Egypt to Phœnicia: we may presume that this was also the statement of the earlier logographers Pherekydēs and Hellanikus. Conōn, who historicizes and politicizes the whole legend, seems to have found two different accounts; one connecting Kadmus with Egypt, another bringing him from Phœnicia. He tries to melt down the two into one, by representing that the Phœnicians, who sent out Kadmus, had acquired great power in Egypt — that the seat of their kingdom was the Egyptian Thēbes — that Kadmus was despatched, under pretence indeed of finding his lost sister, but really on a project of conquest — and that the name Thēbes, which he gave to his new establishment in Bœōtia, was borrowed from Thēbes in Egypt, his ancestral seat.<sup>1</sup>

Kadmus went from Thrace to Delphi to procure information respecting his sister Eurōpa, but the god directed him to take no further trouble about her; he was to follow the guidance of a cow, and to found a city on the spot where the animal should lie down. The condition was realized on the site of Thēbes. The neighboring fountain Areia was guarded by a fierce dragon, the offspring of Arēs, who destroyed all the persons sent to fetch water. Kadmus killed the dragon, and at the suggestion of Athēnē sowed his teeth in the earth:<sup>2</sup> there sprang up at once the armed men called the Sparti, among whom he flung stones,

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*ἐπη τὰ εἰς Εὐρώπην* alluded to by Pausanias (ix. 5, 4). See Wallner de Cyclo Epico, p. 57 (Münster 1825).

<sup>1</sup> Conōn, Narrat. 37. Perhaps the most remarkable thing of all is the tone of unbounded self-confidence with which Conōn winds up this tissue of uncertified suppositions — *περὶ μὲν Κάδμου καὶ Θηβῶν οἰκίσεως οὗτος ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μῦθος καὶ γοητεία ἀκοῆς*.

<sup>2</sup> Stesichor. (Fragm. 16; Kleine) ap. Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 680. The place where the heifer had lain down was still shown in the time of Pausanias (ix. 12, 1).

Lysimachus, a lost author who wrote Thebaisca, mentioned Eurōpa as having come with Kadmus to Thēbes, and told the story in many other respects very differently (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1179).

and they immediately began to assault each other until all were slain except five. Arês, indignant at this slaughter, was about to kill Kadmus; but Zeus appeased him, condemning Kadmus to an expiatory servitude of eight years, after which he married Harmonia, the daughter of Arês and Aphroditê — presenting to her the splendid necklace fabricated by the hand of Hêphæstos, which had been given by Zeus to Eurôpa.<sup>1</sup> All the gods came to the Kadmeia, the citadel of Thêbes, to present congratulations and gifts at these nuptials, which seem to have been hardly less celebrated in the mythical world than those of Pêleus and Thetis. The issue of the marriage was one son, Polydôros, and four daughters, Autonôê, Inô, Semelê and Agavê.<sup>2</sup>

From the five who alone survived of the warriors sprung from the dragon's teeth, arose five great families or gentes in Thêbes; the oldest and noblest of its inhabitants, coeval with the foundation of the town. They were called Sparti, and their name seems to have given rise, not only to the fable of the sowing of the teeth, but also to other etymological narratives.<sup>3</sup>

All the four daughters of Kadmus are illustrious in fabulous history. Inô, wife of Athamas, the son of Æolus, has already been included among the legends of the Æolids. Semelê became the mistress of Zeus, and inspired Hêrê with jealousy. Misguided by the malicious suggestions of that goddess, she solicited Zeus to visit her with all the solemnity and terrors which sur-

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 4, 1-3. Pherekydês gave this account of the necklace, which seems to imply that Kadmus must have found his sister Eurôpa. The narrative here given is from Hellanikus; that of Pherekydês differed from it in some respects: compare Hellanik. Fragm. 8 and 9, and Pherekyd. Frag. 44. The resemblance of this story with that of Jasôn and Æêtês (see above, chap. xiii. p. 237) will strike every one. It is curious to observe how the old logographer Pherekydês explained this analogy in his narrative; he said that Athênê had given half the dragon's teeth to Kadmus and half to Æêtês (see Schol. Pindar. Isthm. vi. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Theogon. 976. Leukothea, the sea-goddess, daughter of Kadmus, is mentioned in the Odyssey, v. 334; Diodôr. iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. Phœniss. 680, with the Scholia; Pherekydês, Fragm. 44; Andrôtion, ap. Schol. Pindar. Isthm. vi. 13. Dionysius (?) called the Sparti αντρῶες Βουρῖας (Schol. Phœniss. 1. c.).

Even in the days of Plutarch, there were persons living who traced their descent to the Sparti of Thêbes (Plutarch, Ser. Num. Vindict. p. 563).

rounded him when he approached Hêrê herself. The god unwillingly consented, and came in his chariot in the midst of thunder and lightning, under which awful accompaniments the mortal frame of Semelê perished. Zeus, taking from her the child of which she was pregnant, sewed it into his own thigh: after the proper interval the child was brought out and born, and became the great god Dionysus or Bacchus. Hermês took him to Inô and Athamas to receive their protection. Afterwards, however, Zeus having transformed him into a kid to conceal him from the persecution of Hêrê, the nymphs of the mountain Nysa became his nurses.<sup>1</sup>

Autonoê, the third daughter of Kadmus, married the pastoral hero or god Aristæas, and was mother of Aktæôn, a devoted hunter and a favorite companion of the goddess Artemis. She however became displeased with him — either because he looked into a fountain while she was bathing and saw her naked — or according to the legend set forth by the poet Stesichorus, because he loved and courted Semelê — or according to Euripidês, because he presumptuously vaunted himself as her superior in the chase. She transformed him into a stag, so that his own dogs set upon and devoured him. The rock upon which Aktæôn used to sleep when fatigued with the chase, and the spring whose transparent waters had too clearly revealed the form of the goddess, were shown to Pausanias near Plataea, on the road to Megara.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 4, 2-9; Diodôr. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Apollodôr. iii. 4, 3; Stesichor. Fragm. xvii. Kleins; Pausan. ix. 2, 3; Eurip. Bacch. 337; Diodôr. iv. 81. The old logographer Akusilaus copied Stesichorus.

Upon this well-known story it is unnecessary to multiply references. I shall however briefly notice the remarks made upon it by Diodôrus and by Pausanias, as an illustration of the manner in which the literary Greeks of a later day dealt with their old national legends.

Both of them appear implicitly to believe the fact, that Aktæôn was devoured by his own dogs, but they differ materially in the explanation of it.

Diodôrus accepts and vindicates the miraculous interposition of the displeased goddess to punish Aktæôn, who, according to one story, had boasted of his superiority in the chase to Artemis, — according to another story, had presumed to solicit the goddess in marriage, emboldened by the great numbers of the feet of animals slain in the chase which he had hung up as offer-



Agavê, the remaining daughter of Kadmus, married Echion, one of the Sparti. The issue of these nuptials was Pentheus, who, when Kadmus became old succeeded him as king of Thêbes. In his reign Dionysus appeared as a god, the author or discoverer of the vine with all its blessings. He had wandered over Asia, India and Thrace, at the head of an excited troop of female enthusiasts — communicating and inculcating everywhere the Bacchic ceremonies, and rousing in the minds of women that impassioned religious emotion which led them to ramble in solitary mountains at particular seasons, there to give vent to violent fanatical excitement, apart from the men, clothed in fawn-skins and armed with the thyrsus. The obtrusion of a male spectator upon these solemnities was esteemed sacrilegious. Though the rites had been rapidly disseminated and fervently welcomed in many parts of Thrace, yet there were some places in which they had been obstinately resisted and their votaries treated with rudeness; especially by Lykurgus, king of the Edonian Thracians, upon whom a sharp and exemplary punishment was inflicted by Dionysus.

Thêbes was the first city of Greece to which Dionysus came,

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ings in her temple. "It is not improbable (observes Diodôrus) that the goddess was angry on both these accounts. For whether Aktæôn abused these hunting presents so far as to make them the means of gratifying his own desires towards one unapproachable in wedlock, or whether he presumed to call himself an abler hunter than her with whom the gods themselves will not compete in this department, — in either case the wrath of the goddess against him was just and legitimate (*ὁμολογουμένην καὶ δικαίαν ὀργὴν ἔσχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ θεός*). With perfect propriety therefore (*Καθόλου δὲ πιθανῶς*) was he transformed into an animal such as those he had hunted, and torn to pieces by the very dogs who had killed them." (Didot. iv. 80.)

Pausanias, a man of exemplary piety, and generally less inclined to scepticism than Diodôrus, thinks the occasion unsuitable for a miracle or special interference. Having alluded to the two causes assigned for the displeasure of Artemis (they are the two first-mentioned in my text, and distinct from the two noticed by Diodôrus), he proceeds to say, "But I believe that the dogs of Aktæôn went mad, without the interference of the goddess: in this state of madness they would have torn in pieces without distinction any one whom they met (Paus. ix. 2, 3. *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ θεοῦ πείσθαι νόσον λύσσαν ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος τοὺς κύνας*)."

He retains the truth of the final catastrophe, but rationalizes it, excluding the special intervention of Artemis.

at the head of his Asiatic troop of females, to obtain divine honors and to establish his peculiar rites in his native city. The venerable Kadmus, together with his daughters and the prophet Teiresias, at once acknowledged the divinity of the new god, and began to offer their worship and praise to him along with the solemnities which he enjoined. But Pentheus vehemently opposed the new ceremonies, reproving and maltreating the god who introduced them: nor was his unbelief at all softened by the miracles which Dionysus wrought for his own protection and for that of his followers. His mother Agavê, with her sisters and a large body of other women from Thêbes, had gone out from Thêbes to Mount Kithærôn to celebrate their solemnities under the influence of the Bacchic frenzy. Thither Pentheus followed to watch them, and there the punishment due to his impiety overtook him. The avenging touch of the god having robbed him of his senses, he climbed a tall pine for the purpose of overlooking the feminine multitude, who detected him in this position, pulled down the tree, and tore him in pieces. Agavê, mad and bereft of consciousness, made herself the foremost in this assault, and carried back in triumph to Thêbes the head of her slaughtered son. The aged Kadmus, with his wife Harmonia, retired among the Illyrians, and at the end of their lives were changed into serpents, Zeus permitting them to be transferred to the Elysian fields.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 5, 3-4; Theocrit. Idyll. xxvi. Eurip. Bacch. *passim*. Such is the tragical plot of this memorable drama. It is a striking proof of the deep-seated reverence of the people of Athens for the sanctity of the Bacchic ceremonies, that they could have borne the spectacle of Agavê on the stage with her dead son's head, and the expressions of triumphant sympathy in her action on the part of the Chorus (1168), *Μάκαιρ' Ἀγαύη!* This drama, written near the close of the life of Euripidês, and exhibited by his son after his death (Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 67), contains passages strongly inculcating the necessity of implicit deference to ancestral authority in matters of religion, and favorably contrasting the uninquiring faith of the vulgar with the dissenting and inquisitive tendencies of superior minds: see v. 196; compare vv. 389 and 422. —

Οὐδὲν σοφίζεσθαι τοῖσι δαίμοσιν.

Πατρὶους παραδοχάς, ἅς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ

Κεκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος,

Οὐδ' ἦν δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν εἴρηται φρένων.

Such reproofs "insanientis sapientiæ" certainly do not fall in with the plot

Polydórus and Labdakus successively became kings of Thêbes : the latter at his death left an infant son, Laius, who was deprived of his throne by Lykus. And here we approach the legend of Antiopê, Zêthus and Amphiôn, whom the fabulists insert at this point of the Thêban series. Antiopê is here the daughter of Nykteus, the brother of Lykus. She is deflowered by Zeus, and then, while pregnant, flies to Epôpeus king of Sikyôn : Nykteus dying entreats his brother to avenge the injury, and Lykus accordingly invades Sikyôn, defeats and kills Epôpeus, and brings back Antiopê prisoner to Thêbes. In her way thither, in a cave near Eleuthera, which was shown to Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> she is delivered of the twin sons of Zeus — Amphiôn and Zêthus — who, exposed to perish, are taken up and nourished by a shepherd, and pass their youth amidst herdsmen, ignorant of their lofty descent.

Antiopê is conveyed to Thêbes, where, after undergoing a long persecution from Lykus and his cruel wife Dirké, she at length escapes, and takes refuge in the pastoral dwelling of her sons, now grown to manhood. Dirké pursues and requires her to be delivered up ; but the sons recognize and protect their mother, taking an ample revenge upon her persecutors. Lykus is slain, and Dirké is dragged to death, tied to the horns of a bull.<sup>2</sup>

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of the drama itself, in which Pentheus appears as a Conservative, resisting the introduction of the new religious rites. Taken in conjunction with the emphatic and submissive piety which reigns through the drama, they countenance the supposition of Tyrwhitt, that Euripidês was anxious to repel the imputations, so often made against him, of commerce with the philosophers and participation in sundry heretical opinions.

Pacuvius in his Pentheus seems to have closely copied Euripidês ; see Servius ad Virg. *Æneid.* iv. 469.

The old Thespis had composed a tragedy on the subject of Pentheus : Suidas, *Θέσπις* ; also *Æschylus* ; compare his *Eumenidês*, 25.

According to Apollodôrus (iii. 5, 5), Labdakus also perished in a similar way to Pentheus, and from the like impiety, — *ἐκείνω φρονῶν παραπλήσια*.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 38, 9.

<sup>2</sup> For the adventures of Antiopê and her sons, see Apollodôr. iii. 5 ; Pausan. ii. 6, 2 ; ix. 5, 2.

The narrative given respecting Epôpeus in the ancient Cyprian verses seems to have been very different from this, as far as we can judge from the brief notices in Proclus's Argument, — *ὡς Ἐπωπεὺς φθείρας τὴν Λυκούργου (Λύκου) γυναῖκα ἐξεπορεύθη* : it approaches more nearly to the story given in the seventh fable of Hyginus, and followed by Propertius (iii. 15) ; the

Amphiôn and Zêthus, having banished Laius, become kings of Thêbes. The former, taught by Hermês, and possessing exquisite skill on the lyre, employs it in fortifying the city, the stones of the walls arranging themselves spontaneously in obedience to the rhythm of his song.<sup>1</sup>

Zêthus marries Aêdôn, who, in the dark and under a fatal mistake, kills her son Itylus: she is transformed into a nightingale, while Zêthus dies of grief.<sup>2</sup> Amphiôn becomes the husband of Niobê, daughter of Tantalus, and the father of a numerous offspring, the complete extinction of which by the hands of Apollo and Artemis has already been recounted in these pages.

Here ends the legend of the beautiful Antiopê and her twin sons — the rude and unpolished, but energetic, Zêthus — and the refined and amiable, but dreamy, Amphiôn. For so Euripidês, in the drama of Antiopê unfortunately lost, presented the two

eighth fable of Hyginus contains the tale of Antiopê as given by Euripidês and Ennius. The story of Pausanias differs from both.

The Scholiast ad Apollôn. Rhod. i. 735. says that there were two persons named Antiopê; one, daughter of Asôpus, the other, daughter of Nykteus. Pausanias is content with supposing one only, really the daughter of Nykteus, but there was a *φήμη* that she was daughter of Asôpus (ii. 6, 2). Asius made Antiopê daughter of Asôpus, and mother (both by Zeus and by Epôpeus: such a junction of divine and human paternity is of common occurrence in the Greek legends) of Zêthus and Amphiôn (ap. Paus. 1. c.).

The contradictory versions of the story are brought together, though not very perfectly, in Sterk's *Essay De Labdacidarum Historiâ*, p. 38-43 (Leyden, 1829).

<sup>1</sup> This story about the lyre of Amphiôn is not noticed in Homer, but it was narrated in the ancient *ἐπη εἰς Εὐρώπην* which Pausanias had read: the wild beasts as well as the stones were obedient to his strains (Paus. ix. 5, 4). Pherekydês also recounted it (Pherekyd. *Fragm.* 102, Didot). The tablet of inscription (*Ἀναγραφή*) at Sikyôn recognized Amphiôn as the first composer of poetry and harp-music (Plutarch, de *Musicâ*, c. 3. p. 1132).

<sup>2</sup> The tale of the wife and son of Zêthus is as old as the *Odyssey* (xix. 525). Pausanias adds the statement that Zêthus died of grief (ix. 5, 5; Pherekydês, *Fragm.* 102, Did.). Pausanias, however, as well as Apollodôrus, tells us that Zêthus married Thêbê, from whom the name Thêbes was given to the city. To reconcile the conflicting pretensions of Zêthus and Amphiôn with those of Kadmus, as founders of Thêbes, Pausanias supposes that the latter was the original settler of the hill of the Kadmeia, while the two former extended the settlement to the lower city (ix. 5, 1-3).

brothers, in affectionate union as well as in striking contrast.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the whole story stood originally quite apart from the Kadmeian family, and so the rudiments of it yet stand in the *Odyssey*; but the logographers, by their ordinary connecting artifices, have opened a vacant place for it in the descending series of Thêban mythes. And they have here proceeded in a manner not usual with them. For whereas they are generally fond of multiplying entities, and supposing different historical personages of the same name, in order to introduce an apparent smoothness in the chronology — they have here blended into one person Amphiôn the son of Antiopê and Amphiôn the father of Chlôris, who seem clearly distinguished from each other in the *Odyssey*. They have further assigned to the same person all the circumstances of the legend of Niobê, which seems to have been originally framed quite apart from the sons of Antiopê.

Amphiôn and Zêthus being removed, Laius became king of Thêbes. With him commences the ever-celebrated series of adventures of Œdipus and his family. Laius forewarned by the oracle that any son whom he might beget would kill him, caused Œdipus as soon as he was born to be exposed on Mount Kitharrôn. Here the herdsmen of Polybus king of Corinth accidentally found him and conveyed him to their master, who brought him up as his own child. In spite of the kindest treatment, however, Œdipus when he grew up found himself exposed to taunts on the score of his unknown parentage, and went to Delphi to inquire of the god the name of his real father. He received for answer an admonition not to go back to his country; if he did so, it was his destiny to kill his father and become the husband of his mother. Knowing no other country but Corinth, he accordingly determined to keep away from that city, and quitted Delphi by the road towards Bœôtia and Phôkia. At the exact spot

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<sup>1</sup> See Valckenaer. *Diatribê in Eurip. Reliq.* cap. 7, p. 58; Welcker, *Griechisch. Tragöd.* ii. p. 811. There is a striking resemblance between the Antiopê of Euripidês and the Tyrô of Sophoklês in many points.

Plato in his *Gorgias* has preserved a few fragments, and a tolerably clear general idea of the characters of Zêthus and Amphiôn (*Gorg.* 90-92); see also Horat. *Epist.* i. 18, 42.

Both Livius and Pacuvius had tragedies on the scheme of this of Euripidês, the former seemingly a translation.

where the roads leading to these two countries forked, he met Laius in a chariot drawn by mules, when the insolence of one of the attendants brought on an angry quarrel, in which Œdipus killed Laius, not knowing him to be his father. The exact place where this event happened, called the Divided Way<sup>1</sup>, was memorable in the eyes of all literary Greeks, and is specially adverted to by Pausanias in his periegesis.

On the death of Laius, Kreôn, the brother of Jokasta, succeeded to the kingdom of Thêbes. At this time the country was under the displeasure of the gods, and was vexed by a terrible monster, with the face of a woman, the wings of a bird, and the tail of a lion, called the Sphinx<sup>2</sup>—sent by the wrath of Hêrê, and occupying the neighboring mountain of Phikium. The Sphinx had learned from the Muses a riddle, which she proposed to the Thêbans to resolve: on every occasion of failure she took away one of the citizens and ate him up. Still no person could solve the riddle; and so great was the suffering occasioned, that Kreôn was obliged to offer both the crown and the nuptials of his sister Jokasta to any one who could achieve the salvation of the city. At this juncture Œdipus arrived and solved the riddle: upon which the Sphinx immediately threw herself from the acropolis and disappeared. As a recompense for this service, Œdipus was made king of Thêbes, and married Jokasta, not aware that she was his mother.

These main tragical circumstances—that Œdipus had ignorantly killed his father and married his mother—belong to the oldest form of the legend as it stands in the *Odyssey*. The gods (it is added in that poem) quickly made the facts known to mankind. Epikasta (so Jokasta is here called) in an agony of sorrow hanged herself: Œdipus remained king of the Kadmeians, but underwent many and great miseries, such as the

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the locality in K. O. Müller (*Orchomenos*, c. i. p. 37).

The tombs of Laius and his attendant were still seen there in the days of Pausanias (x. 5, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 5, 8. An author named Lykus, in his work entitled *Thêbatca*, ascribed this visitation to the anger of Dionysus (*Schol. Hesiod, Theogon.* 326). The Sphinx (or *Phix*, from the Bœôtian Mount Phikium) is as old as the Hesiodic *Theogony*,—*Φικ' ὄλον τέκε, Καδμείουσιν ἐλιθρον* (*Theog.* 326).

Erianyes, who avenge an injured mother, inflict.<sup>1</sup> A passage in the *Iliad* implies that he died at Thêbes, since it mentions the funeral games which were celebrated there in honor of him. His misfortunes were recounted by Nestôr, in the old Cyprian verses, among the stories of aforetime.<sup>2</sup> A fatal curse hung both upon himself and upon his children, Eteoklês, Polynikês, Antigônê and Ismênê. According to that narrative which the Attic tragedians have rendered universally current, they were his children by Jokasta, the disclosure of her true relationship to him having been very long deferred. But the ancient epic called *Œdipodia*, treading more closely in the footsteps of Homer, represented him as having after her death married a second wife, Euryganeia, by whom the four children were born to him: and the painter Onatas adopted this story in preference to that of Sophoklês.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* xi. 270. Odysseus, describing what he saw in the under-world, says;—

Μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο ἰδὼν, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,  
 Ἥ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν αἰδρείῃσι νόοιο,  
 Γημαμένη ψ' υἱεῖ· ὁ δ' ὄν πατέρ' ἐξεναρίξας  
 ἤγμεν· ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι.  
 Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβῃ πολυηράτῳ ἄλγεα πάσχων,  
 Καδμείων ἦρασσε, θεῶν δλόας διὰ βουλᾶς·  
 Ἥ δ' ἔβη εἰς Αἰδᾶο πυλῶνταο κρατερῶιο  
 Ἀψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὸν ἄφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου,  
 ὧ ἀχεῖ σχομένη· τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω  
 Πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσα τε μητρὸς Ἐριννύες ἐκτελέουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxiii. 680, with the scholiast who cites Hesiod. Proclus, *Argum. ad Cypria*, ap. Düntzer, *Fragm. Epic. Græc.* p. 10. Νέστωρ δὲ ἐν παρεκβάσει διηγείται . . . . καὶ τὰ περὶ Οἰδύπου, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ix. 5, 5. Compare the narrative from Peisander in Schol. ad Eurip. *Phœniss.* 1773; where, however, the blindness of Œdipus seems to be unconsciously interpolated out of the tragedians. In the old narrative of the *Cyclic Thêbais*, Œdipus does not seem to be represented as blind (*Leutsch, Thebaidis Cyclici Reliquiæ*, Götting. 1830, p. 42).

Pherekydês (ap. Schol. Eurip. *Phœniss.* 52) tells us that Œdipus had three children by Jokasta, who were all killed by Erginus and the Minyæ (this must refer to incidents in the old poems which we cannot now recover); then the four celebrated children by Euryganeia; lastly, that he married a third wife, Astymedusa. Apollodôrus follows the narrative of the tragedians, but alludes to the different version about Euryganeia, — εἰσὶ δ' οἱ φασιν, etc. (iii. 5, 8).

Hellanicus (ap. Schol. Eur. *Phœniss.* 59) mentioned the self-inflicted blind

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The disputes of Eteoklēs and Polynikēs for the throne of their father gave occasion not only to a series of tragical family incidents, but also to one of the great quasi-historical events of legendary Greece—the two sieges of Thēbes by Adrastus, king of Argos. The two ancient epic poems called the Thēbaïs and the Epigoni (if indeed both were not parts of one very comprehensive poem) detailed these events at great length, and as it appears, with distinguished poetical merit; for Pausanias pronounces the Cyclic Thēbaïs (so it was called by the subsequent critics to distinguish it from the more modern Thēbaïs of Antimachus) inferior only to the Iliad and Odyssey; and the ancient elegiac poet Kallinus treated it as an Homeric composition.<sup>1</sup> Of this once-valued poem we unfortunately possess nothing but a few scanty fragments. The leading points of the legend are briefly glanced at in the Iliad; but our knowledge of the details is chiefly derived from the Attic tragedians, who transformed the narratives of their predecessors at pleasure, and whose popularity constantly eclipsed and obliterated the ancient version. Antimachus of Kolophôn, contemporary with Euripidēs, in his long epic, probably took no less liberties with the old narrative. His Thēbaïd never became generally popular, but it exhibited marks of study and elaboration which recommended it to the esteem of the Alexandrine critics, and probably contributed to discredit in their eyes the old cyclic poem.

The logographers, who gave a continuous history of this siege of Thēbes, had at least three preëxisting epic poems—the Thēbias, the Œdipodia, and the Alkmæônis,—from which they

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ness of Œdipus; but it seems doubtful whether this circumstance was included in the narrative of Pherekydēs.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan, ix. 9. 3. *Ἐποίηθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη. Θηβαίς τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλίνος, ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγον κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποιήσιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσεά ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.* The name in the text of Pausanias stands *Καλαῖνος*, an unknown person: most of the critics recognize the propriety of substituting *Καλλίνος*, and Leutsch and Welcker have given very sufficient reasons for doing so.

The *Ἀμφιάρεω ἐξελασία ἐς Θήβας*, alluded to in the pseudo-Herodotean life of Homer, seems to be the description of a special passage in this Thēbaïs.



could borrow. The subject was also handled in some of the Hesiodic poems, but we do not know to what extent.<sup>1</sup> The Thêbaïs was composed more in honor of Argos than of Thêbes, as the first line of it, one of the few fragments still preserved, betokens.<sup>2</sup>

## SIEGES OF THEBES.

The legend, about to recount fraternal dissension of the most implacable kind, comprehending in its results not only the immediate relations of the infuriated brothers, but many chosen companions of the heroic race along with them, takes its start from the paternal curse of Œdipus, which overhangs and determines all the gloomy sequel.

Œdipus, though king of Thêbes and father of four children by Euryganeia (according to the Œdipodia), has become the devoted victim of the Erinnyes, in consequence of the self-inflicted death of his mother, which he has unconsciously caused, as well as of his unintentional parricide. Though he had long forsworn the use of all the ornaments and luxuries which his father had inherited from his kingly progenitors, yet when through age he had come to be dependent upon his two sons, Polynikês one day broke through this interdict, and set before him the silver table and the splendid wine-cup of Kadmus, which Laius had always been accustomed to employ. The old king had no sooner seen these precious appendages of the regal life of his father, than his mind was overrun by a calamitous phrenzy, and he imprecated terrible curses on his sons, predicting that there would be bitter and endless warfare between them. The goddess Erinnys heard and heeded him; and he repeated the curse again on another occasion, when his sons, who had always been accustomed to send to him the shoulder of the victims sacrificed on the altar, caused the but-

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, ap. Schol. Iliad. xxiii. 680, which passage does not seem to me so much at variance with the incidents stated in other poets as Leutsch imagines.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεὸν πολυδύσιον, ἐνθεν ἀνακτὲς (see Leutsch, ib. c. 4. p. 29).

tock to be served to him in place of it.<sup>1</sup> He resented this as an insult, and prayed the gods that they might perish each by the hand of the other. Throughout the tragedians as well as in the old epic, the paternal curse, springing immediately from the misguided Œdipus himself, but remotely from the parricide and incest with which he has tainted his breed, is seen to domineer over the course of events — the Erinnys who executes that curse being the irresistible, though concealed, agent. Æschylus not only preserves the fatal efficiency of the paternal curse, but even briefly glances at the causes assigned for it in the Thēbais, without superadding any new motives. In the judgment of Sophoklēs, or of his audience, the conception of a father cursing his sons upon such apparently trifling grounds was odious; and that great poet introduced many aggravating circumstances, describing the old blind father as having been barbarously turned out of doors by his sons to wander abroad in exile and poverty. Though by this change he rendered his poem more coherent and self-justifying, yet he departed, from the spirit of the old legend,

<sup>1</sup> Fragm. of the Thēbais, ap. Athenæ. xii. p. 465, *ὅτι οὐτῷ παρέθηκεν ἐκπώματα ἀ ἀπηγορεύκει, λέγων οὕτως:*

Αὐτὰρ ὁ διογένης ἥρως ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης  
 Πρῶτα μὲν Οἰδίποδι καλὴν παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν  
 Ἀργυρέην Κάδμοιο θεόφρονος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 Χρύσειον ἐμπλησεν καλὸν δέπας ἡδέος οἶνου·  
 Αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ὥς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατρὸς εἶο  
 Τιμήντα γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεσε θυμῷ.  
 Αἶψα δὲ παισὶν εἶσι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαρὸς  
 Ἀργαλέας ἡρᾶτο· θεὸν δ' οὐ λάνθαν' Ἑριννόν·  
 Ὡς οὐ οἱ πατὴρ γ' ἐνὶ φιλότῃτι δάσαιντο,  
 Εἰεν δ' ἀμφοτέροις αἰεὶ πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.

See Leutsch, Thebaid. Cycl. Reliq. p. 38.

The other fragment from the same Thēbais is cited by the Schol. ad Soph. Œdip. Colon. 1378.—

Ἰσχυον ὥς ἐνόησε, χαμαὶ βάλεν, εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 Ὡ μοι ἐγὼ, παῖδες μοι δνειδεῖοντες ἐπεμψαν.  
 Ἐδκτο Διὶ βασιλῆϊ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι,  
 Χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καταβήμεναι Ἄιδος εἴσω.

Tὰ δὲ παραπλήσια τῷ ἐποποιῷ καὶ Αἰσχυλὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας. In spite of the protest of Schutz, in his note, I think that the scholiast has understood the words ἐπίκοτος τροφᾶς (Sept. ad Theb. 787) in their plain and just meaning.

according to which Œdipus has contracted by his unconscious misdeeds an incurable taint destined to pass onward to his progeny. His mind is alienated, and he curses them, not because he suffered seriously by their guilt, but because he is made the instrument of an avenging Erinnys for the ruin of the house of Laius.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Œdipus and the celebration of his funeral games, at which amongst others, Argeia, daughter of Adrastus (afterwards the wife of Polynikês), was present,<sup>2</sup> his two sons soon quarrelled respecting the succession. The circumstances are differently related; but it appears that, according to the traditional narrative, the wrong and injustice was on the part of Polynikês, who, however, was obliged to leave Thêbes and to seek shelter with Adrastus, king of Argos. Here he met Tydeus, a fugitive, at the same time, from Ætôlia: it was dark when he arrived, and a broil ensued between the two exiles, but Adrastus came out and parted them. He had been enjoined by an oracle to give his two daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar, and he thought this occasion had now arrived, inasmuch as one of his combatants carried on his shield a lion, the other a boar. He accordingly gave Deipylê in marriage to Tydeus, and Argeia to Polynikês: moreover, he resolved to restore by armed resistance both his sons-in-law to their respective countries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The curses of Œdipus are very frequently and emphatically dwelt upon both by Æschylus and Sophoklês (Sept. ad Theb. 70-586, 655-697; Œdip. Colon. 1293-1378). The former continues the same point of view as the Thêbais, when he mentions—

..... Τὰς περιθύμους  
Κατάρας βλαψίφρονος Οἰδίποδα (727);

or, λόγους τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν Ἐριννός (Soph. Antig. 584).

The Scholiast on Sophoklês (Œd. Col. 1378) treats the cause assigned to the ancient Thêbais for the curse vented by Œdipus as trivial and ludicrous.

The Ægeids at Sparta, who traced their descent to Kadmus, suffered from terrible maladies which destroyed the lives of their children; and were directed them to appease the Erinnyes of Laius and Œdipus by erecting a temple, upon which the maladies speedily ceased (Herodot. iv.).

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod. ap. Schol. Iliad. xxiii. 680.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 5, 9; Hygin. f. 69; Æschyl. Sept. ad Theb. 573. He says that Polynikês came clothed in the skin of a lion, and Tydeus in the skin of a boar; perhaps after Antimachus, who said that Tydeus had been killed

On proposing the expedition to the Argeian chiefs around him, he found most of them willing auxiliaries; but Amphiaraus—formerly his bitter opponent, but now reconciled to him, and husband of his sister Eriphylê—strongly opposed him.<sup>1</sup> He denounced the enterprise as unjust and contrary to the will of the gods. Again, being of a prophetic stock, descended from Melampus, he foretold the certain death both of himself and of the principal leaders, should they involve themselves as accomplices in the mad violence of Tydeus or the criminal ambition of Polynikês. Amphiaraus, already distinguished both in the Kalydônian boar-hunt and in the funeral games of Pelias, was in the Thêban war the most conspicuous of all the heroes, and absolutely indispensable to its success. But his reluctance to engage in it was invincible, nor was it possible to prevail upon him except through the influence of his wife Eriphylê. Polynikês, having brought with him from Thêbes the splendid robe and necklace given by the gods to Harmonia on her marriage with Kadmus, offered it as a bribe to Eriphylê, on condition that she would influence the determination of Amphiaraus. The sordid wife, seduced by so matchless a present, betrayed the lurking-place of her husband, and involved him in the fatal expedition.<sup>2</sup> Amphiaraus, reluctantly dragged forth, and foreknowing the disastrous issue of the expedition both to himself and to his associates, addressed his last injunctions, at the moment of mounting his chariot, to his sons Alkmæôn and Amphiloehus, commanding Alkmæôn to avenge his approaching death by killing the venal Eriphylê, and by undertaking a second expedition against Thêbes.

The Attic dramatists describe this expedition as having been conducted by seven chiefs, one to each of the seven celebrated gates of Thêbes. But the Cyclic Thêbais gave to it a much

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up by swineherds (Antimach. Fragm. 27, ed. Düntzer; ap. Schol. Iliad. iv. 400). Very probably, however, the old Thêbais compared Tydeus and Polynikês to a lion and a boar, on account of their courage and fierceness; a simile quite in the Homeric character. Mnaseas gave the words of the oracle (ap. Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 411).

<sup>1</sup> See Pindar, Nem. ix. 30, with the instructive Scholium

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 6, 2. The treachery of "the hateful Eriphylê" is noticed in the Odyssey, xi. 327: Odysseus sees her in the under-world along with the many wives and daughters of the heroes.

more comprehensive character, mentioning auxiliaries from Arcadia, Messênê, and various parts of Peloponnêsus;<sup>1</sup> and application of Tydeus and Polynikês at Mykênæ in the court of their circuit made to collect allies, is mentioned in the *Iliad*. They were well received at Mykênæ; but the warning signs given by the gods were so terrible that no Mykenæan ventured to accompany them.<sup>2</sup> The seven principal chiefs who ever were Adrastus, Amphiaræus, Kapanæus, Hippomedôn, Parthenopæus, Tydeus and Polynikês.<sup>3</sup> When the army advanced as far as the river Asôpus, a halt was made for sacrifice and banquet; while Tydeus was sent to Thêbes as envoy to demand the restoration of Polynikês to his rights. His demand was refused; but finding the chief Kadmeians assembled at a banquet in the house of Eteoklês, he challenged them all to contend with him in boxing or wrestling. So efficacious was the aid of the goddess Athênê that he overcame them all; and the Kadmeians were so indignant at their defeat, that they placed an ambuscade of fifty men to intercept him in his way back to his army. All of them perished by the hand of this warrior, in silence and of few words, but desperate and irresistible in his fight. One alone was spared, Mæon, in consequence of signals from the gods.<sup>4</sup>

The Kadmeians, assisted by their allies the Phôkians and Phlegyæ, marched out to resist the invaders, and fought a

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 20, 4; ix. 9, 1. His testimony to this, as he had never admired the Cyclic Thêbais, seems quite sufficient, in spite of the opinion of Welcker to the contrary (*Æschylische Trilogie*. p. 375).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, iv. 376.

<sup>3</sup> There are differences in respect to the names of the seven: *Æschylus* (*Sept. ad Theb.* 461) leaves out Adrastus as one of the seven, and inserts Eteoklus instead of him; others left out Tydeus and Polynikês, and inserted Eteoklus and Mekisteus (*Apollodôr.* iii. 6, 3). Antimachus, in his *Thêbais*, called Parthenopæus an Argeian, not an Arcadian (*Schol. ad Æschyl. Sept. ad. Theb.* 532).

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, iv. 381-400, with the *Schol.* The first celebration of the Nemean games is connected with this march of the army of Adrastus against Thebes; they were celebrated in honor of Archemorus, the infant son of Lysipylê who had been killed by a serpent while his nurse Hypsipylê went to draw water from a fountain to the thirsty Argeian chiefs (*Apollodôr.* iii. 6, 4; *Schol. ad. Nem.* 1).

near the Ismænian hill, in which they were defeated and forced to retire within the walls. The prophet Teiresias acquainted them that if Menœkeus, son of Kreôn, would offer himself as a victim to Arês, victory would be assured to Thêbes. The generous youth, as soon as he learnt that his life was to be the price of safety to his country, went and slew himself before the gates. The heroes along with Adrastus now commenced a vigorous attack upon the town, each of the seven selecting one of the gates to assault. The contest was long and strenuously maintained; but the devotion of Menœkeus had procured for the Thêbans the protection of the gods. Parthenopæus was killed with a stone by Periklymenus; and when the furious Kapanews, having planted a scaling-ladder, had mounted the walls, he was smitten by a thunderbolt from Zeus and cast down dead upon the earth. This event struck terror into the Argeians, and Adrastus called back his troops from the attack. The Thêbans now sallied forth to pursue them, when Eteoklês, arresting the battle, proposed to decide the controversy by single combat with his brother. The challenge, eagerly accepted by Polynikês, was agreed to by Adrastus: a single combat ensued between the two brothers, in which both were exasperated to fury and both ultimately slain by each other's hand. This equal termination left the result of the general contest still undetermined, and the bulk of the two armies renewed the fight. In the sanguinary struggle which ensued the sons of Astakus on the Thêban side displayed the most conspicuous and successful valor. One of them,<sup>1</sup> Melanippus, mortally wounded Tydeus—while two others, Leades and Amphidikus, killed Eteoklus and Hippomedôn. Amphiaraus avenged Tydeus by killing Melanippus; but unable to arrest the rout of the army,

<sup>1</sup> The story recounted that the head of Melanippus was brought to Tydeus as he was about to expire of his wound, and that he knawed it with his teeth, a story touched upon by Sophoklês (apud Herodian. in Rhetor. Græc. t. viii. p. 601, Walz.).

The lyric poet Bacchylidês (ap. Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 1535) seems to have handled the story even earlier than Sophoklês.

We find the same allegation embodied in charges against real historical men: the invective of Montanus against Aquilius Regulus, at the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, affirmed, "*datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Begulo, appetitumque morsu Pisonis caput*" (Tacit. Hist. iv. 42).

he fled with the rest, closely pursued by Periklymenus. The latter was about to pierce him with his spear, when the beneficent Zeus rescued him from this disgrace — miraculously opening the earth under him, so that Amphiaraus with his chariot and horses was received unscathed into her bosom.<sup>1</sup> The exact spot where this memorable incident happened was indicated by a magnificent pulchral building, and shown by the Thébans down to the days of Pausanias — its sanctity being attested by the fact, that no one would consent to touch the herbage which grew within the sacred inclosure. Amphiaraus, rendered immortal by Zeus, was worshipped as a god at Argos, at Thèbes and at Orôpus — and for many centuries gave answers at his oracle to the questions of the pious applicant.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 6, 8. Pindar, Olymp. vi. 11; Nem. ix. 13-27. Pausanias, ix. 8, 2; 18, 2-4.

Euripidês, in the *Phœnissæ* (1122 *seqq.*), describes the battle generally also Æsch. S. Th. 392. It appears by Pausanias that the Thébans had poems or legends of their own, relative to this war: they dissented in some points from the Cyclic Thébais (ix. 18, 4). The Thébais said that Phœnæus had killed Parthenopæus; the Thébans assigned this exploit to Asphodikus, a warrior not commemorated by any of the poets known to us.

The village of Harma, between Tanagra and Mykalëssus, was affirmed to have been the spot where Amphiaraus closed his life (Strabo, ix. 404): Sophoklês placed the scene at the Amphiareion near Orôpus (Strabo, ix. p. 399).

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, Olymp. vi. 16. Ἑπτα δ' ἔπειτα πυρῶν νέκρων τελευτῶν Ταλαϊονίδας εἶπεν ἐν Θήβαισι τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπος· Ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὄψιν ἐμᾶς Ἀμφοτέρων, μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δοῦρ' ἀμείβεσθαι.

The scholiast affirms that these last expressions are borrowed by the Cyclic Thébais.

The temple of Amphiaraus (Pausan. ii. 23, 2), his oracle, seems to have been inferior in estimation only to that of Delphi (Herodot. i. 52; Pausanias, ii. 34; Cicero, *Divin.* i. 40). Cræsus sent a rich present to Amphiaraus (Pausanias, ii. 23, 2); a striking proof of the interest with which these interesting legends were recounted and believed as genuine history. Other adventures of Amphiaraus in the expedition against Thebes were commemorated in the carvings on the Thronus at Amyklæ (Pausanias, iii. 18, 4).

Æschylus (Sept. Theb. 611) seems to enter into the Thèban view, less highly respectful towards Amphiaraus, when he places in the mouth of the Kadmeian king Eteoklês such high encomiums on Amphiaraus, marked a contrast with the other chiefs from Argos.

Adrastus, thus deprived of the prophet and warrior whom he regarded as "the eye of his army," and having seen the other chiefs killed in the disastrous fight, was forced to take flight singly, and was preserved by the matchless swiftness of his horse Areïôn, the offspring of Poseidôn. He reached Argos on his return, bringing with him nothing except "his garments of woe and his black-maned steed."<sup>1</sup>

Kreôn, father of the heroic youth Menœkeus, succeeding to the administration of Thêbes after the death of the two hostile brothers and the repulse of Adrastus, caused Eteoklês to be buried with distinguished honor, but cast out ignominiously the body of Polynikês as a traitor to his country, forbidding every one on pain of death to consign it to the tomb. He likewise refused permission to Adrastus to inter the bodies of his fallen comrades. This proceeding, so offensive to Grecian feeling, gave rise to two further tales; one of them at least of the highest pathos and interest. Antigônê, the sister of Polynikês, heard with indignation the revolting edict consigning her brother's body to the dogs and vultures, and depriving it of those rites which were considered essential to the repose of the dead. Unmoved by the dissuading counsel of an affectionate but timid sister, and unable to procure assistance, she determined to brave the hazard and to bury the body with her own hands. She was detected in the act; and Kreôn, though forewarned by Teiresias of the consequences, gave orders that she should be buried alive, as having deliberately set at naught the solemn edict of the city. His son Hæmôn, to whom she was engaged to be married, in vain interceded for her life. In an agony of despair he slew himself in the sepulchre to which the living Antigônê had been consigned;

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 25, 5, from the Cyclic Thêbais, *Εἰματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὸν Ἀρείονι κvanoχαίτην*; also Apollodôr. iii. 6, 8.

The celebrity of the horse Areïôn was extolled in the *Iliad* (xxiii. 346), in the Cyclic Thêbais, and also in the Thêbais of Antimachus (Pausan. l. c.): by the Arcadians of Thelpusia he was said to be the offspring of Dêmêtêr by Poseidôn, — he, and a daughter whose name Pausanias will not communicate to the uninitiated (*ἥς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστους λέγειν σὺ νομίζουσι*, l. c.). A different story is in the Schol. *Iliad*. xxiii. 346; and in Antimachus, who affirmed that "Gæa herself had produced him, as a wonder to mortal men" (see Antimach. Frag. 16. p. 102; *Epic. Græc. Frag.* ed. Düntzer).



and his mother Eurydikê, the wife of Kreôn, inconsolable of death, perished by her own hand. And thus the new light seemed to be springing up over the last remaining scion of the devoted family of Oedipus, is extinguished amidst gloomy horrors — which overshadowed also the house and dynasty of Kreôn.<sup>1</sup>

The other tale stands more apart from the original legend and seems to have had its origin in the patriotic pride of the Athenians. Adrastus, unable to obtain permission from the Thébans to inter the fallen chieftains, presented himself in disguise, accompanied by their disconsolate mothers, to Thêseus at Eleusis. He implored the Athenian warrior to extort from the perverse Thébans that last melancholy privilege which no other pious Greeks ever thought of withholding, and thus to go forth as the champion of Grecian public morality in one of its most essential points, not less than of the rights of the suffering human race. The Thébans obstinately persisting in their refusal, Thêseus undertook an expedition against their city, vanquished them in the field, and compelled them by force of arms to the sepulture of their fallen enemies. This chivalrous intervention, celebrated in one of the preserved dramas of Euripides, formed a subject of glorious recollection to the Athenians throughout the historical age: their orators dwelt upon it in the most animated panegyric; and it seems to have been accepted as a real fact of the past time, with not less implicit conviction than the battle of Marathôn.<sup>2</sup> But the Thébans, though equally persuaded of the truth of the main story, dissented from the Athenian version of it, maintaining that they had given up the bodies for sepulture voluntarily and of their own accord. The

<sup>1</sup> Sophokl. *Antigon.* 581. Νῦν γὰρ τοχύρας ἐπὲρ Πίλας ἐτέραν Ὀιδίπουν δόμοις, etc.

The pathetic tale here briefly recounted forms the subject of this tragedy of Sophoklês, the argument of which is supposed by Boeckh to have been borrowed in its primary rudiments from the Cyclic Thêbes Oedipodia (Boeckh, *Dissertation* appended to his translation of *Antigonê*, c. x. p. 146); see *Apollodôr.* iii. 7, 1.

*Æschylus* also touches upon the heroism of *Antigonê* (*Sep. Theb.* 1015).

<sup>2</sup> *Apollodôr.* iii. 7, 1; *Eurip. Supp. passim*; *Herodot.* ix. 27; *Platon.* an. c. 9; *Lysias, Epitaph.* c. 4; *Isokrat. Orat. Panegyr.* p. 196, Aug.

the chieftains was shown near Eleusis even in the days of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup>

A large proportion both of the interesting persons and of the exalted acts of legendary Greece belongs to the female sex. Nor can we on this occasion pass over the name of Evadne, the devoted widow of Kapaneus, who cast herself on the funeral pile of her husband and perished.<sup>2</sup>

The defeat of the seven chiefs before Thêbes was amply avenged by their sons, again under the guidance of Adrastus: — Ægialeus son of Adrastus, Thersander son of Polynikês, Alkmaôn and Amphilochus, sons of Amphiaraus, Diomêdês son of Tydeus, Sthenelus son of Kapaneus, Promachus son of Parthenopæus, and Euryalus son of Mekistheus, joined in this expedition. Though all these youthful warriors, called the Epigoni, took part in the expedition, the grand and prominent place appears to have been occupied by Alkmaôn, son of Amphiaraus. Assistance was given to them from Corinth and Megara, as well as from Messênê and Arcadia; while Zeus manifested his favorable dispositions by signals not to be mistaken.<sup>3</sup> At the river Glisas the Epigoni were met by the Thêbans in arms, and a battle took place in which the latter were completely defeated. Laodamas, son of Eteoklês, killed Ægialeus, son of Adrastus; but he and his army were routed and driven within the walls by the valor and energy of Alkmaôn. The defeated Kadmeians consulted the prophet Teiresias, who informed them that the gods had declared for their enemies, and that there was no longer any hope of successful resistance. By his advice they sent a herald to the assailants offering to surrender the town, while they themselves conveyed away their wives and children, and fled under the com

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 39, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Supplic. 1004–1110.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, Iliad, iv. 406. Sthenelus, the companion of Diomêdês and one of the Epigoni, says to Agamemnôn, —

Ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μὲν ἀμείνονες εὐχομεθ' εἶναι·  
Ἡμεῖς καὶ θήβης ἔδος εἰλομεν ἑπταπύλοιο,  
Παυρότερον λαὸν ἀγαγόνθ' ὑπὸ τείχος Ἄρειον,  
Πειθόμενοι τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄρωγῃ·  
Αὐτοὶ δὲ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.

mand of Laodamas to the Illyrians,<sup>1</sup> upon which the E entered Thêbes, and established Thersander, son of Poly on the throne.

Adrastus, who in the former expedition had been the survivor amongst so many fallen companions, now found him the only exception to the general triumph and joy of the querors: he had lost his son Ægialeus, and the violent arising from the event prematurely cut short his life. His voice and persuasive eloquence were proverbial in the epic.<sup>2</sup> He was worshipped as a hero both at Argos and at Sikyôn, but with especial solemnity in the last-mentioned where his Herôum stood in the public agora, and where his exploits as well as his sufferings were celebrated periodically in tragic tragedies. Melanippus, son of Astakus, the brave defender of Thêbes, who had slain both Tydeus and Mekistheus, was worshipped with no less solemnity by the Thêbans.<sup>3</sup> The proximity of these two heroes rendered it impossible for both of them to be worshipped close upon the same spot. Accordingly it came to pass during the historical period, about the time of the Solon legislation at Athens, that Kleisthenês, despot of Sikyôn, wished to banish the hero Adrastus and abolish the religious solemnities celebrated in honor of the latter by the Sikyonians, first he sent to the Delphian oracle for permission to carry this banishment into effect directly and forcibly. That permission being refused he next sent to Thêbes an intimation that he was anxious to introduce their hero Melanippus into Sikyôn. The Thêbans accordingly consented, and he assigned to the new hero a consecrated spot in the strongest and most commanding portion of the Argive prytaneium. He did this (says the historian) "knowing that Adrastus would forthwith go away of his own accord."

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 7, 4. Herodot. v. 57-61. Pausan. ix. 5, 7; 9, 2. Pausan. iv. 65-66.

Pindar represents Adrastus as concerned in the second expedition to Thêbes (Pyth. viii. 40-58).

<sup>2</sup> Γλώσσαν τ' Ἀδρήσταν μελιχόγηρυν ἔχου (Tyrtaeus, Eleg. 9, 7, &c. win); compare Plato, Phædr. c. 118. "Adrasti pallentis imago" near the eye of Æneas in the under-world (Æneid, vi. 480).

<sup>3</sup> About Melanippus, see Pindar, Nem. x. 36. His sepulchre was near the Proctid gates of Thêbes (Pausan. ix. 18, 1).

Melanippus was of all persons the most odious to him, as having slain both his son-in-law and his brother." Kleisthenês moreover diverted the festivals and sacrifices which had been offered to Adrastus, to the newly established hero Melanippus; and the lyric tragedies from the worship of Adrastus to that of Dionysus. But his dynasty did not long continue after his decease, and the Sikyonians then reëstablished their ancient solemnities.<sup>1</sup>

Near the Proetid gate of Thêbes were seen the tombs of two combatants who had hated each other during life even more than Adrastus and Melanippus — the two brothers Eteoklês and Polynikês. Even as heroes and objects of worship, they still continued to manifest their inextinguishable hostility: those who offered sacrifices to them observed that the flame and the smoke from the two adjoining altars abhorred all communion, and flew off in directions exactly opposite. The Thêban exegetes assured Pausanias of this fact. And though he did not himself witness it, yet having seen with his own eyes a miracle not very dissimilar at Pionîæ in Mysia, he had no difficulty in crediting their assertion.<sup>2</sup>

Amphiaräus when forced into the first attack of Thêbes — against his own foreknowledge and against the warnings of the

<sup>1</sup> This very curious and illustrative story is contained in Herodot. v. 67. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο οὐ παρείδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω (Kleisthenês, returning from Delphi) ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξει-  
ται. 'Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρῆσθαι ἐδόκει, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βουωτίας, ἐφηθέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θήβαίῳ ἐδοσαν. Ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγήσασθαι, ὥς ἐχθισ-  
τον ἔοντα Ἀδρήστω· ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεὸν Μηκιστῆ ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ τὸν γαμ-  
βρὸν Τυδέα.

The Sikyonians (Herodotus says) τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραυον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέ-  
ωντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον.

Adrastus was worshipped as a hero at Megara as well as at Sikyôn: the Megarians affirmed that he had died there on his way back from Thêbes (Pausan. i. 43, 1; Dieuchidas, ap. Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. ix. 31). His house at Argos was still shown when Pausanias visited the town (ii. 23, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 18, 3. Τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρώμενα οὐ θεασάμενος πιστὰ ὁμῶς  
ὑπέιληφα εἶναι. Compare Hygin. f. 68.

"Et nova fraterno veniet concordia fumo,  
Quem vetus accensâ separat ira pyrâ." (Ovid, Ibis, 35.)

The tale was copied by Ovid from Kallimachus (Trist. v. 5, 32.)

gods — had enjoined his sons Alkmæôn and Amphiloeh only to avenge his death upon the Thêbans, but also to the treachery of their mother, "Eriphylê, the destroyer husband."<sup>1</sup> In obedience to this command, and having of the sanction of the Delphian oracle, Alkmæôn slew his mother but the awful Erinnyes, the avenger of matricide, inflicted a long and terrible punishment, depriving him of his reason, chasing him about from place to place without the possibility of repose or peace of mind. He craved protection and cure from the god at Delphi, who required him to dedicate at the temple an offering, the precious necklace of Kadmûs, that irretrievable bribe which had originally corrupted Eriphylê.<sup>3</sup> He furthermore comforted the unhappy sufferer, that though the whole earth was tainted with his crime, and had become uninhabitable for him, yet there was a spot of ground which was not under the curse of the sun at the time when the matricide was committed, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλην (Pindar, Nem. ix. 16). A poem *Eryphylê* is included among the mythical compositions of Stesichorus: he mentions that Asklêpius had restored Kapanêus to life, and that he was himself struck dead by thunder from Zeus (Stesichor. Fragm. Klei. 74). Two tragedies of Sophoklês once existed, *Epigoni* and *Alkmæôn* (Welcker, Griechisch. Tragöd. i. p. 269): a few fragments also remain of the Latin *Epigoni* and *Alphesibæa* of Attius: Ennius and Attius both of whom were translated from the Greek to Latin *Alkmæôn* (Poet. Scenic. Latin. pp. 33, 164, 198).

<sup>2</sup> Hyginus gives the fable briefly (f. 73; see also Asclepiadês, *Odysseia*. xi. 326). In like manner, in the case of the matricide of Apollo not only sanctions, but enjoins the deed; but his protection of the avenging Erinnyês is very tardy, not taking effect until after Orestês has been long persecuted and tormented by them (see Æschyl. *Eumenides*. 462).

In the *Alkmæôn* of the later tragic writer Thodektês, a distinction is drawn: the gods had decreed that Eriphylê should die, but not Alkmæôn should kill her (Aristot. *Rhetoric*. ii. 24). Astydâmas also tells a story still more in his tragedy, and introduced Alkmæôn as a man ignorant and without being aware who she was (Aristot. *Ethic. Nicom.* iii. 1, 8). The murder of Eriphylê by her son was one of the *παρὰ φύσιν* which could not be departed from; but interpretations and excuses were resorted to, in order to prevent it from shocking the feelings of the spectators: see the criticism of Aristotle on the *Alkmæôn* of Euripidês (*Ethic. Nicom.* iii. 1, 8).

<sup>3</sup> Ephorus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 232.

therefore Alkmæôn yet might find a tranquil shelter. The promise was realized at the mouth of the river Achelôus, whose turbid stream was perpetually depositing new earth and forming additional islands. Upon one of these, near Cēniadæ, Alkmæôn settled, permanently and in peace: he became the primitive hero of Akarnania, to which his son Akarnan gave name.<sup>1</sup> The necklace was found among the treasures of Delphi, together with that which had been given by Aphroditê to Helen, by the Phôkian plunderers who stripped the temple in the time of Philip of Macedôn. The Phôkian women quarrelled about these valuable ornaments: and we are told that the necklace of Eriphylê was allotted to a woman of gloomy and malignant disposition, who ended by putting her husband to death; that of Helen to a beautiful but volatile wife, who abandoned her husband from a preference for a young Epirot.<sup>2</sup>

There were several other legends respecting the distracted Alkmæôn, either appropriated or invented by the Attic tragedians. He went to Phêgeus, king of Psôphis in Arcadia, whose daughter Arsinoê he married, giving as a nuptial present the necklace of Eriphylê. Being however unable to remain there, in consequence of the unremitting persecutions of the maternal Erinnyes, he sought shelter at the residence of king Achelôus, whose daughter Kallirhoê he made his wife, and on whose soil he obtained repose.<sup>3</sup> But Kallirhoê would not be satisfied without

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. ii. 68-102.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæ. i. c.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodôr, iii. 7, 5-6; Pausan. viii. 24, 4. These two authors have preserved the story of the Akarnanians and the old form of the legend, representing Alkmæôn as having found shelter at the abode of the person or king Achelôus, and married his daughter: Thucydidês omits the *personality* of Achelôus, and merely announces the wanderer as having settled on certain new islands deposited by the river.

I may remark that this is a singularly happy adaptation of a legend to an existing topographical fact. Generally speaking, before any such adaptation can be rendered plausible, the legend is of necessity much transformed; here it is taken exactly as it stands, and still fits on with great precision.

Ephorus recounted the whole sequence of events as so much political history, divesting it altogether of the legendary character. Alkmæôn and Diomédês, after having taken Thêbes with the other Epigoni, jointly undertook an expedition into Ætôlia and Akarnania: they first punished the enemies of the old Cēneus, grandfather of Diomédês, and established the latter as king in Kalydôn; next they conquered Akarnania for Alkmæôn. Alkmæôn,

the possession of the necklace of Eriphylê, and Alkmæôn back to Psôphis to fetch it, where Phêgeus and his son him. He had left twin sons, infants, with Kallirhoê, who fervently to Zeus that they might be preternaturally in with immediate manhood, in order to revenge the murder of father. Her prayer was granted, and her sons Amphoter Akarnan, having instantaneously sprung up to manhood, pressed into Areadia, slew the murderers of their father, and brought away the necklace of Eriphylê, which they carried to Delphi.

Euripidês deviated still more widely from the ancient tradition, making Alkmæôn the husband of Mantô, daughter of Teukros and the father of Amphiloehus. According to the Cyclical poets, Mantô was consigned by the victorious Epigoni as a votive offering to the Delphian god; and Amphiloehus was son of Amphiaraus, not son of Alkmæôn.<sup>2</sup> He was the eponymous hero of the town called the Amphiloehian Argos, in Akarnania, on the shore of the Gulf of Ambrakia. Thucydides tells us that he went thither on his return from the Trojan war, being distressed with the state of affairs which he found at the Peloponnesian Argos.<sup>3</sup> The Akarnanians were remarkable for the number of prophets which they supplied to the rest of Greece: their

though invited by Agamemnon to join in the Trojan war, would not do so (Ephor. ap. Strabo. vii. p. 326; x. p. 462).

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 7, 7; Pausan. viii. 24, 3-4. His remarks upon the chievious longing of Kallirhoê for the necklace are curious: he uses it in by saying, that "many men, and still more women, are given to absurd desires," etc. He recounts it with all the *bonne foi* which is the most assured matter of fact.

A short allusion is in Ovid's Metamorphoses (ix. 412)

\* Thêbaïd, Cy. Reliqu. p. 70, Lentsch; Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. i. The following lines cited in Athenæus (vii. p. 317) are supposed by Boeckh, on a probable reason, to be taken from the Cyclical Thêbais; a portion of the advice of Amphiaraus to his sons at the time of setting out on their expedition, —

Ποιλύποδός μοι, τέκνον, ἔχων νόον, Ἀμφίλοχ' ἦρως,  
Τοῖσιν ἐφαρμόξου, τῶν ἀν κατὰ δῆμον ἱκῆται.

There were two tragedies composed by Euripidês, under the titles of *Μαίων*, ὁ διὰ Ψωφίδος, and *Ἀλκμαίων*, ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου (Dindorf. Eurip. p. 77).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. iii. 7, 7; Thucyd. ii. 68.

were naturally drawn from the great prophetic race of the Mé-lampodids.

Thus ends the legend of the two sieges of Thêbes ; the greatest event, except the siege of Troy, in the ancient epic ; the greatest enterprise of war, between Greeks and Greeks, during the time of those who are called the Heroes.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### LEGEND OF TROY.

WE now arrive at the capital and culminating point of the Grecian epic, — the two sieges and capture of Troy, with the destinies of the dispersed heroes, Trojan as well as Grecian, after the second and most celebrated capture and destruction of the city.

It would require a large volume to convey any tolerable idea of the vast extent and expansion of this interesting fable, first handled by so many poets, epic, lyric and tragic, with their endless additions, transformations and contradictions, — then purged and recast by historical inquirers, who under color of setting aside the exaggerations of the poets, introduced a new vein of prosaic invention, — lastly, moralized and allegorized by philosophers. In the present brief outline of the general field of Grecian legend, or of that which the Greeks believed to be their antiquities, the Trojan war can be regarded as only one among a large number of incidents upon which Hekateus and Herodotus looked back as constituting their fore-time. Taken as a special legendary event, it is indeed of wider and larger interest than any other, but it is a mistake to single it out from the rest as if it rested upon a different and more trustworthy basis. I must therefore confine myself to an abridged narrative of the current and leading facts ; and amidst the numerous contradictory statements which are to be found respecting every one of them, I know no better ground of preference than comparative antiquity,



though even the oldest tales which we possess — those contained in the *Iliad* — evidently presuppose others of prior date.

The primitive ancestor of the Trojan line of kings is Dardanus of Zeus, founder and eponymus of Dardania:<sup>1</sup> in the story of later authors, Dardanus was called the son of Zeus by Europa, daughter of Atlas, and was further said to have come from Thrace, or from Arcadia, or from Italy;<sup>2</sup> but of this Homer tells nothing. The first Dardanian town founded by him was on a lofty position on the descent of Mount Ida; for he was strong enough to establish himself on the plain. But Erichthonius, by the favor of Zeus, became the wealthiest of his kind. His flocks and herds having multiplied, he had in all three thousand mares, the offspring of some of which Boreas, produced horses of preternatural swiftness. Teucer, son of Erichthonius, and the eponym of the Trojans, had two sons — Ilus, Assaracus, and the beautiful Ganymêdês, who was stolen away to become his cup-bearer in Olympus, giving his father Trôs, as the price of the youth, a team of immortal horses.

From Ilus and Assaracus the Trojan and Dardanian line descended; the former passing from Ilus to Laomedôn, Priam, Hectôr; the latter from Assaracus to Capys, Anchises, Æneas. Ilus founded in the plain of Troy the holy Ilion; Assaracus and his descendants remained sovereigns of Dardania.<sup>4</sup>

It was under the proud Laomedôn, son of Ilus, that Ilus and Apollo underwent, by command of Zeus, a temporary servitude; the former building the walls of the town, the latter tending the flocks and herds. When their task was completed their penal period had expired, they claimed the stipulated ransom but Laomedôn angrily repudiated their demand, and even threatened to cut off their ears, to tie them hand and foot, and send them in some distant island as slaves.<sup>5</sup> He was punished

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xx. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Hellanic. Fragm.* 129, Didot; *Dionys. Hal.* i. 50-61; *Apollod.* i. 1; *Schol. Iliad.* xviii. 486; *Varro, ap. Servium ad Virgil. Æneid.* Kephalaion. *Gergithius ap. Steph. Byz.* v. 'Αρίαβη.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, v. 265; *Hellanic. Fr.* 146; *Apollod.* ii. 5, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, xx. 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, vii. 451; xxi. 456. *Hesiod. ap. Schol. Lycophr.* 393.

treachery by a sea-monster, whom Poseidôn sent to ravage his fields and to destroy his subjects. Laomedôn publicly offered the immortal horses given by Zeus to his father Trôs, as a reward to any one who would destroy the monster. But an oracle declared that a virgin of noble blood must be surrendered to him, and the lot fell upon Hesionê, daughter of Laomedôn himself. Hêraklês arriving at this critical moment, killed the monster by the aid of a fort built for him by Athênê and the Trojans,<sup>1</sup> so as to rescue both the exposed maiden and the people; but Laomedôn, by a second act of perfidy, gave him mortal horses in place of the matchless animals which had been promised. Thus defrauded of his due, Hêraklês equipped six ships, attacked and captured Troy and killed Laomedôn,<sup>2</sup> giving Hesionê to his friend and auxiliary Telamôn, to whom she bore the celebrated archer Teukros.<sup>3</sup> A painful sense of this expedition was preserved among the inhabitants of the historical town of Ilium, who offered no worship to Hêraklês.<sup>4</sup>

Among all the sons of Laomedôn, Priam<sup>5</sup> was the only one who had remonstrated against the refusal of the well-earned guerdon of Hêraklês; for which the hero recompensed him by placing him on the throne. Many and distinguished were his sons and daughters, as well by his wife Hekabê, daughter of Kisseus, as by other women.<sup>6</sup> Among the sons were Hectôr,<sup>7</sup> Paris, Dêipho-

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xx. 145; Dionys. Hal. i. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, v. 640. Meneklês (ap. Schol. Venet. ad loc.) affirmed that this expedition of Hêraklês was a fiction; but Dikæarchus gave, besides, other exploits of the hero in the same neighborhood, at Thêbê Hypoplakiê (Schol. Iliad. vi. 396).

<sup>3</sup> Diodôr. iv. 32-49. Compare Venet. Schol. ad Iliad. viii. 284.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 596.

<sup>5</sup> As Dardanus, Trôs and Ilus are respectively eponyms of Dardania, Troy and Ilium, so Priam is eponym of the acropolis *Pergamum*. *Πριάμος* is in the Æolic dialect *Πέρραμος* (Hesychius): upon which Ahrens remarks, "Cæterum ex hac Æolicâ nominis formâ apparet, Priamum non minus arcis *Περγάμων* eponymum esse, quam Ilum urbis, Troem populi: *Πέρραμα* enim a *Περίραμα* natum est, *ι* in *γ* mutato." (Ahrens, *De Dialecto Æolicâ*, 8, 7. p. 56: compare *ibid.* 28, 8. p. 150, *περρ' ἀπάλω*).

<sup>6</sup> Iliad, vi. 245; xxiv. 495.

<sup>7</sup> Hectôr was affirmed, both by Steisichorus and Ibykus, to be the son of Apollo (Steisichorus, ap. Schol. Ven. ad Iliad. xxiv. 259; Ibyki Fragm. xiv

bus, Helenus, Tróilus, Politês, Polydôrus ; among the daughters, Laodikê, Kreûsa, Polyxena, and Kassandra.

The birth of Paris was preceded by formidable presage. Hekabê dreamt that she was delivered of a firebrand, and on consulting the soothsayers, was informed that the son to be born would prove fatal to him. Accordingly he delivered the child to be exposed on Mount Ida ; but the inauspiciousness of the gods preserved him, and he grew up amidst the flocks and herds, active and beautiful, fair of hair and symmetrical person, and the special favorite of Aphrodîtê.<sup>1</sup>

It was to this youth, in his solitary shepherd's walk on Mount Ida, that the three goddesses Hêrê, Athênê, and Aphrodîtê conducted, in order that he might determine the dispute among them concerning their comparative beauty, which had arisen at the nuptials of Pêleus and Thetis, — a dispute brought about in pursuance of an arrangement, and in accomplishment of the deep-laid design of Zeus. For Zeus, remarking with pain the immoderate nurture of the then existing heroic race, pitied the earth for the overwhelming burden which she was compelled to bear, and determined to lighten it by exciting a destructive and long-continued

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ed. Schneidewin) : both Euphoriôn (Fr. 125, Meineke) and Alexander follow the same idea. Stesichorus further stated, that after the siege had carried Hekabê away into Lykia to rescue her from captivity (Pausanias, x. 27, 1) : according to Euripidês, Apollo had promised that she should die in Troy (Troad. 427).

By Sapphô, Hektôr was given as a surname of Zeus, Ζεὺς Ἑκτοχίτης, v. Ἑκτορες ; a prince belonging to the regal family of Chios, to the Ionic settlement, as mentioned by the Chian poet Iôn (Pausanias, 3), was so called.

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, iii. 45-55 ; Schol. Iliad. iii. 325 ; Hygin. fab. 91 ; Apollodôr.

<sup>2</sup> This was the motive assigned to Zeus by the old epic poem, the Iliad (Frag. 1. Düntz. p. 12 ; ap. Schol. ad Iliad. i. 4) :—

Ἦ δὲ ἱστορία κατὰ Στράβωνα τῷ τῷ Κύπριος πεποιηκότες εἰπὼντες οὕτως.

Ἦν δὲτε μύρια φύλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα . . . . .

..... βαρυστέρνον πλάτος αἰθρῆς.

Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν περικιναιῖς προπιδέσσει

Σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβώτορα γαίαν,

Ῥιπίσας πολέμου μέγαν ἐρην Ἰλίουκοιο,

Ὅφρα κενύσειεν θάνατον βάρος· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ

Ἥρωες κτείνοντο, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

The same motive is touched upon by Eurip. Orest, 1635 ; Helen

Paris awarded the palm of beauty to Aphroditê, who promised him in recompense the possession of Helena, wife of the Spartan Menelaus, — the daughter of Zeus and the fairest of living women. At the instance of Aphroditê, ships were built for him, and he embarked on the enterprise so fraught with eventual disaster to his native city, in spite of the menacing prophecies of his brother Helenus, and the always neglected warnings of Kassandra.<sup>1</sup>

- Paris, on arriving at Sparta, was hospitably entertained by Menelaus as well as by Kastôr and Pollux, and was enabled to present the rich gifts which he had brought to Helen.<sup>2</sup> Menelaus then departed to Krête, leaving Helen to entertain his Trojan guest — a favorable moment which was employed by Aphroditê to bring about the intrigue and the elopement. Paris carried away with him both Helen and a large sum of money belonging to Menelaus — made a prosperous voyage to Troy — and arrived there safely with his prize on the third day.<sup>3</sup>

Menelaus, informed by Iris in Krête of the perfidious return made by Paris for his hospitality, hastened home in grief and

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seriously maintained, as it seems, by Chrysippus, ap. Plutarch. Stoic. Rep. p. 1049: but the poets do not commonly go back farther than the passion of Paris for Helen (Theognis, 1232; Simonid. Amorg. Fragm. 6, 118).

The judgment of Paris was one of the scenes represented on the ancient chest of Kypselus at Olympia (Pausan. v. 19, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Argument of the *Ἐπη Κίπρια* (ap. Düntzer, p. 10). These warnings of Kassandra form the subject of the obscure and affected poem of Lycophrôn.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Cyprian Verses, Helena was daughter of Zeus by Nemesis, who had in vain tried to evade the connection (Athensæ. viii. 334). Hesiod (Schol. Pindar. Nem. x. 150) represented her as daughter of Oceanus and Têthys, an oceanic nymph: Sapphô (Fragm. 17, Schneidewin), Pausanias (i. 33, 7), Apollodôrus (iii. 10, 7), and Isokratês (Encom. Helen. v. ii. p. 366, Anger) reconcile the pretensions of Lêda and Nemesis to a sort of joint maternity (see Heinrichsen, *De Carminibus Cypriis*, p. 45-46).

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. ii. 117. He gives distinctly the assertion of the Cyprian Verses, which contradicts the argument of the poem as it appears in Proclus (Fragm. i. l.), according to which latter, Paris is driven out of his course by a storm and captures the city of Sidôn. Homer (Iliad, vi. 293) seems however to countenance the statement in the argument.

That Paris was guilty of robbery, as well as of the abduction of Helen, is several times mentioned in the Iliad (iii. 144; vii. 350-363), also in the argument of the Cyprian Verses (see Æschyl. Agam. 534)

indignation to consult with his brother Agamemnôn, as with the venerable Nestôr, on the means of avenging the rage. They made known the event to the Greek chiefs: them, among whom they found universal sympathy: Nestôr amêdês and others went round to solicit aid in a contemplated attack of Troy, under the command of Agamemnôn, to each chief promised both obedience and unwearied exertion Helen should be recovered.<sup>1</sup> Ten years were spent in equipping the expedition. The goddesses Hêrê and Athênâ, incensed at the preference given by Paris to Aphroditê, and animal steady attachment to Argos, Sparta and Mykênæ, took an active part in the cause; and the horses of Hêrê were fatigued by her repeated visits to the different parts of Greece.<sup>2</sup>

By such efforts a force was at length assembled at Aulïs, Boeôtia, consisting of 1186 ships and more than 100,000 men, a force outnumbering by more than ten to one anything the Trojans themselves could oppose, and superior to the de-

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<sup>1</sup> The ancient epic (Schol. ad Il. ii. 286-339) does not recognize any of the numerous suitors of Helen, and the oath by which Tyndareus bound them all before he made the selection among them, that each should be true not only to acquiesce, but even to aid in maintaining undisturbed peace to the husband whom she should choose. This story seems to have been first told by Stesichorus (see Fragm. 20. ed. Kleine; Apollod. iii. 10, 11); it was evidently one of the prominent features of the current legend at the time of Thucydides (i. 9; Euripid. Iphig. Aul. 51-80; Soph. Ajax, 111-114).

The exact spot in which Tyndareus exacted this oath from the suitors near Sparta, was pointed out even in the time of Pausanias (iii. 20, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, iv. 27-55; xxiv. 765. Argument. Carm. Cypri. The point was poetically touched upon by Dio Chrysostom (Orat. xi. p. 335-337) in his assault upon the old legend. Two years' preparation—in Dio Chrysostom i. 16.

<sup>3</sup> The Spartan king Agesilaus, when about to start from Greece on his expedition into Asia Minor (396 B. C.) went to Aulis personally, so that he too might sacrifice on the spot where Agamemnôn had sacrificed when he sailed for Troy (Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 4, 4).

Skylax (c. 60) notices the *ἱερὸν* at Aulis, and nothing else: it is supposed to have been like the adjoining Delium, a temple with a small village around it.

Aulis is recognized as the port from which the expedition started in the Hesiodic Works and Days (v. 650).

of Troy even with all her allies included.<sup>1</sup> It comprised heroes with their followers from the extreme points of Greece — from the north-western portions of Thessaly under Mount Olympus, as well as the western islands of Dulichium and Ithaca, and the eastern islands of Krête and Rhodes. Agamemnôn himself contributed 100 ships manned with the subjects of his kingdom of Mykênæ, besides furnishing 60 ships to the Arcadians, who possessed none of their own. Menelaus brought with him 60 ships, Nestôr from Pylus 90, Idomeneus from Krête and Diomêdês from Argos 80 each. Forty ships were manned by the Eleians, under four different chiefs; the like number under Megês from Dulichium and the Echinades, and under Thoas from Kalydôn and the other Ætôlian towns. Odysseus from Ithaca, and Ajax from Salamis, brought 12 ships each. The Abantes from Eubœa, under Elephênôr, filled 40 vessels; the Boeôtians, under Peneleôs and Lêitus, 50; the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Asplêdôn, 30; the light-armed Locrians, under Ajax son of Oileus,<sup>2</sup> 40; the Phôkians as many. The Athenians, under Menestheus, a chief distinguished for his skill in marshalling an army, mustered 50 ships; the Myrmidons from Phthia and Hellas, under Achilles, assembled in 50 ships; Protesilaus from Phylakê and Pyrasus, and Eurypylus from Ormenium, each came with 40 ships; Machaôn and Podaleirius, from Triikka, with 30; Admêtus, from Phœæ and the lake Boebêis, with 11; and Philoktêtês from Melibœa with 7: the Lapithæ, under Polypoetês, son of Peirithous, filled 40 vessels; the Ænians and Perrhæbians, under Guneus,<sup>3</sup> 22; and the Magnêtês under Prothous, 40; these last two were from the northernmost parts of Thessaly, near the mountains Pêlion and Olympus. From Rhodes, under Tlêpolemus, son of Hêraklês, appeared 9 ships; from Symê, under the comely but effeminate Nireus, 3; from Kôs, Krapathus and the

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<sup>1</sup> Iliad, ii. 128. Uschold (*Geschichte des Trojanischen Kriegs*, p. 9, Stuttgart 1836) makes the total 135,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> The Hesiodic Catalogue notices Oileus, or Ileus, with a singular etymology of his name (*Fragm.* 136, ed. Marktscheffel).

<sup>3</sup> Γουνεύς is the Heros Eponymus of the town of Gonnus in Thessaly; the duplication of the consonant and shortening of the vowel belong to the Æolic dialect (*Ahrens, De Dialect. Æolic.* 50, 4. p. 220).

neighboring islands, 30, under the orders of Pheidippus and Antiphos, sons of Thessalus and grandsons of Héraklêa.<sup>1</sup>

Among this band of heroes were included the distinguished warriors Ajax and Diomêdês, and the sagacious Nestôr; Agamemnôn himself, scarcely inferior to either of them in prowess, brought with him a high reputation for prudence in counsel. But the most marked and conspicuous of all were Achilles and Odysseus; the former a beautiful youth born of a divine mother, swift in the race, of fierce temper and irresistible might; the latter not less efficient as an ally from his eloquence, his valour, his endurance, his inexhaustible resources under difficulty, and his mixture of daring courage with deep-laid cunning which deserted him not; the blood of the arch-deceiver Sisyphus, through an illicit connection with his mother Antikleia, was said to flow in his veins,<sup>2</sup> and he was especially patronized and protected by the goddess Athênê. Odysseus, unwilling at first to take part in the expedition, had even simulated insanity; but Palamêdês, coming to Ithaca to invite him, tested the reality of his madness by putting a stake in the furrow where Odysseus was ploughing, his infant son Telemachus. Thus detected, Odysseus could not refuse to join the Achæan host, but the prophet Halithersês predicted that twenty years would elapse before he revisited his land.<sup>4</sup> To Achilles the gods had promised the full effulgence

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<sup>1</sup> See the Catalogue in the second book of the *Iliad*. There may also have been a Catalogue of the Greeks also in the Cyprian Version, and a Catalogue of the allies of Troy is specially noticed in the *Argonautica* (p. 12. Düntzer).

Euripidês (*Iphig. Aul.* 165-300) devotes one of the songs of the *Philoctetes* to a partial Catalogue of the chief heroes.

According to Dictys Cretensis, all the principal heroes engaged in the expedition were kinsmen, all Pelopids (i. 14): they take an oath not to lay down their arms until Helen shall have been recovered, and they receive from Agamemnôn a large sum of gold.

<sup>2</sup> For the character of Odysseus, *Iliad*, iii. 202-220; x. 247. *Odyssey*, 295.

The *Philoctetes* of Sophoklês carries out very justly the character of the Homeric Odysseus (see v. 1035) — more exactly than the Ajax of the *Philoctetes* poet depicts it.

<sup>3</sup> Sophokl. *Philoctêt.* 417, and Schol. — also Schol. ad Soph. *Ajax*.

<sup>4</sup> Homer, *Odys.* xxiv. 115; *Æschyl.* *Agam.* 841; Sophokl. *Philoct.*

heroic glory before the walls of Troy; nor could the place be taken without both his coöperation and that of his son after him. But they had forewarned him that this brilliant career would be rapidly brought to a close; and that if he desired a long life, he must remain tranquil and inglorious in his native land. In spite of the reluctance of his mother Thetis, he preferred few years with bright renown, and joined the Achæan host.<sup>1</sup> When Nestôr and Odysseus came to Phthia to invite him, both he and his intimate friend Patroclus eagerly obeyed the call.<sup>2</sup>

Agamemnôn and his powerful host set sail from Aulis; but being ignorant of the locality and the direction, they landed by mistake in Teuthrania, a part of Mysia near the river Kaïkus, and began to ravage the country under the persuasion that it was the neighborhood of Troy. Telephus, the king of the country,<sup>3</sup> opposed and repelled them, but was ultimately defeated and severely wounded by Achilles. The Greeks now, discovering their mistake, retired; but their fleet was dispersed by a storm and driven back to Greece. Achilles attacked and took Skyrus, and there married Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomêdês.<sup>4</sup> Telephus, suffering from his wounds, was directed by the oracle to come to Greece and present himself to Achilles to be healed, by applying the scrapings of the spear with which the wound had been given: thus restored, he became the guide of the Greeks when they were prepared to renew their expedition.<sup>5</sup>

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with the Schol. Argument of the Cypria in Heinrichsen, *De Carmin. Cypr.* p. 23 (the sentence is left out in Düntzer, p. 11).

A lost tragedy of Sophoklês, *Ὀδυσσεὺς Μαϊνόμενος*, handled this subject.

Other Greek chiefs were not less reluctant than Odysseus to take part in the expedition: see the tale of Pœmandrus, forming a part of the temple-legend of the Achilleum at Tanagra in Bœôtia (Plutarch, *Quæstion. Græc.* p. 299).

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, i. 352; ix. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 782.

<sup>3</sup> Telephus was the son of Angê, daughter of king Aleus of Tegea in Arcadia, by Hêrâklês: respecting her romantic adventures, see the previous chapter on Arcadian legends — Strabo's faith in the story (xii. p. 572).

The spot called the Harbor of the Achæans, near Gryneium, was stated to be the place where Agamemnôn and the chiefs took counsel whether they should attack Telephus or not (Skylax, c. 97; compare Strabo, xiv. p. 622).

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 664; *Argum. Cypr.* p. 11, Düntzer; *Diktys Cret.* ii. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Euripid. *Telephus*, Frag. 26, Dindorf; Hygin. f. 101; *Diktys*, ii. 10. Euripidês had treated the adventure of Telephus in this lost tragedy: he gave



The armament was again assembled at Aulis, but the goddess Artemis, displeased with the boastful language of Agamemnon, prolonged the duration of adverse winds, and the offending king was compelled to appease her by the well-known sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia.<sup>1</sup> They then proceeded to Tenedos, whence Odysseus and Menelaus were despatched as envoys to Troy, to redemand Helen and the stolen property. In spite of the prudent counsels of Antenor, who received the two Greek chiefs with friendly hospitality, the Trojans rejected the demand, and the attack was resolved upon. It was foredoomed by the gods that the Greek who first landed should perish: Menelaus was generous enough to put himself upon this forfeit, and accordingly fell by the hand of Hector.

Meanwhile the Trojans had assembled a large body of men from various parts of Asia Minor and Thrace: Dardanians, Æneias, Lykians under Sarpedon, Mysians, Karians, Malizyonians,<sup>2</sup> Phrygians, Thracians, and Pæonians.<sup>3</sup> But

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the miraculous cure with the dust of the spear, *πρωτοῖσι λογχῆς ἀμνήμασι*. Diktys softens down the prodigy: "Achilles cum Menelaus Podalirio adhibentes curam vulnerei," etc. Pliny (xxxiv. 15) gives rust of brass or iron a place in the list of genuine remedies.

"Longe omnino a Tiberi ad Caicum: quo in loco etiam Agamemnon errasset, nisi ducem Telephum invenisset" (Cicero, Pro L. Flacco). The portions of the Trojan legend treated in the lost epics and the *Æneid*, seem to have been just as familiar to Cicero as those noticed in the *Iliad*.

Strabo pays comparatively little attention to any portion of the war except what appears in Homer. He even goes so far as to give a reason why the Amazons *did not* come to the aid of Priam: they were engaged with him, because Priam had aided the Phrygians against them (l. 188: in Strabo, τοῖς Ἰώσιν must be a mistake for τοῖς Φρυγίῃν). Strabo hardly ever reads, and never alludes to, Arktinus; in whose poem, and beautiful Penthesileia, at the head of her Amazons, forms a striking epoch and incident of the war (Strabo, xii. 552).

<sup>1</sup> Nothing occurs in Homer respecting the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Schol. Ven. ad Il. ix. 145).

<sup>2</sup> No portion of the Homeric Catalogue gave more trouble to Iliad scholars than these Malizyonians (Strabo, l. 549; xiii. p. 603): a fictitious place called Alizonium, in the region of the Hellespont, was got up to meet the difficulty (*εἰς τὸ Ἀλιζώνιον, τοῦτ' ἤδη περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀλιζώνων ἐκπόρσεον*, etc., Strabo, l. c.).

<sup>3</sup> See the Catalogue of the Trojans (*Iliad*, ii. 815-877).

was the attempt to oppose the landing of the Greeks: the Trojans were routed, and even the invulnerable Cycnus,<sup>1</sup> son of Poseidôn, one of the great bulwarks of the defence, was slain by Achilles. Having driven the Trojans within their walls, Achilles attacked and stormed Lyrnêssus, Pêdasus, Lesbos and other places in the neighborhood, twelve towns on the sea-coast and eleven in the interior; he drove off the oxen of Æneas and pursued the hero himself, who narrowly escaped with his life: he surprised and killed the youthful Tróilus, son of Priam, and captured several of the other sons, whom he sold as prisoners into the islands of the Ægean.<sup>2</sup> He acquired as his captive the fair Brisêis, while Chrysêis was awarded to Agamemnôn: he was moreover eager to see the divine Helen, the prize and stimulus of this memorable struggle; and Aphroditê and Thetis contrived to bring about an interview between them.<sup>3</sup>

At this period of the war the Grecian army was deprived of Palamêdês, one of its ablest chiefs. Odysseus had not forgiven the artifice by which Palamêdês had detected his simulated insanity, nor was he without jealousy of a rival clever and cunning in a degree equal, if not superior, to himself; one who had enriched the Greeks with the invention of letters, of dice for

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<sup>1</sup> Cycnus was said by later writers to be king of Kolônæ in the Troad (Strabo, xiii. p. 589-603; Aristotel. Rhetoric. ii. 23). Æschylus introduced upon the Attic stage both Cycnus and Memnôn in terrific equipments (Aristophan. Ran. 957. *Ὅδ' ἐξέπληττον αὐτοὺς Κύκνους ἄγων καὶ Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους*). Compare Welcker, Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, xxiv. 752; Argument of the Cypria, pp. 11, 12, Düntzer. These desultory exploits of Achilles furnished much interesting romance to the later Greek poets (see Parthênus, Narrat. 21). See the neat summary of the principal events of the war in Quintus Smyrn. xiv. 125-140; Dio Chrysost. Or. xi. p. 338-342.

Tróilus is only once named in the Iliad (xxiv. 253); he was mentioned also in the Cypria; but his youth, beauty, and untimely end made him an object of great interest with the subsequent poets. Sophoklês had a tragedy called *Tróilus* (Welcker, Griechisch. Tragöd. i. p. 124); *Τὸν ἀνδρόπαιδα δεσπότην ἀπώλεσα*, one of the Fragm. Even earlier than Sophoklês, his beauty was celebrated by the tragedian Phrynichus (Athenæ: xiii. p. 564; Virgil, Æneid, i. 474; Lycophrôn, 307).

<sup>3</sup> Argument. Cypr. p. 11, Düntz. *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἑλένην ἐπιθυμεῖ θεάσασθαι, καὶ συνήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Θέτις*. A scene which would have been highly interesting in the hands of Homer.

management, of night-watches, as well as with other useful occupations. According to the old Cyprian epic, Palamêd drowned while fishing, by the hands of Odysseus and Diomedes. Neither in the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* does the name of Palamêd occur: the lofty position which Odysseus occupies in both poems — noticed with some degree of displeasure even by Euripides, who described Palamêdês as the wiser man of the two — is not sufficient to explain the omission.<sup>2</sup> But in the more advanced period of the Greek mind, when intellectual superiority acquired a higher place in the public esteem as compared with military prowess, the character of Palamêdês, combined with his unhappy fate, rendered him one of the most interesting figures in the Trojan legend. Æschylus, Sophoklês and Euripides each consecrated to him a special tragedy; but the mode of his death as described in the old epic was not suitable to Athenian ideas, and accordingly he was represented as having been accused of treason by Odysseus, who caused gold to be brought to his tent, and persuaded Agamemnôn and the Grecian chiefs to condemn Palamêdês had received it from the Trojans.<sup>3</sup> He thus lost his life, a victim to the calumny of Odysseus and to the

<sup>1</sup> Argum. Cypri. 1. 1.; Pausan. x. 31. The concluding portion of the Cypria seems to have passed under the title of *Παλαμῆδεια* (see Eustath. ad *Il.* p. 15, Dûntz.; Welcker, *Der Episch. Cycl.* p. 459; Eustath. *Odys.* i. 107).

The allusion of Quintus Smyrnaeus (v. 197) seems rather to point to the story in the Cypria, which Strabo (viii. p. 368) appears not to have known.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 21; Aristidês, *Orat.* 46. p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> See the Fragments of the three tragedians, *Παλαμῆδης* — Aristophanes, *xlvi.* p. 260; Philostrate, *Heroic.* x.; Hygin, *fab.* 95–105. Discourses against Palamêdês, one by Alkidamas, and one under the name of Democritus, are printed in Reiske's *Orr. Græc.* t. viii. pp. 64, 102; Virgil, *Æneid.* with the ample commentary of Servius — Polysen. *Proc.* p. 6.

Welcker (*Griechisch. Tragöd.* v. i. p. 130, vol. ii. p. 500) has evincingly shown the remaining fragments of the lost tragedies.

According to Diktys, Odysseus and Diomêdês prevail upon Palamêd to let down into a deep well, and then cast stones upon him (ii. 15).

Xenophôn (*De Venatione*, c. 1) evidently recognizes the story of the Cypria, that Odysseus and Diomêdês caused the death of Palamêd. He cannot believe that two such exemplary men were really guilty of such an iniquitous act — *κακοὶ δὲ ἐπραξαν τὸ ἔργον*.

One of the eminences near Napoli still bears the name of *Palamêd*.

of the leading Greeks. In the last speech made by the philosopher Socrátēs to his Athenian judges, he alludes with solemnity and fellow-feeling to the unjust condemnation of Palamêdês, as analogous to that which he himself was about to suffer, and his companions seem to have dwelt with satisfaction on the comparison. Palamêdês passed for an instance of the slanderous enmity and misfortune which so often wait upon superior genius.<sup>1</sup>

In these expeditions the Grecian army consumed nine years, during which the subdued Trojans dared not give battle without their walls for fear of Achilles. Ten years was the fixed epical duration of the siege of Troy, just as five years was the duration of the siege of Kamikus by the Krêtan armament which came to avenge the death of Minôs:<sup>2</sup> ten years of preparation, ten years of siege, and ten years of wandering for Odysseus, were periods suited to the rough chronological dashes of the ancient epic, and suggesting no doubts nor difficulties with the original hearers. But it was otherwise when the same events came to be contemplated by the historicizing Greeks, who could not be satisfied without either finding or inventing satisfactory bonds of coherence between the separate events. Thucydîdês tells us that the Greeks were less numerous than the poets have represented, and that being moreover very poor, they were unable to procure adequate and constant provisions: hence they were compelled to disperse their army, and to employ a part of it in cultivating the Chersonese, — a part in marauding expeditions over the neighborhood. Could the whole army have been employed against Troy at once (he says), the siege would have been much more speedily and easily concluded.<sup>3</sup> If the great historian could permit himself thus to amend the legend in so many points, we might have imagined that the simpler course would have been to include the duration of the siege among the list of poetical exaggerations, and to affirm that the real siege had lasted only one

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Apolog. Socr.* c. 32; Xenoph. *Apol. Socr.* 26; *Memor.* iv. 2, 33; Liban. *pro Socr.* p. 242, ed. Morell.; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 20.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 170. Ten years is a proper mythical period for a great war to last: the war between the Olympic gods and the Titan gods lasts ten years (*Hesiod, Theogon.* 636). Compare *δεκάτη ἐνιαυτῶ* (*Hom. Odys.* xvi. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 11.

year instead of ten. But it seems that the ten years' duration was so capital a feature in the ancient tale, that no critic ventured to meddle with it.

A period of comparative intermission however was now at hand for the Trojans. The gods brought about the memorable fit of anger of Achilles, under the influence of which he refused to put on his armor, and kept his Myrmidons in camp. According to the *Cypria*, this was the behest of Zeus, who had compassion on the Trojans: according to the *Iliad*, Apollo was the originating cause,<sup>1</sup> from anxiety to avenge the injury which his priest Chrysês had endured from Agamemnôn. For a considerable time, the combats of the Greeks against Troy were conducted without their best warrior, and severe indeed was the humiliation which they underwent in consequence. How the remaining Grecian chiefs vainly strove to make amends for his absence — how Hectôr and the Trojans defeated and drove them to their ships — how the actual blaze of the destroying flame, applied by Hectôr to the ship of Protesilaus, roused up the anxious and sympathizing Patroclus, and extorted a reluctant consent from Achilles, to allow his friend and his followers to go forth and avert the last extremity of ruin — how Achilles, when Patroclus had been killed by Hectôr, forgetting his anger in grief for the death of his friend, reëntered the fight, drove the Trojans within their walls with immense slaughter, and satiated his revenge both upon the living and the dead Hectôr — all these events have been chronicled, together with those divine dispensations on which most of them are made to depend, in the immortal verse of the *Iliad*.

Homer breaks off with the burial of Hectôr, whose body has just been ransomed by the disconsolate Priam; while the lost poem of Arktinus, entitled the *Æthiopis*, so far as we can judge from the argument still remaining of it, handled only the subsequent events of the siege. The poem of Quintus Smyrnæus, composed about the fourth century of the Christian æra, seems in its first books to coincide with the *Æthiopis*, in the subsequent books partly with the *Ilias Minor* of Leschês.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Tychsen, *Commentat. de Quinto Smyrnæo*, § iii. c. 5-7. The *Ilíov*  
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The Trojans, dismayed by the death of Hæctor, were again animated with hope by the appearance of the warlike and beautiful queen of the Amazons, Penthesileia, daughter of Arês, hitherto invincible in the field, who came to their assistance from Thrace at the head of a band of her countrywomen. She again led the besieged without the walls to encounter the Greeks in the open field; and under her auspices the latter were at first driven back, until she too was slain by the invincible arm of Achilles. The victor, on taking off the helmet of his fair enemy as she lay on the ground, was profoundly affected and captivated by her charms, for which he was scornfully taunted by Thersitês: exasperated by this rash insult, he killed Thersitês on the spot with a blow of his fist. A violent dispute among the Grecian chiefs was the result, for Diomêdês, the kinsman of Thersitês, warmly resented the proceeding; and Achilles was obliged to go to Lesbos, where he was purified from the act of homicide by Odysseus.<sup>1</sup>

Next arrived Memnôn, son of Tithônus and Eôs, the most stately of living men, with a powerful band of black Æthiopians, to the assistance of Troy. Sallying forth against the Greeks, he made great havoc among them: the brave and popular Antilochus perished by his hand, a victim to filial devotion in defence of Nestôr.<sup>2</sup> Achilles at length attacked him, and for a long time the combat was doubtful between them: the prowess of Achilles and the supplication of Thetis with Zeus finally prevailed;

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*Πέρις*, was treated both by Arktinus and by Lesquês: with the latter it formed a part of the *Ilias Minor*.

<sup>1</sup> Argument of the Æthiopis, p. 16, Düntzer; Quint. Smyrn. lib. i.; Diktys Cret. iv. 2-3.

In the *Philoktêtês*, of Sophoklês, Thersitês survives Achilles (Soph. Phil. 858-445).

<sup>2</sup> Odys. xi. 522. *Κεῖνον δὲ κάλλιστον ἶδον, μετὰ Μήμνονα διόν*: see also Odys. iv. 187; Pindar, Pyth. vi. 31. Æschylus (ap. Strabo. xv. p. 728) conceives Memnôn as a Persian starting from Susa.

Ktésias gave in his history full details respecting the expedition of Memnôn, sent by the king of Assyria to the relief of his dependent, Priam of Troy; all this was said to be recorded in the royal archives. The Egyptians affirmed that Memnôn had come from Egypt (Diodôr. ii. 22; compare iv. 77): the two stories are blended together in Pausanias, x. 31, 2. The Phrygians pointed out the road along which he had marched.

whilst Eôs obtained for her vanquished son the consoling gift of immortality. His tomb, however,<sup>1</sup> was shown near the Propæa within a few miles of the mouth of the river Æsêpus, and visited annually by the birds called Memnonides, who swam and bedewed it with water from the stream. So the traveller Pausanias was told, even in the second century after the Christian æra, by the Hellespontine Greeks.

But the fate of Achilles himself was now at hand. In routing the Trojans and chasing them into the town, he was slain near the Skaean gate by an arrow from the quiver of Paris directed under the unerring auspices of Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The great efforts were made by the Trojans to possess themselves of his body, which was however rescued and borne off to the Greek camp by the valor of Ajax and Odysseus. Bitter was the grief of Thetis for the loss of her son: she came into the camp, summoned the Muses and the Nêreids to mourn over him; and when the magnificent funeral-pile had been prepared by the Greeks to burn him with every mark of honor, she stole away the body and conveyed it to a renewed and immortal life in the island of Leukê in the Euxine Sea. According to some accounts he was there with the nuptials and company of Helen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Argum. Æth. *ut sup.*; Quint. Smyrn. ii. 396-550; Pausan. x. 1. Pindar, in praising Achilles, dwells much on his triumphs over Hectôr, Memnôn, and Cynus, but never notices Penthesileia (Olymp. Nem. iii. 60; vi. 52. Isthm. v. 43).

Æschylus, in the *Æthiops*, introduced Thetis and Eôs, each in the attitude of supplication for her son, and Zeus weighing in his golden scales the souls of Achilles and Memnôn (Schol. Ven. ad Iliad. viii. 70: Pol. 130; Plutarch, De Audiend. Poet. p. 17). In the combat between Achilles and Memnôn, represented on the chest of Kypselus at Olympia, Thetis and Eôs were given each as aiding her son (Pausan. v. 19, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, xxii. 360; Sophokl. Philokt. 334; Virgil, Æneid, vi. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Argum. Æthiop. *ut sup.*; Quint. Smyrn. 151-583; Homer, Odys. x. 499; Ovid, Metam. xiii. 284; Eurip. Androm. 1262; Pausan. iii. 19, 13. According to Diktys (iv. 11), Paris and Deiphobus entrapped Achilles by the promise of an interview with Polyxena and kill him.

A minute and curious description of the island Leukê, or 'Αχιλλεύς, is given in Arrian (Periplus, Pont. Euxin. p. 21; ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. c. 10).

The heroic or divine empire of Achilles in Scythia was recognized by Alkæus the poet (Alkæi Fragm. Schneidew. Fr. 46), 'Αχιλλεύς, ὁ γὰρ

Thetis celebrated splendid funeral games in honor of her son, and offered the unrivalled panoply, which Hêphæstos had forged and wrought for him, as a prize to the most distinguished warrior in the Grecian army. Odysseus and Ajax became rivals for the distinction, when Athênê, together with some Trojan prisoners, who were asked from which of the two their country had sustained greatest injury, decided in favor of the former. The gallant Ajax lost his senses with grief and humiliation: in a fit of phrenzy he slew some sheep, mistaking them for the men who had wronged him, and then fell upon his own sword.<sup>1</sup>

Odysseus now learnt from Helenus son of Priam, whom he had captured in an ambuscade,<sup>2</sup> that Troy could not be taken unless both Philoktêtês, and Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, could be prevailed upon to join the besiegers. The former, having been stung in the foot by a serpent, and becoming insupportable to the Greeks from the stench of his wound, had been left at Lemnus in

Θικῆς μέδεις. Eustathius (ad Dionys. Periegët. 307) gives the story of his having followed Iphigeneia thither: compare Antonin. Liberal. 27.

Ibykus represented Achilles as having espoused Mèdeia in the Elysian Field (Idyl. Fragm. 18. Schneidewin). Simondês followed this story (ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 815).

<sup>1</sup> Argument of Æthiopis and Ilias Minor, and Fragm. 2 of the latter, pp. 17, 18, Düntz.; Quint. Smyrn. v. 120-482; Hom. Odys. xi. 550; Pindar, Nem. vii. 26. The Ajax of Sophoklês, and the contending speeches between Ajax and Ulysses in the beginning of the thirteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, are too well known to need special reference.

The suicide of Ajax seems to have been described in detail in the Æthiopis: compare Pindar. Isthm. iii. 51, and the Scholia *ad loc.*, which show the attention paid by Pindar to the minute circumstances of the old epic. See Fragm. 2 of the Ἰλίου Πέποις of Arktinus, in Düntz. p. 22, which would seem more properly to belong to the Æthiopis. Diktys relates the suicide of Ajax, as a consequence of his unsuccessful competition with Odysseus, not about the arms of Achilles, but about the Palladium, after the taking of the city (v. 14).

There were, however, many different accounts of the manner in which Ajax had died, some of which are enumerated in the argument to the drama of Sophoklês. Ajax is never wounded in the Iliad: Æschylus made him invulnerable except under the arm-pits (see Schol. ad Sophok. Ajac. 833); the Trojans pelted him with mud — εἰ πως βαρυνθείη ὑπὸ τοῦ πῆλου (Schol. Iliad. xiv. 404).

<sup>2</sup> Soph. Philokt. 604.



the commencement of the expedition, and had spent ten years<sup>1</sup> in misery on that desolate island; but he still possessed the peerless bow and arrows of Hēraklēs, which were said to be essential to the capture of Troy. Diomēdēs fetched Philoktētēs from Lemnus to the Grecian camp, where he was healed by the skill of Machaōn,<sup>2</sup> and took an active part against the Trojans — engaging in single combat with Paris, and killing him with one of the Hērakleian arrows. The Trojans were allowed to carry away for burial the body of this prince, the fatal cause of all their sufferings; but not until it had been mangled by the hand of Menelaus.<sup>3</sup> Odysseus went to the island of Skyros to invite Neoptolemus to the army. The untried but impetuous youth gladly obeyed the call, and received from Odysseus his father's armor, while on the other hand, Eurypylos, son of Tēlephus, came from Mysia as auxiliary to the Trojans and rendered to them valuable service — turning the tide of fortune for a time against the Greeks, and killing some of their bravest chiefs, amongst whom was numbered Peneleōs, and the unrivalled leech Machaōn.<sup>4</sup> The exploits of

<sup>1</sup> Soph. Philokt. 703. Ὡς μελέα ψυχὰ, Ὅς μὲν οἰνοχότου πόματος ἤσθη δεκετὴ χρόνον, etc.

In the narrative of Diktys (ii. 47), Philoktētēs returns from Lemnus to Troy much earlier in the war before the death of Achilles, and without any assigned cause.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sophoklēs, Hēraklēs sends Asklēpius to Troy to heal Philoktētēs (Soph. Philokt. 1415).

The subject of Philoktētēs formed the subject of a tragedy both by Æschylus and by Euripidēs (both lost) as well as by Sophoklēs.

<sup>3</sup> Argument. Iliad. Minor. Düntz. l. c. Καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ Μενελάου κατακισθέντα ἀνελόμενοι θάπτουσιν οἱ Τρῶες. See Quint. Smyrn. x. 240: he differs here in many respects from the arguments of the old poems as given by Proclus, both as to the incidents and as to their order in time (Diktys, iv. 20). The wounded Paris flees to Cēnônē, whom he had deserted in order to follow Helen, and entreats her to cure him by her skill in simples: she refuses, and permits him to die; she is afterwards stung with remorse, and hangs herself (Quint. Smyrn. x. 285-331; Apollodōr. iii. 12, 6; Conōn. Narrat. 23; see Bachet de Meziriac, Comment. sur les Épîtres d'Ovide, t. i. p. 456). The story of Cēnônē is as old as Hellanikus and Kephalōn of Gergis (see Hellan. Fragm. 126, Didot).

<sup>4</sup> To mark the way in which these legendary events pervaded and became embodied in the local worship, I may mention the received practice in the great temple of Asklēpius (father of Machaōn) at Pergamus, even in the

Neoptolemus were numerous, worthy of the glory of his race and the renown of his father. He encountered and slew Eurypylus, together with numbers of the Mysian warriors: he routed the Trojans and drove them within their walls, from whence they never again emerged to give battle: nor was he less distinguished for his good sense and persuasive diction, than for forward energy in the field.<sup>1</sup>

Troy however was still impregnable so long as the Palladium, a statue given by Zeus himself to Dardanus, remained in the citadel; and great care had been taken by the Trojans not only to conceal this valuable present, but to construct other statues so like it as to mislead any intruding robber. Nevertheless the enterprising Odysseus, having disguised his person with miserable clothing and self-inflicted injuries, found means to penetrate into the city and to convey the Palladium by stealth away: Helen alone recognized him; but she was now anxious to return to Greece, and even assisted Odysseus in concerting means for the capture of the town.<sup>2</sup>

To accomplish this object, one final stratagem was resorted to. By the hands of Epeius of Panopeus, and at the suggestion of Athênê, a capacious hollow wooden horse was constructed, capable of containing one hundred men: the élite of the Grecian heroes, Neoptolemus, Odysseus, Menelans and others, concealed themselves in the inside of it, and the entire Grecian army sailed away

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time of Pausanias. Têlephus, father of Eurypylus, was the local hero and mythical king of Teuthrania, in which Pergamus was situated. In the hymns there sung, the proem and the invocation were addressed to Têlephus; but nothing was said in them about Eurypylus, nor was it permitted even to mention his name in the temple, — "they knew him to be the slayer of Machaôn:" ἀρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὕμνων, προσάδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῶ θέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν, οἷα ἐπιστάμενοι φονία ὄντα Μαχάωνος (Pansan. iii. 26, 7).

The combination of these qualities in other Homeric chiefs is noted in a subsequent chapter of his work, ch. xx. vol. ii.

<sup>1</sup> Argument. *Iliad*. Minor. p. 17, Düntzer. Homer, *Odys.* xi. 510–520. Pansan. iii. 26, 7. Quint. Smyrn. vii. 553; viii. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Argument. *Iliad*. Minor. p. 18, Düntz.; *Arktinus* ap. Dionys. Hal. i. 69; Homer, *Odys.* iv. 246; Quint. Smyrn. x. 354: Virgil, *Æneid.* ii. 164, and the 9th Excursus of Heyne on that book.

Compare with this legend about the Palladium, the Roman legend respecting the Ancyliæ (Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 381).

to Tenedos, burning their tents and pretending to have abandoned the siege. The Trojans, overjoyed to find themselves issued from the city and contemplated with astonishment the fabric which their enemies had left behind: they longed to know what should be done with it; and the anxious heroes from all quarters heard the surrounding consultations, as well as the voice of Helen when she pronounced their names and counterfeited the grief of their wives.<sup>1</sup> Many of the Trojans were anxious to devote it to the gods in the city as a token of gratitude for their deliverance; but the more cautious spirits inculcated distrust of the enemy's legacy; and Laocoön, the priest of Poseidôn, manifested his aversion by striking the side of the horse with his spear. The sound revealed that the horse was hollow, but the Trojans heeded not this warning of possible fraud; and the unfortunate Laocoön, a victim to his own sagacity and patriotism, miserably perished before the eyes of his countrymen, together with his sons,—two serpents being sent expressly by the gods from the sea to destroy him. By this terrific spectacle, together with the perfidious counsels of Sinon, a traitor whom the Greeks left behind for the special purpose of giving false information, the Trojans were induced to make a breach in their own walls and to drag the fatal fabric with triumph and exultation into the city.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. iv. 275; Virgil, *Æneid*, ii. 14; Heyne, Excurs. 3. ad Stesichorus, in his *Ἰλίου Πέποις*, gave the number of heroes in the horse as one hundred (Stesichor. Fragm. 26, ed. Kleine; compare xiii. p. 610).

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. viii. 492; xi. 522. Argument of the *Ἰλίου Πέποις* of p. 21. Düntz. Hydin. f. 108–135. Bacchylidés and Euphorion ap. ad Virgil. *Æneid*. ii. 201.

Both Sinon and Laocoön came originally from the old epic poem, though Virgil may perhaps have immediately borrowed both and other matters in his second book, from a poem passing under the name of Pisander (see Macrob. *Satur.* v. 2; Heyne, Excurs. 1. ad *Æn.* ii.; Der Episch. Kyklus, v. 97). We cannot give credit either to Arrian or Pisander for the masterly specimen of oratory which is put into the mouth of Sinon in the *Æneid*.

In Quintus Smyrnaeus (xii. 366), the Trojans torture and mutilate Sinon to extort from him the truth: his endurance, sustained by the inspiration of Hêrê, is proof against the extremity of suffering, and he adheres to the tale. This is probably an incident of the old epic, though the deli-

The destruction of Troy, according to the decree of the gods, was now irrevocably sealed. While the Trojans indulged in a night of riotous festivity, Sinon kindled the fire-signal to the Greeks at Tenedós, loosening the bolts of the wooden horse, from out of which the enclosed heroes descended. The city, assailed both from within and from without, was thoroughly sacked and destroyed, with the slaughter or captivity of the larger portion of its heroes as well as its people. The venerable Priam perished by the hand of Neoptolemus, having in vain sought shelter at the domestic altar of Zeus Herkeios; but his son Deiphobus, who since the death of Paris had become the husband of Helen, defended his house desperately against Odysseus and Menelans, and sold his life dearly. After he was slain, his body was fearfully mutilated by the latter.<sup>1</sup>

Thus was Troy utterly destroyed—the city, the altars and temples,<sup>2</sup> and the population. Æneas and Antenôr were permitted to escape, with their families, having been always more favorably regarded by the Greeks than the remaining Trojans. According to one version of the story, they had betrayed the

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of Virgil, and his sympathy with the Trojans, has induced him to omit it. Euphorion ascribed the proceedings of Sinon to Odysseus: he also gave a different cause for the death of Laocoön (Fr. 85–86. p. 55, ed. Düntz., in the Fragments of Epic Poets after Alexander the Great). Sinon is *εταίρος* 'Οδυσσεύς in Pausan. x. 27, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. viii. 515; Argument of Arktinos, *ut sup.*; Euripid. Hecub. 903, Virg. Æn. vi. 497; Quint. Smyrn. xiii. 35–229; Leschês ap. Pausan. x. 27, 2; Diktys, γ. 12. Ibykus and Simonidês also represented Deiphobus as the *ἀντεράσσης* 'Ελένης (Schol. Hom. Iliad. xiii. 517).

The night-battle in the interior of Troy was described with all its fearful details both by Leschês and Arktinos: the 'Ιλίων Πέποις of the latter seems to have been a separate poem, that of the former constituted a portion of the Ilias Minor (see Welcker, Der Epische Kyklus, p. 215): the 'Ιλίων Πέποις by the lyric poets Sakadas and Stesichorus probably added many new incidents. Polygnôtus had painted a succession of the various calamitous scenes, drawn from the poem of Leschês, on the walls of the lesché at Delphi, with the name written over each figure (Pausan. x. 25–26).

Hellaniкус fixed the precise day of the month on which the capture took place (Hellan. Fr. 143–144), the twelfth day of Thargeliôn.

<sup>2</sup> Æschyl. Agamemnon. 527. —

Βαμοὶ δ' αἰστοὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα,  
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυνται χθονός.

city to the Greeks: a panther's skin had been hung over the door of Antenor's house as a signal for the victorious besiegers to spare it in the general plunder.<sup>1</sup> In the distribution of the principal captives, Astyanax, the infant son of Hectôr, was cast from the top of the wall and killed, by Odysseus or Neoptolemus: Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, was immolated on the tomb of Achilles, in compliance with a requisition made by the shade of the deceased hero to his countrymen;<sup>2</sup> while her sister Cassandra was presented as a prize to Agamemnon. She had sought sanctuary at the altar of Athênê, where Ajax, the son of Oileus, making a guilty attempt to seize her, had drawn both upon himself and upon the army the serious wrath of the goddess, inasmuch that the Greeks could hardly be restrained from stoning him to death.<sup>3</sup> Andromachê and Helenus were both given to Neoptolemus, who, according to the *Ilias Minor*, carried away also Æneas as his captive.<sup>4</sup>

Helen gladly resumed her union with Menelaus: she accompanied him back to Sparta, and lived with him there many years in comfort and dignity,<sup>5</sup> passing afterwards to a happy immortality

<sup>1</sup> This symbol of treachery also figured in the picture of Polygnôtus. A different story appears in Schol. *Iliad*. iii. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Euripid. *Hecub.* 38-114, and *Troad.* 716; Leschês ap. Pausan. x. 25, 9; Virgil, *Æneid*, iii. 322, and Servius *ad loc.*

A romantic tale is found in Diktys respecting the passion of Achilles for Polyxena (iii. 2).

<sup>3</sup> *Odys.* xi. 422. Arktinus, *Argum.* p. 21, Düntz. *Theognis*, 1232 Pausan. i. 15, 2; x. 26, 3; 81, 1. As an expiation of this sin of their national hero, the Lokrians sent to Ilium periodically some of their maidens, to do menial service in the temple of Athênê (Plutarch. *Ser. Numin. Vindict.* p. 557, with the citation from Euphorion or Kallimachus, Düntzer, *Epicc. Vet.* p. 118).

<sup>4</sup> Leschês, *Fr.* 7, Düntz.; ap. Schol. *Lycophr.* 1263. Compare Schol. *ad* 1232, for the respectful recollection of Andromachê, among the traditions of the Molossian kings, as their heroic mother, and Strabo, xiii. p. 594.

<sup>5</sup> Such is the story of the old epic (see *Odys.* iv. 260, and the fourth book generally; Argument of *Ilias Minor*, p. 20. Düntz.). Polygnôtus, in the paintings above alluded to, followed the same tale (Pausan. x. 25, 3).

The anger of the Greeks against Helen, and the statement that Menelaus after the capture of Troy approached her with revengeful purposes, but was so mollified by her surpassing beauty as to cast away his uplifted sword, belongs to the age of the tragedians (*Æschyl.* *Agamem.* 685-1455: Eurip.

in the Elysian fields. She was worshipped as a goddess with her brothers the Dioskuri and her husband, having her temple, statue and altar at Therapnæ and elsewhere, and various examples of her miraculous interventions were cited among the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> The lyric poet Stesichorus had ventured to denounce her, conjointly with her sister Klytæmnêstra, in a tone of rude and plain-spoken severity, resembling that of Euripidês and Lycophrôn afterwards, but strikingly opposite to the delicacy and respect with which she is always handled by Homer, who never admits reproaches against her except from her own lips.<sup>2</sup> He was smitten with blindness,

Androm. 600-629; Helen. 75-120; Troad. 890-1057; compare also the fine lines in the *Æneid*, ii. 567-588).

<sup>1</sup> See the description in Herodot. vi. 61, of the prayers offered to her, and of the miracle which she wrought, to remove the repulsive ugliness of a little Spartan girl of high family. Compare also Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 2, and the *Scholia* at the beginning of the ode; Eurip. *Helen.* 1662, and *Orest.* 1652-1706; *Isokrat. Encom. Helen.* ii. p. 368, Auger; Dio Chrysost. *Or.* xi. p. 811. *Θεὸς ἐνομίσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι*; Theodectês ap. Aristot. *Pol.* i. 2, 19 *Θεῶν ἂν' ἀμφοῖν ἐκγονὸν βιζωμάτων*.

<sup>2</sup> Euripid. *Troad.* 982 *seq.*; Lycophrôn ap. Steph. Byz. v. *Αἰγύς*; Stesichorus ap. Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 239; *Fragm.* 9 and 10 of the *Ἰλίου Πέρσεως*, Schneidewin:—

Ὀννεκα Τυνδάρως ῥέζων ἀπᾶσι θεοῖς μῆδ' ἁλθετ' ἡκυδάρων  
Κύπριδος· κείνα δὲ Τυνδάρω κούραισι χολωσαμένα  
Διγᾶμους· τριγᾶμους τίθησι  
Καὶ λιπεσάνορας.....

Further ..... *Ἑλένη ἐκοῦσ' ἄπηρε*, etc.

He had probably contrasted her with other females carried away by force.

Stesichorus also affirmed that Iphigeneia was the daughter of Helen, by Thêseus, born at Argos before her marriage with Menelaus and made over to Klytæmnêstra: this tale was perpetuated by the temple of Eileithyia at Argos, which the Argeians affirmed to have been erected by Helen (*Pausan.* ii. 22, 7). The ages ascribed by Hellanikus and other logographers (*Hellan.* Fr. 74) to Thêseus and Helen—he fifty years of age and she a child of seven—when he carried her off to Aphidnæ, can never have been the original form of any poetical legend: these ages were probably imagined in order to make the mythical chronology run smoothly; for Thêseus belongs to the generation before the Trojan war. But we ought always to recollect that Helen never grows old (*τὴν γὰρ φάτις ἔμμεν' ἀγήρω*—*Quint. Smyrn.* x. 312), and that her chronology consists only with an immortal being. Servius observes (*ad Æneid.* ii. 601)—“*Helenam immortalem fuisse indicat tempus. Nam constat fratres ejus cum Argonautis fuisse. Argonautarum filii cum Thebanis (Thebano Eteoclis et Polynicis bello) dimicaverunt. Item illorum filii*

and made sensible of his impiety; but having repented and posed a special poem formally retracting the calumny, was permitted to recover his sight. In his poem of recantation (famous palinode now unfortunately lost) he pointedly contradicted the Homeric narrative, affirming that Helen had never been at Troy at all, and that the Trojans had carried thither nothing but her image or *eidolon*.<sup>1</sup> It is, probably, to the excited religious feelings of Stesichorus that we owe the first idea of this glacial deviation from the old legend, which could never have been recommended by any considerations of poetical interest.

Other versions were afterwards started, forming a sort of compromise between Homer and Stesichorus, admitting that Helen had never really been at Troy, without altogether denying her elopement. Such is the story of her having been detained in Egypt during the whole term of the siege. Paris, on his departure from Sparta, had been driven thither by storms, and the Egyptian king Prôteus, hearing of the grievous wrong which

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contra Trojam bella gesserunt. Ergo, si immortalis Helena non fuisset sine dubio seculis durare non posset." So Xenophon, after enumerating many heroes of different ages, all pupils of Cheirôn, says that the Cheirôn suffices for all, he being brother of Zeus (De Venatione, c. 1).

The daughters of Tyndareus are Klytemnestra, Helen, and Timandra, open to the charge advanced by Stesichorus: see about Timandra, in the Tegeate Echemus, the new fragment of the Hesiodic Catalogue, not restored by Geel (Göttling, Pref. Hesiod. p. lxi.).

It is curious to read, in Bayle's article *Helène*, his critical discussion of the adventures ascribed to her — as if they were genuine matter of history or less correctly reported.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Republic. ix. p. 587. c. 10. ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἰδωλὸν σίχορός φησι περιμάχῃτον γένεσθαι ἐν Τροίῃ, ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀλήθους.

Isokrat. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 370, Auger; Plato, Phædr. c. 44. p. 244; Max. Tyr. Diss. xi. p. 320, Davis; Conon, Narr. 18; Dio Chrys. Or. xi. p. 323. Τὸν μὲν Στῆσίχορον ἐν τῇ ὑστερον ᾠδῇ λέγειν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν οὐδὲ πλεῦσειεν ἡ Ἑλένη οὐδ' ἄμοσσε. Horace, Od. Epod. xvii. 42. —

"Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vice,  
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,  
Adempta vati reddidere lumina."

Pausan. iii. 19, 5. Virgil, surveying the war from the point of view of the Trojans, had no motive to look upon Helen with particular tenderness. Deiphobus imputes to her the basest treachery (*Æneid*, vi. 511. *crinale Lacenæ*;" compare ii. 567).

had committed towards Menelaus, had sent him away from the country with severe menaces, detaining Helen until her lawful husband should come to seek her. When the Greeks reclaimed Helen from Troy, the Trojans assured them solemnly, that she neither was, nor ever had been, in the town; but the Greeks, treating this allegation as fraudulent, prosecuted the siege until their ultimate success confirmed the correctness of the statement, nor did Menelaus recover Helen until, on his return from Troy, he visited Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Such was the story told by the Egyptian priests to Herodotus, and it appeared satisfactory to his historicizing mind. "For if Helen had really been at Troy (he argues) she would certainly have been given up, even had she been mistress of Priam himself instead of Paris: the Trojan king, with all his family and all his subjects, would never knowingly have incurred utter and irretrievable destruction for the purpose of retaining her: their misfortune was, that while they did not possess, and therefore could not restore her, they yet found it impossible to convince the Greeks that such was the fact." Assuming the historical character of the war of Troy, the remark of Herodotus admits of no reply; nor can we greatly wonder that he acquiesced in the tale of Helen's Egyptian detention, as a substitute for the "incredible insanity" which the

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 120. *ὅς γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος, οὐδ' οἱ ἄλλοι προσήκοντες αὐτῷ*, etc. The passage is too long to cite, but is highly curious: not the least remarkable part is the religious coloring which he gives to the new version of the story which he is adopting,—"the Trojans, though they had not got Helen, yet could not persuade the Greeks that this was the fact; for it was the divine will that they should be destroyed root and branch, in order to make it plain to mankind that upon great crimes the gods inflict great punishments."

Dio Chrysostom (Or. xi. p. 333) reasons in the same way as Herodotus against the credibility of the received narrative. On the other hand, Isokratēs, in extolling Helen, dwells on the calamities of the Trojan war as a test of the peerless value of the prize (Encom. Hel. p. 360, Aug.): in the view of Pindar (Olymp. xiii. 56), as well as in that of Hesiod (Opp. Di. 165), Helen is the one prize contended for.

Euripidēs, in his tragedy of Helen, recognizes the detention of Helen in Egypt and the presence of her *εἰδωλον* at Troy, but he follows Stesichorus in denying her elopement altogether, — Hermēs had carried her to Egypt in a cloud (Helen. 35–45, 706): compare Von Hoff, *De Mytho Helenæ Euripideæ*, cap. 2. p. 35 (Leyden, 1843).



genuine legend imputes to Priam and the Trojans. Pausanias upon the same ground and by the same mode of reasoning pronounces that the Trojan horse must have been in point of a battering-engine, because to admit the literal narrative would be to impute utter childishness to the defenders of the city.

Mr. Payne Knight rejects Helen altogether as the real cause of the Trojan war, though she may have been the pretext of it; he thinks that neither the Greeks nor the Trojans could have been so mad and silly as to endure calamities of such magnitude "for one little woman."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Knight suggests various political causes as substitutes; these might deserve consideration either if any evidence could be produced to countenance them, or if the subject on which they are brought to bear could be shown to belong to the domain of history.

The return of the Grecian chiefs from Troy furnished material to the ancient epic hardly less copious than the siege itself; the more susceptible of indefinite diversity, inasmuch as the heroes who had before acted in concert were now dispersed and separated. Moreover the stormy voyages and compulsory wanderings of the heroes exactly fell in with the common aspirations of an heroic founder, and enabled even the most remote Hellenic settlers to connect the origin of their town with this prominent event of their ante-historical and semi-divine world. An absence of ten years afforded room for the supposition of various domestic changes in their native abode, and many family misadventures and misdeeds during the interval. One of these "Returns," that of Odysseus, has been immortalized by the poetry of Homer. The hero, after a series of long-protracted sufferings and expatriation, inflicted on him by the anger of Poseidon, last reaches his native island, but finds his wife beset, his faithful son insulted, and his substance plundered, by a troop of rascally suitors; he is forced to appear as a wretched beggar, to endure in his own person their scornful treatment; but is rescued by the interference of Athênê coming in aid of his own country.

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 23, 8; Payne Knight, *Prolegg. ad Homer.* c. 53. Ennius construed the wooden horse into a Grecian ship called *Ἰππος*; "The Ship" (Euphorion, *Fragm.* 34: ap. Düntzer, *Fragm. Epicæ Græc.* p. 55).

See Thucyd. i. 12; vi. 2.

and stratagem, he is enabled to overwhelm his enemies, to resume his family position, and to recover his property. The return of several other Grecian chiefs was the subject of an epic poem by Hagias, which is now lost, but of which a brief abstract or argument still remains: there were in antiquity various other poems of similar title and analogous matter.<sup>1</sup>

As usual with the ancient epic, the multiplied sufferings of this back-voyage are traced to divine wrath, justly provoked by the sins of the Greeks; who, in the fierce exultation of a victory purchased by so many hardships, had neither respected nor even<sup>2</sup> spared the altars of the gods in Troy; and Athênê, who had been their most zealous ally during the siege, was so incensed by their final recklessness, more especially by the outrage of Ajax, son of Oïleus, that she actively harassed and embittered their return, in spite of every effort to appease her. The chiefs began to quarrel among themselves; their formal assembly became a scene of drunkenness; even Agamemnôn and Menelaus lost their fraternal harmony, and each man acted on his own separate resolution.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, according to the *Odyssey*, Nestôr, Diomêdês, Neoptolemus, Idomeneus and Philoktêtês reached home speedily and safely: Agamemnôn also arrived in Peloponnêsus, to perish by the hand of a treacherous wife; but Menelaus was condemned to long wanderings and to the severest privations in Egypt, Cyprus and elsewhere, before he could set foot in his native land. The Lokrian Ajax perished on the Gyræan rock.<sup>4</sup> Though exposed to a terrible storm, he had already reached this place of safety, when he indulged in the rash boast of having escaped in defiance of the gods: no sooner did Poseidôn hear this language, than he struck with his trident the

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<sup>1</sup> Suidas, v. Νόστος. Wüllner, *De Cyclo Epico*, p. 93. Also a poem *Ἀρπειδῶν κἀθοδοῦς* (Athenæ. vii. p. 281).

<sup>2</sup> Upon this the turn of fortune in Grecian affairs depends (*Æschyl.* *Agamemn.* 338; *Odys.* iii. 130; *Eurip.* *Troad.* 69-95).

<sup>3</sup> *Odys.* iii. 130-161; *Æschyl.* *Agamemn.* 650-662.

<sup>4</sup> *Odys.* iii. 188-196; iv. 5-87. The Egyptian city of Kanopus, at the mouth of the Nile, was believed to have taken its name from the pilot of Menelaus, who had died and was buried there (Strabo, xvii. p. 801; Tacit. Ann. ii. 60). *Μεμελῆιος νόμος*, so called after Menelaus (*Dio Chrysost.* xi p. 361).

rock which Ajax was grasping and precipitated both into the Kalchas the soothsayer, together with Leonteus and Polyp proceeded by land from Troy to Kolophôn.<sup>2</sup>

In respect however to these and other Grecian heroes, were told different from those in the Odyssey, assigning to a long expatriation and a distant home. Nestôr went to where he founded Metapontum, Pisa and Hêrakleia.<sup>3</sup> Pî têtês<sup>4</sup> also went to Italy, founded Petilia and Krimisa, and settlers to Egesta in Sicily. Neoptolemus, under the advi Thetis, marched by land across Thrace, met with Odysseus had come by sea, at Maroneia, and then pursued his jourr Epirus, where he became king of the Molossians.<sup>5</sup> Idom came to Italy, and founded Uria in the Salentine peninsula. omêdês, after wandering far and wide, went along the I coast into the innermost Adriatic gulf, and finally settled in nia, founding the cities of Argyrippa, Beneventum, Atri Diomêdeia: by the favor of Athênê he became immortal was worshipped as a god in many different places.<sup>6</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Odys. iv. 500. The epic *Nóστοι* of Hagias placed this advent Ajax on the rocks of Kaphareus, a southern promontory of Eubœa (*ἡ Νόστοι*, p. 23, Düntzer). Deceptive lights were kindled on the dan rocks by Nauplius, the father of Palamêdês, in revenge for the death son (Sophoklês, *Ναύπλιος Πυρκαεὺς*, a lost tragedy; Hygin. f. 116; Agamemn. 567).

<sup>2</sup> Argument. *Nόστοι*, *ut sup.* There were monuments of Kalcha Sipontum in Italy also (Strabo, vi. p. 284), as well as at Selgê in (Strabo, xii. p. 570).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, v. p. 222; vi. p. 264. Vellei. Paterc. i. 1; Servius ad *Æn.* He had built a temple to Athênê in the island of Keôs (Strabo, x. p. 4

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, vi. pp. 254, 272; Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 401, and Servius ad *la cophrôn*, 912.

Both the tomb of Philoktêtês and the arrows of Hêraklês which used against Troy, were for a long time shown at Thurium (Justin, x

<sup>5</sup> Argument. *Nόστοι*, p. 23, Düntz.; Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 51. Accord Pindar, however, Neoptolemus comes from Troy by sea, misses the isl Skyrus, and sails round to the Epeirotic Ephyra (*Nem.* vii. 87).

<sup>6</sup> Pindar, *Nem.* x. 7, with the Scholia. Strabo, iii. p. 150; v. p. 21 vi, p. 284. Stephan. Byz. *Ἀργύριππα, Διομηδεῖα*. Aristotle recogniz as buried in the Diomedean islands in the Adriatic (Anthol. Gr. Br p. 178).

The identical tripod which had been gained by Diomêdês, as vi

krian followers of Ajax founded the Epizephyrian Lokri on the southernmost corner of Italy,<sup>1</sup> besides another settlement in Libya. I have spoken in another place of the compulsory exile of Teukros, who, besides founding the city of Salamis in Cyprus, is said to have established some settlements in the Iberian peninsula.<sup>2</sup> Menestheus the Athenian did the like, and also founded both Ekæa in Mysia and Skyllétium in Italy.<sup>3</sup> The Arcadian chief Agapenôr founded Paphos in Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> Epeius, of Panopeus in Phôkia, the constructor of the Trojan horse with the aid of the goddess Athênê, settled at Lagaria near Sybaris on the coast of Italy; and the very tools which he had employed in that remarkable fabric were shown down to a late date in the temple of Athênê at Metapontum.<sup>5</sup> Temples, altars and towns were also pointed out in Asia Minor, in Samos and in Krête, the foundation of Agamemnôn or of his followers.<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of the Grecian town of Skionê, in the Thracian peninsula called Pallênê or Pellênê, accounted themselves the offspring of the Pellênians from Achæa in Peloponnêsus, who had served under Agamemnôn before Troy, and who on their return from the siege had been driven on the spot by a storm and there settled.<sup>7</sup> The Pamphylians, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, deduced their

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the chariot-race at the funeral games of Patroclus, was shown at Delphi in the time of Phanias, attested by an inscription, as well as the dagger which had been worn by Helikaôn, son of Antenôr (Athenæ. vi. p. 282).

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Æneid*, iii. 399.; xi. 265; and Servius, *ibid.* Ajax, the son of Oïleus, was worshipped there as a hero (Conôn, Narr. 18).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 257; Isokratês, *Evagor*. Encom. p. 192; Justin, xlv. 3. Ajax, the son of Teukros, established a temple of Zeus, and an hereditary priesthood always held by his descendants (who mostly bore the name of Ajax or Teukros), at Olbê in Kilikia (Strabo, xiv. p. 672). Teukros carried with him his Trojan captives to Cyprus (Athenæ. vi. p. 256).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 140-150; vi. p. 261; xiii. p. 622. See the epitaphs on Teukros and Agapenôr by Aristotle (Antholog. Gr. ed. Brunck. i. p. 179-180).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xiv. p. 683; Pausan. viii. 5, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, vi. p. 263; Justin, xx. 2; Aristot. *Mirab. Ausc.* c. 108. Also the epigram of the Rhodian Simmias called *Πελεκύς* (Antholog. Gr. Brunck. i. p. 210):

<sup>6</sup> Vellei. Patercul. i. 1. Stephan. Byz. v. *Δάμπη*. Strabo, xiii. p. 605; xiv. p. 639. Theopompus (Fragm. 111, Didot) recounted that Agamemnôn and his followers had possessed themselves of the larger portion of Cyprus

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. iv. 120.

origin from the wanderings of Amphiloehus and Kalchas the siege of Troy: the inhabitants of the Amphiloehian on the Gulf of Ambrakia revered the same Amphiloehus a founder.<sup>1</sup> The Orchomenians under Ialmenus, on quitting conquered city, wandered or were driven to the eastern ext of the Euxine Sea; and the barbarous Achæans under Caucasus were supposed to have derived their first establish from this source.<sup>2</sup> Merionês with his Krêtan followers at Engyion in Sicily, along with the preceding Krêtans who remained there after the invasion of Minôs. The Elyminai Sicily also were composed of Trojans and Greeks separated to the spot, who, forgetting their previous differences, united in the joint settlements of Eryx and Egesta.<sup>3</sup> Wolf of Podaleirius both in Italy and on the coast of Karia;<sup>4</sup> of Mas, son of Thêseus, at Amphipolis in Thrace, at Soli in Cilicia and at Synnada in Phrygia;<sup>5</sup> of Guneus, Prothous and Egeus, in Krête as well as in Libya.<sup>6</sup> The obscure poem Lycophrôn enumerates many of these dispersed and exiled heroes, whose conquest of Troy was indeed a Kadmeian (according to the proverbial phrase of the Greeks), where the sufferings of the victor were little inferior to those of the conquered.<sup>7</sup> It was particularly among the Italian Greeks, they were worshipped with very special solemnity, their presence as wanderers from Troy was reported and believed.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 91; Thucyd. ii. 68. According to the old elegy Kallinos, Kalchas himself had died at Klarus near Kolophôn after his return from Troy, but Mopsus, his rival in the prophetic function, had conducted his followers into Pamphylia and Kilikia (Strabo, xii. p. 570; xiv. p. 66). The oracle of Amphiloehus at Mallus in Kilikia bore the highest character for exactness and truth-telling in the time of Pausanias, *μυρείων ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἐποῶν* (Paus. i. 34, 2). Another story recognized Leonteus and Peatês as the founders of Aspendus in Kilikia (Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. 200).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Diodôr. iv. 79; Thucyd.

<sup>4</sup> Stephan, Byz. v. Σύπυα; Lycophrôn, 1047.

<sup>5</sup> Æschines, De Falsâ Legat. c. 14; Strabo, xiv. p. 683; Stephan, v. Σύνναδα.

<sup>6</sup> Lycophrôn, 877-902, with Scholia; Apollodôr. Fragm. p. 386. There is also a long enumeration of these returning wanderers and of new settlements in Solinus (Polyhist. c. 2).

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Aristot. Mirabil. Auscult. 79, 106, 107, 109, 111.

I pass over the numerous other tales which circulated among the ancients, illustrating the ubiquity of the Grecian and Trojan heroes as well as that of the Argonauts, — one of the most striking features in the Hellenic legendary world.<sup>1</sup> Amongst them all, the most interesting, individually, is Odysseus, whose romantic adventures in fabulous places and among fabulous persons have been made familiarly known by Homer. The goddesses Kalypso and Cirê; the semi-divine mariners of Phæacia, whose ships are endowed with consciousness and obey without a steersman; the one-eyed Cyclopes, the gigantic Læstrygones, and the wind-ruler Æolus; the Sirens who ensnare by their song, as the Lotophagi fascinate by their food — all these pictures formed integral and interesting portions of the old epic. Homer leaves Odysseus reëstablished in his house and family; but so marked a personage could never be permitted to remain in the tameness of domestic life: the epic poem called the Telegonia ascribed to him a subsequent series of adventures. After the suitors had been buried by their relatives, he offered sacrifice to the Nymphs, and then went to Elis to inspect his herds of cattle there pasturing: the Eleian Polyxenus welcomed him hospitably, and made him a present of a bowl: Odysseus then returned to Ithaka, and fulfilled the rites and sacrifices prescribed to him by Teiresias in his visit to the under-world. This obligation discharged, he went to the country of the Thesprotians, and there married the queen Kallidikê: he headed the Thesprotians in a war against the Bryglians, the latter being conducted by Arês himself, who fiercely assailed Odysseus; but the goddess Athênê stood by him, and he was enabled to make head against Arês until Apollo came

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. p. 48. After dwelling emphatically on the long voyages of Dionysus, Héraklês, Jasôn, Odysseus, and Menelaus, he says, *Αἰεὶαν δὲ καὶ Ἀντήνορα καὶ Ἑνετοῦς, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου πλανηθέντας εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἄξιον μὴ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνθρώπων νομίσαι; Συνέβη γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τότε Ἕλλησιν, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς βαβάρους, διὰ τὸν τῆς στρατείας χρόνον, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ τε ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ κομισθέντα ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰλίου καταστροφὴν τοὺς τε νικήσαντας ἐπὶ λήσσειαν τραπέσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας, καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡττηθέντας καὶ περιγενομένους ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ ν κτισθῆναι λέγονται κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραλίαν, ἔστι δ' ὅκον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαίαν.*

and parted them. Odysseus then returned to Ithaka, to the Thesprotian kingdom to Polypœtês, his son by Kal Telegonus, his son by Circê, coming to Ithaka in search of his father, ravaged the island and killed Odysseus without knowing who he was. Bitter repentance overtook the son for his father's death: at his prayer and by the intervention of his mother Circê, both Penelopê and Têlemachus were made mortal: Telegonus married Penelopê, and Têlemachus married Circê.<sup>1</sup>

We see by this poem that Odysseus was represented as a mythical ancestor of the Thesprotian kings, just as Neoptolemus was of the Molossian.

It has already been mentioned that Antenor and Æneas were distinguished from the other Trojans by a dissatisfaction with Priam and a sympathy with the Greeks, which is by Sophocles and others construed as treacherous collusion,<sup>2</sup> — a suspicion directly glanced, though emphatically repelled, by the Æneid of Virgil.<sup>3</sup> In the old epic of Arktinus, next in age to the Iliad and Odyssey, Æneas abandons Troy and retires to Mount Ida in terror at the miraculous death of Laocoön, before the entrance of the Greeks into the town and the last night-battle: yet Laocoön is in another of the ancient epic poems, represented him as having been carried away captive by Neoptolemus.<sup>4</sup> In a reman-

<sup>1</sup> The *Telegonia*, composed by Eugammôn of Kyrênê, is lost, but the Argument of it has been preserved by Proclus (p. 25, Düntzer; Diels, p. 15).

Pausanias quotes a statement from the poem called *Thesprotis*, representing a son of Odysseus and Penelopê, called Ptoliporthus, born after his return from Troy (viii. 12, 3). Nitzsch (Hist. Homer. p. 97) as well as others seem to imagine that this is the same poem as the *Telegonia*, under the title.

Aristotle notices an oracle of Odysseus among the Eurytanes, a tribe of the Ætolian nation: there were also places in Epirus which bore the name of Odysseus as their founder (Schol. ad Lycophrôn. 800; Stephan. *Boûvetta*; Etymolog. Mag. *Ἀρκείαιος*; Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* c. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. Hal. i. 46-48; Sophokl. ap. Strab. xiii. p. 608; Livy, i. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Æn. ii. 433.

<sup>4</sup> Argument of *Ἰλίου Πέποις*; Fragm. 7. of Leschês, in Düntzer's edition, p. 19-21.

Hellanicus seems to have adopted this retirement of Æneas to the

passage of the *Iliad*, Poseidôn describes the family of Priam as having incurred the hatred of Zeus, and predicts that Æneas and his descendants shall reign over the Trojans: the race of Dardanus, beloved by Zeus more than all his other sons, would thus be preserved, since Æneas belonged to it. Accordingly, when Æneas is in imminent peril from the hands of Achilles, Poseidôn specially interferes to rescue him, and even the implacable miso-Trojan goddess Hêrê assents to the proceeding.<sup>1</sup> These passages have been construed by various able critics to refer to a family of philo-Hellenic or semi-Hellenic Æneadaë, known even in the time of the early singers of the *Iliad* as masters of some territory in or near the Troad, and professing to be descended from, as well as worshipping, Æneas. In the town of Skêpsis, situated in the mountainous range of Ida, about thirty miles eastward of Ilium, there existed two noble and priestly families who professed to be descended, the one from Hectôr, the other from Æneas. The Skêpsian critic Dêmêtrius (in whose time both these families were still to be found) informs us that Skamandrius son of Hectôr, and Ascanius son of Æneas, were the archegets or heroic founders of his native city, which had been originally situated on one of the highest ranges of Ida, and was subse-

est parts of Mount Ida, but to have reconciled it with the stories of the migration of Æneas, by saying that he only remained in Ida a little time, and then quitted the country altogether by virtue of a convention concluded with the Greeks (Dionys. Hal. i. 47-48). Among the infinite variety of stories respecting this hero, one was, that after having effected his settlement in Italy, he had returned to Troy and resumed the sceptre, bequeathing it at his death to Ascanius (Dionys. Hal. i. 53): this was a comprehensive scheme for apparently reconciling *all* the legends.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xx. 300. Poseidôn speaks, respecting Æneas —

Ἄλλ' ἄγεθ', ἡμεῖς πέρ μιν ἐπ' ἐκ θανάτου ἀγάγωμεν,  
 Μῆπω· καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται, αἶκεν Ἀχιλλεύς  
 Τόνδε κατακτείνει· νόριμον δέ οἱ ἐστ' ἄλσασθαι,  
 Ὅφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἔφαντος ὄληται  
 Δαρδάνου, δν Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παῖδων,  
 Οἱ ἔθεν ἐξεγένοντο, γυναικῶν τε θνητῶν.  
 Ἦδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων  
 Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσιν ἀνάξει,  
 Καὶ παῖδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Again, v. 339, Poseidôn tells Æneas that he has nothing to dread from any other Greek than Achilles.



quently transferred by them to the less lofty spot on which he stood in his time.<sup>1</sup> In Arisbê and Gentinus there seem to have been families professing the same descent, since the same gets were acknowledged.<sup>2</sup> In Ophrynum, Hectôr had his consecrated edifice, and in Ilium both he and Æneas were worshipped as gods.<sup>3</sup> and it was the remarkable statement of the Iliad Menekratês, that Æneas, "having been wronged by Paris stripped of the sacred privileges which belonged to him, and of himself by betraying the city, and then became one of the Greeks."

One tale thus among many respecting Æneas, and that the most ancient of all, preserved among the natives of the country who worshipped him as their heroic ancestor, was, that after the capture of Troy he continued in the country as king of the remaining Trojans, on friendly terms with the Greeks. But there were other tales respecting him, alike numerous and irre-

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<sup>1</sup> See O. Müller, on the causes of the myths of Æneas and his voyage to Italy, in *Classical Journal*, vol. xxvi. p. 308; Klausen, *Æneas und die Trojaner*, vol. i. p. 43-52.

Dēmētrius Skēps. ab. Strab. xiii. p. 607; Nicolaus ap. Steph. *Ἀσκανία*. Dēmētrius conjectured that Skēpsis had been the regal residence of Æneas: there was a village called Æneia near to it (Strabo, xiii. p. 607).

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. v. *Ἀρίσβη, Γεντίνος*. Ascanius is king of Idæa at the departure of the Greeks (Conôn, Narr. 41; Mela, i. 18). *Ascanius* between Phokæ and Kymê.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 595; Lycophrôn, 1208, and Sch.; Athenagoras, 1. Inscription in Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 86, *Οἱ Ἰλίου τὸν πατέρα Αἰνεΐαν*. Lucian, *Deor. Concil.* c. 12. i. 111. p. 534, Hemst.

<sup>4</sup> Menekrat. ap. Dionys. Hal. i. 48. *Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ εἶχε* (after that and ἐδόκεον τῆς στρατιῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπηράχθαι. *Ὅμως δὲ τάφον ἐποίησαντες, ἐπολέμεον γῇ πάσῃ, ἄχρις Ἴλιος ἐάλω, Αἰνεΐῳ ἐνδόντος. γὰρ ἄτιτος ἐὼν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ὑπὸ γερέων ἱερῶν ἐχειρζόμενος, Πρίαμον, ἐργασάμενος δὲ τὰυτα, εἰς Ἀχαιῶν ἐγεγόνει.*

Abas, in his *Troica*, gave a narrative different from any other preserved. "Quidam ab Abante, qui Troica scripsit, relatum ferunt, post discipulum Trojæ Græcorum Astyanacti ibi datum regnum, hunc ab Antenore sum sociatis sibi finitimis civitatibus, inter quas et Arisba fuit: Æneas ægre tulisse, et pro Astyanacte arma cepisse ac prospere gestâ re Arisba restituisse regnum" (Servius ad Virg. *Æneid.* ix. 264). According to this, Antenôr remains king and Æneas goes away (Dikt. v. 17): he brings the Palladium to the Greeks (Dikt. v. 8). Syncellus, on the contrary, tells us that the sons of Hectôr recovered Ilium by the suggestion of Helenus, expelling the Antenorids (Syncell. p. 322, ed. Bonn).

able: the hand of destiny marked him as a wanderer (*fato pro-fugus*), and his ubiquity is not exceeded even by that of Odysseus. We hear of him at Ænus in Thrace, in Pallênê, at Æneia in the Thermaic Gulf, in Delus, at Orchomenus and Mantinea in Arcadia, in the islands of Kythêra and Zakynthus, in Leukas and Ambrakia, at Buthrotum in Epirus, on the Salentine peninsula and various other places in the southern region of Italy; at Drepana and Segesta in Sicily, at Carthage, at Cape Palinurus, Cumæ, Misenum, Caieta, and finally in Latium, where he lays the first humble foundation of the mighty Rome and her empire.<sup>1</sup> And the reason why his wanderings were not continued still further was, that the oracles and the pronounced will of the gods directed him to settle in Latium.<sup>2</sup> In each of these numerous places his visit was commemorated and certified by local monuments or special legends, particularly by temples and permanent ceremonies in honor of his mother Aphroditê, whose worship accompanied him everywhere: there were also many temples and many different tombs of Æneas himself.<sup>3</sup> The vast ascendancy acquired by Rome, the ardor with which all the literary Romans espoused the idea of a Trojan origin, and the fact that the Julian family recognized Æneas as their gentile primary ancestor, — all contributed to give to the Roman version of his legend the preponderance over every other. The various other places in which monuments of Æneas were found came thus to be represented as places where he had halted for a time

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Halic. A. R. i. 48-54; Heyne, Excurs. 1 ad Æneid. iii.; De Æneæ Erroribus, and Excurs. 1 ad Æn. v.; Conôn. Narr. 46; Livy, xl. 4; Stephan. Byz. *Alveia*. The inhabitants of Æneia in the Thermaic Gulf worshipped him with great solemnity as their heroic founder (Pausan. iii, 22, 4; viii. 12, 4). The tomb of Anchisêus was shown on the confines of the Arcadian Orchomenus and Mantinea (compare Steph. Byz. v. *Κάφναι*), under the mountain called Anchisia, near a temple of Aphroditê: on the discrepancies respecting the death of Anchisêus (Heyne, Excurs. 17 ad Æn. iii.): Segesta in Sicily founded by Æneas (Cicero, Verr. iv. 38).

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦ δὲ μηκέτι προσωτέρω τῆς Εὐρώπης πλεῦσαι τὸν Τρωϊκὸν στόλον, οἱ τε χροισμοὶ ἐγένοντο αἰτιοί, etc. (Dionys. Hal. i. 55).

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. Hal. i. 54. Among other places, his tomb was shown at Bercynthia, in Phrygia (Festus, v. *Romam*, p. 224, ed. Müller): a curious article, which contains an assemblage of the most contradictory statements respecting both Æneas and Latinus.

on his way from Troy to Latium. But though the pretensions of these places were thus eclipsed in the eyes of those who constituted the literary public, the local belief was not extinguished: they claimed the hero as their permanent property, and his tomb was to them a proof that he had lived among them.

Antenor, who shares with Æneas the favorable sympathy of the Greeks, is said by Pindar to have gone from Troy along with Menelaus and Helen into the region of Kyrênê in Libya; according to the more current narrative, he placed his hands on the head of a body of Eneti or Veneti from Paphlagonia who had come as allies of Troy, and went by sea into the interior of the Adriatic Gulf, where he conquered the neighboring barbarians and founded the town of Patavium (the modern Padua); the Veneti in this region were said to owe their origin to his migration.<sup>2</sup> We learn further from Strabo, that Opsikos, one of the companions of Antenor, had continued his wanderings even into Ibêria, and that he had there established a colony bearing his name.<sup>3</sup>

Thus endeth the Trojan war; together with its sequel, the dispersion of the heroes, victors as well as vanquished. The account here given of it has been unavoidably brief and incomplete. For in a work intended to follow consecutively the real history of the Greeks, no greater space can be allotted even to the most splendid gem of their legendary period. Indeed, although it might be easy to fill a large volume with the separate incidents of the Trojan war, have been introduced into the "Trojan cycle," the mistake is that they are for the most part so contradictory as to exclude the possibility of weaving them into one connected narrative. We are compelled to select one out of the number, generally on the basis of any solid ground of preference, and then to note the variations of the rest. No one who has not studied the original and

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<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.* v., and the citation from the *Néoroi* of Lysimaachus in the Scholia; given still more fully in the Scholia ad *Lycophrôn*. 8 where it is said that he was a *λόφος Ἀντηνορίδων* at Kyrênê.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* vii. 1. Servius ad *Æneid.* i. 242. Strabo, i. 48; v. 1. *Fasti*, iv. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 157.

can imagine the extent to which this discrepancy proceeds; it covers almost every portion and fragment of the tale.<sup>1</sup>

But though much may have been thus omitted of what the reader might expect to find in an account of the Trojan war, its genuine character has been studiously preserved, without either exaggeration or abatement. The real Trojan war is that which was recounted by Homer and the old epic poets, and continued by all the lyric and tragic composers. For the latter, though they took great liberties with the particular incidents, and introduced to some extent a new moral tone, yet worked more or less faithfully on the Homeric scale: and even Euripides, who departed the most widely from the feeling of the old legend, never lowered down his matter to the analogy of contemporary life. They preserved its well-defined object, at once righteous and romantic, the recovery of the daughter of Zeus and sister of the Dioskuri — its mixed agencies, divine, heroic and human — the colossal force and deeds of its chief actors — its vast magnitude and long duration, as well as the toils which the conquerors underwent, and the Nemesis which followed upon their success. And these were the circumstances which, set forth in the full blaze of epic and tragic poetry, bestowed upon the legend its powerful and imperishable influence over the Hellenic mind. The enterprise was one comprehending all the members of the Hellenic body, of which each individually might be proud, and in which, nevertheless, those feelings of jealous and narrow patriotism, so lamentably prevalent in many of the towns, were as much as possible excluded. It supplied them with a grand and inexhaustible object of common sympathy, common faith, and common admiration; and when occasions arose for bringing together a Pan-Hellenic force against the barbarians, the precedent of the Homeric expedition was one upon which the elevated minds of Greece could dwell with the certainty of rousing an unanimous impulse, if not always of counterworking sinister by-

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<sup>1</sup> These diversities are well set forth in the useful Dissertation of Fuchs *De Varietate Fabularum Troicarum* (Cologne, 1830).

Of the number of romantic statements put forth respecting Helen and Achilles especially, some idea may be formed from the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of Ptolemy Héphæstion (*apud Westermann. Scriptt. Mythograph. p. 188, etc.*).

motives, among their audience. And the incidents comprising the Trojan cycle were familiarized, not only to the public but also to the public eye, by innumerable representations by the sculptor and the painter,—those which were romantic and chivalrous being better adapted for this purpose, and thus more constantly employed, than any other.

Of such events the genuine Trojan war of the old epic for the most part composed. Though literally believed, and religiously cherished, and numbered among the gigantic phenomena of the past, by the Grecian public, it is in the eyes of modern inquiry essentially a legend and nothing more. If we are asked whether it be not a legend embodying portions of historical truth, and raised upon a basis of truth,—whether there really have occurred at the foot of the hill of Ilium a war between human and political, without gods, without heroes, without Amazons, without Ethiopians under the beautiful Eôs, without the wooden horse, without the characteristic impressive features of the old epical war,—like the mutilation of Deïphobus in the under-world; if we are asked whether it was not really some such historical Trojan war as this, the answer must be, that as the possibility of it cannot be determined, neither can the reality of it be affirmed. We possess not the ancient epic itself without any independent evidence: had there been an age of records indeed, the Homeric epic in its early and unsuspecting simplicity would probably never have come into existence. Whoever therefore ventures to dissect Arktinus and Leschêa, and to pick out certain portions as fact, while he sets aside the rest as fiction, must do so with reliance on his own powers of historical divination, with no means either of proving or verifying his conclusions. There have been many attempts, ancient as well as modern, to identify reality in this historical darkness, that of Dio Chrysostom deserving mention for its extraordinary boldness. In his oration addressed to the inhabitants of Ilium, and intended to demonstrate that the Trojans were not only blameless as to the origin of the war, but victorious in its issue—he overthrows all the leading points of the Homeric narrative, and re-writes nearly the whole beginning to end: Paris is the lawful husband of Helen, Achilles slain by Hectôr, and the Greeks retire without taking Troy.

graced as well as baffled. Having shown without difficulty that the *Iliad*, if it be looked at as a history, is full of gaps, incongruities and absurdities, he proceeds to compose a more plausible narrative of his own, which he tenders as so much authentic matter of fact. The most important point, however, which his Oration brings to view is, the literal and confiding belief with which the Homeric narrative was regarded, as if it were actual history, not only by the inhabitants of Ilium, but also by the general Grecian public.<sup>1</sup>

The small town of Ilium, inhabited by Æolic Greeks,<sup>2</sup> and raised into importance only by the legendary reverence attached to it, stood upon an elevated ridge forming a spur from Mount Ida, rather more than three miles from the town and promontory of Sigeium, and about twelve stadia, or less than two miles, from the sea at its nearest point. From Sigeium and the neighboring town of Achilleium (with its monument and temple of Achilles), to the town of Rhœteium on a hill higher up the Hellespont (with its monument and chapel of Ajax called the *Aianteium*<sup>3</sup>), was a distance of sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half in the straight course by sea: in the intermediate space was a bay and an adjoining plain, comprehending the embouchure of the Scamander, and extending to the base of the ridge on which Ilium stood. This plain was the celebrated plain of Troy, in which the great Homeric battles were believed to have taken place: the portion of the bay near to Sigeium went by the name of the Naustathmon of the Achæans (i. e. the spot where they dragged their ships ashore), and was accounted to have been the camp of Agamemnôn and his vast army.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dio Chrysost. Or. xi. p. 310-322.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. v. 122. Pausan. v. 8, 3: viii. 12, 4. *Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρώαδος*, the title proclaimed at the Olympic games; like *Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μυρίνας*, from Myrina in the more southerly region of Æolis, as we find in the list of visitors at the Charîtésia, at Orchomenos in Bœotia (Corp. Inscript. Boeckh. No. 1583).

<sup>3</sup> See Pausanias, i. 35, 3, for the legends current at Ilium respecting the vast size of the bones of Ajax in his tomb. The inhabitants affirmed that after the shipwreck of Odysseus, the arms of Achilles, which he was carrying away with him, were washed up by the sea against the tomb of Ajax. Pliny gives the distance at thirty stadia: modern travellers make it something more than Pliny, but considerably less than Strabo.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 596-598. Strabo distinguishes the *Ἀχαιῶν Ναύσταθμον*,

Historical Ilium was founded, according to the statement of Strabo, during the last dynasty of the kings,<sup>1</sup> that is, at some period later than 720 B. C. On the days of Alexander the Great — indeed until the preponderance of the Roman — it always remained a place of considerable power and importance, as we learn not only from the assertion of the geographer, but also from the fact that Acl Sigeium and Rhoteium were all independent of it.<sup>2</sup> But considerable as it might be, it was the only place which bore the venerable name immortalized by Homer. Like the Ilium, it had its temple of Athênê,<sup>3</sup> wherein she was worshipped as the presiding goddess of the town: the inhabitants of the town that Agamemnôn had not altogether destroyed the town, it had been reoccupied after his departure, and had never ceased to exist.<sup>4</sup> Their acropolis was called Pergamum, and was shown the house of Priam and the altar of Zeus Herkei that unhappy old man had been slain: moreover the town exhibited, in the temples, panoplies which had been worn by the Homeric heroes,<sup>5</sup> and doubtless many other relics appreciated by the admirers of the *Iliad*.

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which was near to Sigqium, from the *Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν*, which was near the middle of the bay between Sigeium and Rhoteium; but we get from this language that this distinction was not universally recognized. Alexander landed at the *Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν* (Arrian, i. 11).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 593.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. v. 95 (his account of the war between the Athenians and the Ionians about Sigeium and Achilleium); Strabo, xiii. p. 593.

*Ἰλίου πόλιν τὴν νῦν τέως μὲν κομόπολιν εἶναι φασί, τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ Ἀθηναῖς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές. Ἀλεξάνδρον δὲ ἀναβάς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνην, ἀναθήμασι τε κοσμήσαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ προσαγορεύσας πόλιν, εὐχόμενος.*

Again, *Καὶ τὸ Ἰλίον, ὃ νῦν ἐστὶ κομόπολις τις ἦν ὅτε πρῶτον Ἰλίου πόλιν ἐπέβησαν.*

<sup>3</sup> Besides Athênê, the Inscriptions authenticate Ζεὺς Πολιεὺς (Corp. Insc. Bœckh. No. 3599).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 600. *Ἀέγουσι δ' οἱ νῦν Ἰλίοις καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἔστι συνέβαινε ἡφανίσθαι τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἑλῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λείψθαι οὐδέποτε.*

The situation of Ilium (or as it is commonly, but erroneously, called *New Ilium*) appears to be pretty well ascertained, about two miles from the sea (Rennell, On the Topography of Troy, p. 41-71; Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 102).

<sup>5</sup> Xerxes passing by Adramyttium, and leaving the range of M

These were testimonies which few persons in those ages were inclined to question, when combined with the identity of name and general locality; nor does it seem that any one did question them until the time of Dêmêtrius of Skêpsis. Hellanikus expressly described this Ilium as being the Ilium of Homer, for which assertion Strabo (or probably Dêmêtrius, from whom the narrative seems to be copied) imputes to him very gratuitously an undue partiality towards the inhabitants of the town.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus relates, that Xerxês in his march into Greece visited the place, went up to the Pergamum of Priam, inquired with much interest into the details of the Homeric siege, made libations to the fallen heroes, and offered to the Athênê of Ilium his magnificent sacrifice of a thousand oxen: he probably represented and believed himself to be attacking Greece as the avenger of the Priamid family. The Lacedæmonian admiral Mindarus, while his fleet lay at Abydos, went personally to Ilium to offer sacrifice to Athênê, and saw from that elevated spot the battle fought between the squadron of Dorieus and the Athenians, on the shore near Rhœteium.<sup>2</sup> During the interval between the

his left hand, *ἤτε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν . . . . .* Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον . . . . . ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἡμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι. Θεησάμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος κρίνων ἑκάστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας· χοῶς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσιν ἡρώσιν ἐχέαντο . . . . . Ἀμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο, ἐν ἀριστέρῃ μὲν ἀπέρχων Ροιτείου πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρυνεῖον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἡπὲρ δὴ Ἀβύδω δημοὺς ἐστίν· ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ, Γέργιθας Τευκρούς (Herod. vii. 43).

Respecting Alexander (Arrian, i. 11), Ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὀπλῶν ἐτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σωζόμενα· καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ οὐκ ἀσπίστα ἐφέρον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. Θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκε.

The inhabitants of Ilium also showed the lyre which had belonged to Paris (Plutarch, Alexand. c. 15).

Chandler, in his History of Ilium, chap. xxii. p. 89, seems to think that the place called by Herodotus the Pergamum of Priam is different from the historical Ilium. But the mention of the Illean Athênê identifies them as the same.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 602. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ χαρίζομενος τοῖς Ἰλιεῦσιν, οὗτος ὁ ἐκείνων μῦθος, συνηγορεῖ τῇ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν τῇ τότε. Hellanikus had written a work called Τρωιά.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. i. 1, 10. Skylax places Ilium twenty-five stadia, or



Peloponnesian war and the Macedonian invasion of Persia was always garrisoned as a strong position; but its dome still narrow, and did not extend even to the sea which near to it.<sup>1</sup> Alexander, on crossing the Hellespont, sent an army from Sestus to Abydos, under Parmenio, and sailed ally from Elæus in the Chersonese, after having solemnly sacrificed at the Elæuntian shrine of Prôtesilaus, to the ha the Achæans between Sigeium and Rhœteium. He then came to Ilium, sacrificed to the Iliean Athênê, and consecrated the temple his own panoply, in exchange for which he took the sacred arms there suspended, which were said to have been preserved from the time of the Trojan war. These arms he carried before him when he went to battle by his armor. It is a fact still more curious, and illustrative of the strong influence of the old legend on an impressible and eminently religious mind, that he also sacrificed to Priam himself, on the vessel of Zeus Herkeius from which the old king was believed to have been torn by Neoptolemus. As that fierce warrior was his ancestor by the maternal side, he desired to avert from himself the anger of Priam against the Achilleid race.<sup>2</sup>

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about three miles, from the sea (c. 94). But I do not understand how we can call Skêpsis and Kebrên πόλεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσει.

<sup>1</sup> See Xenoph. Hellen. iii. i. 16; and the description of the city of Ilium, along with Skêpsis and Kebrên, by the chief of mercenaries, in Demosthen. cont. Aristocrat. c. 38. p. 671: compare Póliorectic. c. 24, and Polyan. iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, 1. c. Dikæarchus composed a separate work respecting the sacrifice of Alexander, *περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας* (Athenæ. xii. Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 114, ed. Fuhr).

Theophrastus, in noticing old and venerable trees, mentions (*Quercus æsculus*) on the tomb of Ilus at Ilium, without any doubt as to the authenticity of the place (De Plant. iv. 14); and his contemporary Stratonikos, intimates the same feeling, in his jest on the bad sophist to Ilium during the festival of the Ilieia (Athenæ. vi. 1). The same may be said respecting the author of the tenth epistle of the orator Æschines (p. 737), in which his visit of curiosity to Ilium is described — as well as about Apollônios of Tyana, or the wise man, who describes his life and his visit to the Trôad; it is evident that he did not distrust the *ἀρχαιολογία* of the Ilieans, who affirmed their town to be the Troy (Philostrat. Vit. Apollôn. Tyana. iv. 11).

The goddess Athênê of Ilium was reported to have rendered

Alexander made to the inhabitants of Ilium many munificent promises, which he probably would have executed, had he not been prevented by untimely death: for the Trojan war was amongst all the Grecian legends the most thoroughly Pan-Hellenic, and the young king of Macedôn, besides his own sincere legendary faith, was anxious to merge the local patriotism of the separate Greek towns in one general Hellenic sentiment under himself as chief. One of his successors, Antigonus,<sup>1</sup> founded the city of Alexandreia in the Trôad, between Sigeium and the more southerly promontory of Lektum; compressing into it the inhabitants of many of the neighboring Æolic towns in the region of Ida, — Skêpsis, Kebrên, Hamaxitus, Kolônæ, and Neandria, though the inhabitants of Skêpsis were subsequently permitted by Lysimachus to resume their own city and autonomous government. Ilium however remained without any special mark of favor until the arrival of the Romans in Asia and their triumph over Antiochus (about 190 B. C.). Though it retained its walls and its defensible position, Dêmêtrius of Skêpsis, who visited it shortly before that event, described it as being then in a state of neglect and poverty, many of the houses not even having tiled roofs.<sup>2</sup> In this dilapidated condition, however, it was still mythi-

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assistance to the inhabitants of Kyzikus, when they were besieged by Mithridatês, commemorated by inscriptions set up in Ilium (Plutarch, Lucull. 10).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 603-607.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxv. 43; xxxvii. 9. Polyb. v. 78-111 (passages which prove that Ilium was fortified and defensible about B. C. 218). Strabo, xiii. p. 594. Καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον δ', ὃ νῦν ἐστὶ, κωμόπολις τις ἦν, ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν καὶ ἐξέβαλον Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. Φησὶ γοῦν Δημήτριος ὁ Σκῆψιος, μενέων ἐπιδήμῃσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς, οὕτως ὠλεγομένην ἰδεῖν τὴν κατοικίαν, ὥστε μηδὲ κεραμωτὰς ἔχειν τὰς στέγας. Ἠγησιάνης δὲ, τοὺς Γαλάτας περαιωθέντας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀναβῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεομένους ἐρύματος, παραχρῆμα δ' ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀτείχιστον· ὁστερον δ' ἐπανόρθωσιν ἔσχε πολλήν. Ἐπ' ἐκάκωσαν αὐτὴν πάλιν οἱ μετὰ Φιμβρίου, etc.

This is a very clear and precise statement, attested by an eye-witness. But it is thoroughly inconsistent with the statement made by Strabo in the previous chapter, a dozen lines before, as the text now stands; for he there informs us that Lysimachus, after the death of Alexander, paid great attention to Ilium, surrounded it with a wall of forty stadia in circumference, erected a temple, and aggregated to Ilium the ancient cities around, which

cally recognized both by Antiochus and by the Roman Livius, who went up thither to sacrifice to the Illean The Romans, proud of their origin from Troy and Ænead Ilium with signal munificence; not only granting to it nity from tribute, but also adding to its domain the neig territories of Gergis, Rhœteium and Sigeium — and making Illeans masters of the whole coast from the Peræa (o

were in a state of decay. We know from Livy that the aggregation of Gergis and Rhœteium to Ilium was effected, not by Lysimachus, but by the Romans (Livy, xxxviii. 37); so that the first statement of Strabo is only inconsistent with his second, but is contradicted by an independent authority.

I cannot but think that this contradiction arises from a confusion in the text in Strabo's first passage, and that in that passage Strabo really speaks only of the improvements brought about by Lysimachus in the *dreia Trôas*; that he never meant to ascribe to Lysimachus any improvements in *Ilium*, but, on the contrary, to assign the remarkable alterations by Lysimachus to *Alexandreia Trôas*, as the reason why he had not fulfilled the promises held out by Alexander to *Ilium*. The series of alterations is thus: — 1. Ilium is nothing better than a *κώμη* at the landing of Alexander; 2. Alexander promises great additions, but never returns from Persea to accomplish them; 3. Lysimachus is absorbed in *Alexandreia Trôas*, and he aggregates several of the adjoining old towns, and which flourish in his hands; 4. Hence Ilium remained a *κώμη* when the Romans entered it, as it had been when Alexander entered.

This alteration in the text of Strabo might be effected by the simple transposition of the words as they now stand, and by omitting *ὅτε καὶ ἐπεμελήθη*, without introducing a single new or conjectural word; the passage would read thus: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου (Alexander's) τελευτῆς μαχὸς μάλιστα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπεμελήθη, συνωμισμένης μὲν ἦδη γόνου, καὶ προσηγορευομένης Ἀντιγόνιας, μεταβαλοῦσης δὲ τοῦ νομαρίου εἰσεβὲς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρον διαδεξαμένους ἐκείνου πρότερον κτίμους πόλεις, εἰθ' ἑαυτῶν) καὶ νέων κατεσκεύασε καὶ τεῖχος περιέβη 40 σταδίων· συνώκισε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις ἀρχαίας, ἡδὴ νῦν. Καὶ ὅθι καὶ συνέμεινε . . . . πόλεων. If this reading be adopted, the words beginning that which stands in Tzschucke's edition as second passage, which immediately follow the last word *πόλεων*, will read quite as coherently, — Καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον δ', ὃ νῦν ἐστὶ, κωμόπολις τις ἦν, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλίου τοὺς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν, etc., whereas with the present reading the passage they show a contradiction, and the whole passage is entirely

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 39; Strabo, xiii. p. 600. Κατέσκαπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰλίων διὰ τὴν ἀπειθείαν· ὅτι ἐκείνοισι γὰρ ἦν ὑστερον πᾶσα ἡ μέχρι Δαρδάνου, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ἐκείνοισι ἐστὶ.

mental possessions) of Tenedos (southward of Sigæum) to the boundaries of Dardanus, which had its own title to legendary reverence as the special sovereignty of Æneas. The inhabitants of Sigæum could not peaceably acquiesce in this loss of their autonomy, and their city was destroyed by the Ilæans.

The dignity and power of Ilium being thus prodigiously enhanced, we cannot doubt that the inhabitants assumed to themselves exaggerated importance as the recognized parents of all-conquering Rome. Partly, we may naturally suppose, from the jealousies thus aroused on the part of their neighbors at Skêpsis and Alexandreia Trôas — partly from the pronounced tendency of the age (in which Kratês at Pergamus and Aristarchus at Alexandria divided between them the palm of literary celebrity) towards criticism and illustration of the old poets — a blow was now aimed at the mythical legitimacy of Ilium. Dêmêtrius of Skêpsis, one of the most laborious of the Homeric critics, had composed thirty books of comment upon the Catalogue in the Iliad: Hestîæa, an authoress of Alexandreia Trôas, had written on the same subject: both of them, well-acquainted with the locality, remarked that the vast battles described in the Iliad could not be packed into the narrow space between Ilium and the Naustathmon of the Greeks; the more so, as that space, too small even as it then stood, had been considerably enlarged since the date of the Iliad by deposits at the mouth of the Skamander.<sup>1</sup> They found no difficulty in pointing out topographical incongruities and impossibilities as to the incidents in the Iliad, which they professed to remove by the startling theory that the Homeric Ilium had not occupied the site of the city so called. There was a village, called the village of the Ilæans, situated

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. 599. Παράτιθαι δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίνην Ἑστίαν μάρτυρα, τὴν συγγράψασαν περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος, πυρθανομένην, εἰ περὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη, καὶ τὸ Τρωικὸν πέδιον ποῦ ἐστίν, ὃ μεταξὺ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ ποιητὴς φράζει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως ὁρώμενον, πρόχωμα εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν, ὕστερον γεγενῆς.

The words *ποῦ ἐστίν* are introduced conjecturally by Grosskurd, the excellent German translator of Strabo, but they seem to me necessary to make the sense complete.

Hestîæa is cited more than once in the Homeric Scholia (Schol. Venet. ad Iliad. iii. 64; Enstath. ad Iliad. ii. 538).

rather less than four miles from the city in the direction of Ida, and further removed from the sea; here, they affirm "holy Troy" had stood.

No positive proof was produced to sustain the conclusion Strabo expressly states that not a vestige of the ancient Ilium remained at the Village of the Ilieans:<sup>1</sup> but the fundamental position was backed by a second accessory supposition, to show how it happened that all such vestiges had disappeared. Nevertheless Strabo adopts the unsupported hypothesis of Démétrius if it were an authenticated fact — distinguishing points between Old and New Ilium, and even censuring Hellanica for having maintained the received local faith. But I cannot say that Démétrius and Hestiaeus have been followed in this by any other writer of ancient times excepting Strabo. It still continued to be talked of and treated by every one as the genuine Homeric Troy: the cruel jests of the Roman republicans, when he sacked the town and massacred the inhabitants, the compensation made by Sylla, and the pronounced opinion of Julius Caesar and Augustus, — all prove this continued tradition of identity.<sup>2</sup> Arrian, though a native of Nicomedia, holding a high appointment in Asia Minor, and remarkable for the exactness of his topographical notices, describes the march of Alexander to Ilium, without any suspicion that the place whose relics was a mere counterfeit: Aristidès, Dio Chrysostomus, Appian, and Plutarch hold the same language. Modern writers seem for the most part to have taken

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 599. Οὐδὲν δ' ἔχοντος σώζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως· ἅτε γὰρ ἐκπεπόρθημένων τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων, οὐ τελέως δὲ καμένων, οἱ λίθοι πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάληψιν μετηνέχθησαν.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, Mithridat. c. 53; Strabo, xiii. p. 594; Plutarch, Sertorius, c. 23.

The inscriptions attest Panathenaic games celebrated at Ilium in Athênê by the Ilieans conjointly with various other neighboring cities. Corp. Inscr. Boeckh. No. 3601-3602, with Boeckh's observations on the valuable inscription No. 3595 attests the liberality of Antiochus towards the Iliean Athênê as early as 278 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, i. 11; Appian *ut sup.*; also Aristidès, Or. 43, Rh. 820 (Dindorf. p. 369). The curious Oratio xi. of Dio Chrysostomus, in which he writes his new version of the Trojan war, is addressed to the people of Ilium.

supposition from Strabo as implicitly as he took it from Dēmētrius. They call Ilium by the disrespectful appellation of *New* Ilium — while the traveller in the Trôad looks for *Old* Ilium as if it were the unquestionable spot where Priam had lived and moved; the name is even formally enrolled on the best maps recently prepared of the ancient Trôad.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The controversy, now half a century old, respecting Troy and the Trojan war — between Bryant and his various opponents, Morritt, Gilbert Wakefield, the British Critic, etc., seems now nearly forgotten, and I cannot think that the pamphlets on either side would be considered as displaying much ability, if published at the present day. The discussion was first raised by the publication of Le Chevalier's account of the plain of Troy, in which the author professed to have discovered the true site of Old Ilium (the supposed Homeric Troy), about twelve miles from the sea near Bounarbashi. Upon this account Bryant published some animadversions, followed up by a second treatise, in which he denied the historical reality of the Trojan war, and advanced the hypothesis that the tale was of Egyptian origin (Dissertation on the War of Troy, and the Expedition of the Grecians as described by Homer, showing that no such Expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such city of Phrygia existed, by Jacob Bryant; seemingly 1797, though there is no date in the title-page: Morritt's reply was published in 1798). A reply from Mr. Bryant and a rejoinder from Mr. Morritt, as well as a pamphlet from G. Wakefield, appeared in 1799 and 1800, besides an Expostulation by the former addressed to the British Critic.

Bryant, having dwelt both on the incredibilities and the inconsistencies of the Trojan war, as it is recounted in Grecian legend generally, nevertheless admitted that Homer had a groundwork for his story, and maintained that that groundwork was Egyptian. Homer (he thinks) was an Ithacan, descended from a family originally emigrant from Egypt: the war of Troy was originally an Egyptian war, which explains how Memnôn the Ethiopian came to take part in it: "upon this history, which was originally Egyptian, Homer founded the scheme of his two principal poems, adapting things to Greece and Phrygia by an ingenious transposition:" he derived information from priests of Memphis or Thêbes (Bryant, pp. 102, 108, 126). The *Ἡρώς Αἰγύπτου*, mentioned in the second book of the *Odyssey* (15), is the Egyptian hero, who affords, in his view, an evidence that the population of that island was in part derived from Egypt. No one since Mr. Bryant, I apprehend, has ever construed the passage in the same sense.

Bryant's Egyptian hypothesis is of no value; but the negative portion of his argument, summing up the particulars of the Trojan legend, and contending against its historical credibility, is not so easily put aside. Few persons will share in the zealous conviction by which Morritt tries to make it appear that the 1100 ships, the ten years of war, the large confederacy of princes from all parts of Greece, etc., have nothing but what is consonant with

Strabo has here converted into geographical matter a hypothesis purely gratuitous, with a view of saving the credit of the Homeric topography; though in all probability the truth of the pretended Old Ilium would have been found difficulties not less serious than those which it was introduced to obviate.<sup>1</sup> It may be true that Dêmétrius and he were ju

historical probability; difficulties being occasionally eliminated by our ignorance of the time and of the subject (Morritt, p. 7-21). Gilchrist, who maintains the historical reality of the siege with the utmost certainty, and even compares Bryant to Tom Paine (W. p. 17), is displeased with those who propound doubts, and tells us that "gratulation in the midst of such darkness and uncertainty is a conflict of mæras" (W. p. 14).

The most plausible line of argument taken by Morritt and Wake where they enforce the positions taken by Strabo and so many other ancient as well as modern, that a superstructure of fiction is distinguished from a basis of truth, and that the latter is to be retained while the former is rejected (Morritt, p. 5; Wake, p. 7-8). To this they reply, that "if we leave out every absurdity, we can make any fable consistent; that a fable may be made consistent, and we have many that are very regular in the assortment of characters and circumstances may be seen in plays, memoirs, and novels. But this regularity and concordance alone will not ascertain the truth" (Expostulation, pp. 1-2). "That there are a great many other fables besides that of Troy, consistent among themselves, believed and chronologized by the ancients, even looked up to by them in a religious view (p. 13), which yet they think of admitting as history." ●

Morritt, having urged the universal belief of antiquity as evidence that the Trojan war was historically real, is met by Bryant, who remarks that the same persons believed in centaurs, satyrs, nymphs, and angers, Homer maintaining that horses could speak, etc. To which Morritt replies, "What has religious belief to do with historical facts? Is not the religion on which our faith rests in matters of religion totally different from that on which we ground our belief in history?" (Remarks, p. 47).

The separation between the grounds of religious and historical truth no means so complete as Mr. Morritt supposes, even in regard to ancient times; and when we apply his position to the ancient Greeks we find completely the reverse of the truth. The contemporaries of Homer and Thucydides conceived their early history in the most intimate junction with their religion.

<sup>1</sup> For example, adopting his own line of argument (not to mention battles in which the pursuit and the flight reaches from the city and back again), it might have been urged to him, that by su

their negative argument, so as to show that the battles described in the *Iliad* could not possibly have taken place if the city of Priam had stood on the hill inhabited by the Ilieans. But the legendary faith subsisted before, and continued without abatement afterwards, notwithstanding such topographical impossibilities. Hellanikus, Herodotus, Mindarus, the guides of Xerxés, and Alexander, had not been shocked by them: the case of the latter is the strongest of all, because he had received the best education of his time under Aristotle — he was a passionate admirer and constant reader of the *Iliad* — he was moreover personally familiar with the movements of armies, and lived at a time when maps, which began with Anaximander, the disciple of Thalés, were at least known to all who sought instruction. Now if, notwithstanding such advantages, Alexander fully believed in the identity of Ilium, unconscious of these many and glaring topographical difficulties, much less would Homer himself, or the Homeric auditors, be likely to pay attention to them, at a period, five centuries earlier, of comparative rudeness and ignorance, when prose records as well as geographical maps were totally unknown.<sup>1</sup> The inspired poet might describe, and his hearers

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Homeric Troy to be four miles farther off from the sea, he aggravated the difficulty of rolling the Trojan horse into the town: it was already sufficiently hard to propel this vast wooden animal full of heroes from the Greek *Nau-stathmon* to the town of Ilium.

The Trojan horse, with its accompaniments Sinon and Laocoön, is one of the capital and indispensable events in the epic: Homer, Arktinus, Leschès, Virgil, and Quintus Smyrnæus, all dwell upon it emphatically as the proximate cause of the capture.

The difficulties and inconsistencies of the movements ascribed to Greeks and Trojans in the *Iliad*, when applied to real topography, are well set forth in Spohn, *De Agro Trojano*, Leipsic, 1814; and Mr. Maclaren has shown (*Dissertation on the Topography of the Trojan War*, Edinburgh, 1822) that these difficulties are nowise obviated by removing Ilium a few miles further from the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Major Rennell argues differently from the visit of Alexander, employing it to confute the hypothesis of Chevalier, who had placed the Homeric Troy at Bounarbashi, the site supposed to have been indicated by Dêmétrius and Strabo:—

“Alexander is said to have been a passionate admirer of the *Iliad*, and he had an opportunity of deciding on the spot how far the topography was consistent with the narrative. Had he been shown the site of Bounarbashi



would listen with delight to the tale, how Hectôr, pursued Achilles, ran thrice round the city of Troy, while the treacherous Trojans were all huddled into the city, not one daring to come even at this last extremity of their beloved prince — and while the Grecian army looked on, restraining unwillingly their spears at the nod of Achilles, in order that Hectôr might be slain by no other hand than his; nor were they, while absorbed in this impressive recital, disposed to measure distances or consider topographical possibilities with reference to the site of the Ilium.<sup>1</sup> The mistake consists in applying to Homer and the Homeric siege of Troy, criticisms which would be perfectly just if brought to bear on the Athenian siege of Syracuse, described by Thucydides;<sup>2</sup> in the Peloponnesian war<sup>3</sup> — but

for that of Troy, he would probably have questioned the fidelity of the historical part of the poem or his guides. It is not within the province of that person of so correct a judgment as Alexander could have admitted a poem, which contained a long history of military details, and other traditions that could not physically have had an existence. What pleasure could he receive, in contemplating as subjects of history, events which could not have happened? Yet he did admire the poem, and *therefore must have accepted its topography consistent*: that is, Bounarbashi, surely, was not shown to him as the site of Troy (Reynell, *Observations on the Plain of Troy*, p. 128).

Major Rennell here supposes in Alexander a spirit of topographical criticism quite foreign to his real character. We have no reason to believe that the site of Bounarbashi was shown to Alexander as the Homeric site of Troy; that any site was shown to him *except Ilium*, or what Strabo calls Neion. Still less reason have we to believe that any scepticism crossed his mind, or that his deep-seated faith required to be confirmed by measured distances.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 599. Οὐδ' ἡ τοῦ Ἑκτορος δὲ περιδρομὴ ἢ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τι εὐλογον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι περίδρομος ἢ νῦν, διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ βάλαντον παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομήν.

<sup>2</sup> Mannert (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, th. 6. heft 3. p. 8) is confused in his account of Old and New Ilium: he represents Alexander raised up a new spot to the dignity of having been the site of the Ilium, which is not the fact: Alexander adhered to the received localities. Indeed, as far as our evidence goes, no one but Dêmêtrius, Hecataeus, and Strabo appears ever to have departed from it.

<sup>3</sup> There can hardly be a more singular example of this same error than to find elaborate military criticisms from the Emperor Napoleon on the description of the taking of Troy in the second book of the Iliad. He shows that gross faults are committed in it, when looked at

are not more applicable to the epic narrative than they would be to the exploits of Amadis or Orlando.

There is every reason for presuming that the Ilium visited by Xerxēs and Alexander was really the "holy Ilium" present to the mind of Homer; and if so, it must have been inhabited, either by Greeks or by some anterior population, at a period earlier than that which Strabo assigns. History recognizes neither Troy the city, nor Trojans, as actually existing; but the extensive region called Trôas, or the Trôad (more properly Trôias), is known both to Herodotus and to Thucydidēs: it seems to include the territory westward of an imaginary line drawn from the north-east corner of the Adramyttian gulf to the Propontis at Parium, since both Antandrus, Kolônæ, and the district immediately round Ilium, are regarded as belonging to the Trôad.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus further notices the Teukrians of Gergis<sup>2</sup> (a township conterminous with Ilium, and lying to the eastward of the road from Ilium to Abydus), considering them as the remnant of a larger Teukrian population which once resided in the country, and which had in very early times undertaken a vast migration from Asia into Europe.<sup>3</sup> To that Teukrian population he thinks that the Homeric Trojans belonged:<sup>4</sup> and by later writers, especially by Virgil and the other Romans, the names Teukrians and Trojans are employed as equivalents. As the name *Trojans* is not mentioned in any contemporary historical monument, so the

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point of view of a general (see an interesting article by Mr. G. C. Lewis, in the *Classical Museum*, vol. i. p. 205, "Napoleon on the Capture of Troy").

Having cited this criticism from the highest authority on the art of war, we may find a suitable parallel in the works of distinguished publicists. The attack of Odysseus on the Ciconians (described in Homer, *Odys.* ix. 39-61) is cited both by Grotius (*De Jure Bell. et Pac.* iii. 3, 10) and by Vattel (*Droit des Gens*, iii. 202) as a case in point in international law. Odysseus is considered to have sinned against the rules of international law by attacking them as allies of the Trojans, without a formal declaration of war.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Herodot. v. 24-122; Thucyd. i. 131. The *Ἰλίου γῆ* is a part of the Trôad.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. v. 122. *εἰλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας, ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν νέμονται, εἰλε δὲ Γέργιθας, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τεύκρων.*

For the migration of the Teukrians and Mysians into Europe, see Herodot. vii. 20; the Pæonians, on the Strymôn, called themselves their descendants.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. ii. 118; v. 13.

name *Teukrians* never once occurs in the old epic. It appears to have been first noticed by the elegiac poet Kallinus, 660 B. C., who connected it by an alleged immigration of *krians* from Krête into the region round about Ida.<sup>1</sup> C. again denied this, asserting that the primitive ancestor, Teu had come into the country from Attica,<sup>1</sup> or that he was of indigenous origin, born from Skamander and the nymph Idæa. Various manifestations of that eager thirst after an eponymous hero which never deserted the Greeks. Gergithians occur more than one spot in Æolis, even so far southward as the neighborhood of Kymê;<sup>2</sup> the name has no place in Homer; he mentions Gorgythion and Kebriones as illegitimate sons of Priam, thus giving a sort of epical recognition both to C. and Kebrên. As Herodotus calls the old epical Trojans by the name Teukrians, so the Attic Tragedians call them Phrygians, though the Homeric hymn to Aphroditê represents Phrygians and Trojans as completely distinct, specially noting the difference of language;<sup>3</sup> and in the *Iliad* the Phrygians are simply numbered among the allies of Troy from the far Ascania, without indication of any more intimate relationship.<sup>4</sup> Nor do the traditions which connect Dardanus with Samothrace and Arcadia countenance in the Homeric poems, wherein Dardanus is the son of Zeus, having no root anywhere except in Dardania.<sup>5</sup> The mysterious solemnities of Samothrace, afterwards so highly venerated throughout the Grecian world, date from a period later than Homer; and the religious affinities of that island as well as of Krête with the territories of Phrygia and Æolis are not certain, according to the established tendency of the Greek mind, to beget stories of a common genealogy.

To pass from this legendary world, — an aggregate of stories distinct and heterogeneous, which do not willingly come into

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 604; Apollodôr. iii. 12, 4.

Kephalôn of Gergis called Tenkrus a Krêtan (Stephan. Byz. v. 'Α

<sup>2</sup> Clearchus ap. Athênæ. vi. p. 256; Strabo, xiii. p. 589-616.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, Hymn. in Vener. 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 863. Asius, the brother of Hecabê, lives in Phrygia on the banks of the Sangarius (*Iliad*, xvi. 717).

<sup>5</sup> See Hellanik. Fragm. 129, 130. ed. Didot; and Kephalôn Gergithios (Stephan. Byz. v. 'Αρισβή).

fluence, and cannot be forced to intermix, — into the clearer vision afforded by Herodotus, we learn from him that in the year 500 B. C. the whole coast-region from Dardanus southward to the promontory of Lektum (including the town of Ilium), and from Lektum eastward to Adramyttium, had been Æolized, or was occupied by Æolic Greeks — likewise the inland towns of Skêpsis<sup>1</sup> and Krebên. So that if we draw a line northward from Adramyttium to Kyzikus on the Propontis, throughout the whole territory westward from that line, to the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea, all the considerable towns would be Hellenic, with the exception of Gergis and the Teukrian population around it, — all the towns worthy of note were either Ionic or Æolic. A century earlier, the Teukrian population would have embraced a wider range — perhaps Skêpsis and Krebên, the latter of which places was colonized by Greeks from Kyme:<sup>2</sup> a century afterwards, during the satrapy of Pharnabazus, it appears that Gergis had become Hellenized as well as the rest. The four towns, Ilium, Gergis, Kebrên and Skêpsis, all in lofty and strong positions, were distinguished each by a solemn worship and temple of Athênê, and by the recognition of that goddess as their special patroness.<sup>3</sup>

The author of the Iliad conceived the whole of this region as occupied by people not Greek, — Trojans, Dardanians, Lykians, Lelegians, Pelasgians, and Kilikians. He recognizes a temple and worship of Athênê in Ilium, though the goddess is bitterly

<sup>1</sup> Skêpsis received some colonists from the Ionic Miletus (Anaximenês apud Strabo, xiv. p. 635); but the coins of the place prove that its dialect was Æolic. See Klausen, *Æneas und die Penaten*, tom. i. note 180.

Arisbê also, near Abydus, seems to have been settled from Mitylênê (Eustath. ad Iliad. xii 97).

The extraordinary fertility and rich black mould of the plain around Ilium is noticed by modern travellers (see Franklin, *Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy*, London, 1809, p. 44): it is also easily worked: "a couple of buffaloes or oxen were sufficient to draw the plough, whereas near Constantinople it takes twelve or fourteen.

<sup>2</sup> Ephôrus ap. Harpocrat. v. *Κεβρήνα*.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. *Hellen.* i. 1, 10; iii. 1, 10-15.

One of the great motives of Dio in setting aside the Homeric narrative of the Trojan war, is to vindicate Athênê from the charge of having unjustly destroyed her own city of Ilium (Orat. xi. p. 310: *μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ὅπως μὴ δοκῇ ἀδίκως διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἑαυτῆς πόλιν*).

hostile to the Trojans: and Arktinus described the Palladium as the capital protection of the city. But perhaps the most remarkable feature of identity between the Homeric and the historical *Æolis*, is, the solemn and diffused worship of the Sminthian Apollo. Chrysê, Killa and Tenedos, and more than one place called Sminthium, maintain the surname and invoke the protection of that god during later times, just as they are emphatically described to do by Homer.<sup>1</sup>

When it is said that the Post-Homeric Greeks gradually Hellenized this entire region, we are not to understand that the whole previous population either retired or was destroyed. The Greeks settled in the leading and considerable towns, which enabled them both to protect one another and to gratify their predominant tastes. Partly by force — but greatly also by that superior activity, and power of assimilating foreign ways of thought to their own, which distinguished them from the beginning — they invested all the public features and management of the town with an Hellenic air, distributed all about it their gods, their heroes and their legends, and rendered their language the medium of public administration, religious songs and addresses to the gods, and generally for communications wherein any number of persons were concerned. But two remarks are here to be made: first, in doing this they could not avoid taking to themselves more or less of that which belonged

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, x. p. 473; xiii. p. 604–605. Polemon. Fragm. 31. p. 63, ed. Preller.

Polemon was a native of Ilium, and had written a periegesis of the place (about 200 B. C., therefore earlier than Dêmétrius of Sképsis): he may have witnessed the improvement in its position effected by the Romans. He noticed the identical stone upon which Palamédês had taught the Greeks to play at dice.

The Sminthian Apollo appears inscribed on the coins of Alexandria Trôas; and the temple of the god was memorable even down to the time of the emperor Julian (Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 8). Compare Menander (the Rhetor) *περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, iv. 14; apud Walz. Collect. Rhetor. t. ix. p. 304; also *περὶ Σμινθιακῶν*, iv. 17.

*Σμῖνθος*, both in the Krêtan and the *Æolic* dialect, meant a *field-mouse*: the region seems to have been greatly plagued by these little animals.

Polemo could not have accepted the theory of Dêmétrius, that Ilium was not the genuine Troy: his Periegesis, describing the localities and relics of Ilium, implied the legitimacy of the place as a matter of course.

to the parties with whom they fraternized, so that the result was not pure Hellenism; next, that even this was done only in the towns, without being fully extended to the territorial domain around, or to those smaller townships which stood to the town in a dependent relation. The Æolic and Ionic Greeks borrowed from the Asiatics whom they had Hellenized, musical instruments and new laws of rhythm and melody, which they knew how to turn to account: they further adopted more or less of those violent and maddening religious rites, manifested occasionally in self-inflicted suffering and mutilation, which were indigenous in Asia Minor in the worship of the Great Mother. The religion of the Greeks in the region of Ida as well as at Kyzikus was more orgiastic than the native worship of Greece Proper, just as that of Lampsacus, Priapus and Parium was more licentious. From the Teukrian region of Gergis, and from the Gergithes near Kymê, sprang the original Sibylline prophecies, and the legendary Sibyll who plays so important a part in the tale of Æneas: the mythe of the Sibyll, whose prophecies are supposed to be heard in the hollow blast bursting out from obscure caverns and apertures in the rocks,<sup>1</sup> was indigenous among the Gergithian Teukrians, and passed from the Kymæans in Æolis, along with the other circumstances of the tale of Æneas, to their brethren the inhabitants of Cumæ in Italy. The date of the Gergithian Sibyll, or rather of the circulation of her supposed prophecies, is placed during the reign of Croesus, a period when Gergis was thoroughly Teukrian. Her prophecies, though embodied in Greek verses, had their root in a Teukrian soil and feelings; and the promises of future empire which they so liberally make to the fugitive hero escaping from the flames of Troy into Italy, become interesting from the remarkable way in which they were realized by Rome.<sup>2</sup>

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Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 42:—

Excisum Eubotæ latus ingens rupis in antrum,  
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum;  
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibylla.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, x. 12, 8; Lactantius, i. 6, 12; Steph. Byz. v. *Μέμνησος*; Schol. Plat. *Phædr.* p. 315, Bekker.

The date of this Gergithian Sibyll, or of the prophecies passing under her

At what time Ilium and Dardanus became Æolized we have no information. We find the Mitylenæans in possession of Sigæum in the time of the poet Alkæus, about 600 B. C.; and the Athenians during the reign of Peisistratus, having wrested it from them and trying to maintain their possession, vindicate the proceeding by saying that they had as much right to it as the Mitylenæans, "for the latter had no more claim to it than any of the other Greeks who had aided Menelaus in avenging the abduction of Helen."<sup>1</sup> This is a very remarkable incident, as attesting the celebrity of the legend of Troy, and the value of a mythical title in international disputes — yet seemingly implying that the establishment of the Mitylenæans on that spot must have been sufficiently recent. The country near the junction of the Hellespont and the Propontis is represented as originally held<sup>2</sup> by Bebrykian Thracians, while Abydos was first occupied by Milesian colonists in the reign and by the permission of the Lydian king Gygês<sup>3</sup> — to whom the whole Trôad and the neighboring territory belonged, and upon whom therefore the Teukrians of Ida must have been dependent. This must have been about 700 B. C., a period

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name, is stated by Hērakleidês of Pontus, and there seems no reason for calling it in question.

Klausen (*Æneas und die Penaten*, book ii. p. 205) has worked out copiously the circulation and legendary import of the Sibylline prophecies.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. v. 94. Σίγειον . . . . . τὸ ἐλλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμὴ παρὰ Μιτυληναίων. . . . . Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποδεικνύντες λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεδὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας, ἣ δὲ καὶ σφί καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεξεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς. In *Æschylus* (*Eumenid.* 402) the goddess Athênê claims the land about the Skamander, as having been presented to the sons of Thêseus by the general vote of the Grecian chiefs:—

Ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου γῆν καταφθασιμένην,  
Ἦν δὴ τ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορες τε καὶ πρόμοι  
Τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,  
Ἐνεῖμαν αὐτόπρεμνον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοῖ,  
Ἐξαιρετὸν δῶρημα Θεσέως τόκοις.

In the days of Peisistratus, it seems Athens was not bold enough or powerful enough to advance this vast pretension.

<sup>2</sup> Charôn of Lampsacus ap. Schol. Apollôn. Rhod. ii. 2; Bernhardt ad Dionys. *Periêgêt.* 805. p. 747.

<sup>3</sup> Such at least is the statement of Strabô<sup>4</sup> (xii. p. 590); though such an extent of Lydian rule at that time seems not easy to reconcile with the proceedings of the subsequent Lydian kings.

considerably earlier than the Mitylenæan occupation of Sigæum. Lampsacus and Pæsus, on the neighboring shores of the Propontis, were also Milesian colonies, though we do not know their date: Parium was jointly settled from Miletus, Erythræ and Parus.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### GRECIAN MYTHES, AS UNDERSTOOD, FELT AND INTERPRETED BY THE GREEKS THEMSELVES.

THE preceding sections have been intended to exhibit a sketch of that narrative matter, so abundant, so characteristic and so interesting, out of which early Grecian history and chronology have been extracted. Raised originally by hands unseen and from data unassignable, it existed first in the shape of floating talk among the people, from whence a large portion of it passed into the song of the poets, who multiplied, transformed and adorned it in a thousand various ways.

These mythes or current stories, the spontaneous and earliest growth of the Grecian mind, constituted at the same time the entire intellectual stock of the age to which they belonged. They are the common root of all those different ramifications into which the mental activity of the Greeks subsequently diverged; containing, as it were, the preface and germ of the positive history and philosophy, the dogmatic theology and the professed romance, which we shall hereafter trace each in its separate development. They furnished aliment to the curiosity, and solution to the vague doubts and aspirations of the age; they explained the origin of those customs and standing peculiarities with which men were familiar; they impressed moral lessons, awakened patriotic sympathies, and exhibited in detail the shadowy, but anxious presentiments of the vulgar as to the agency of the gods: moreover they satisfied that craving for adventure and appetite for the



marvellous, which has in modern times become the province of fiction proper.

It is difficult, we may say impossible, for a man of mature age to carry back his mind to his conceptions such as they stood when he was a child, growing naturally out of his imagination and feelings, working upon a scanty stock of materials, and borrowing from authorities whom he blindly followed but imperfectly apprehended. A similar difficulty occurs when we attempt to place ourselves in the historical and quasi-philosophical point of view which the ancient mythes present to us. We can follow perfectly the imagination and feeling which dictated these tales, and we can admire and sympathize with them as animated, sublime, and affecting poetry; but we are too much accustomed to matter of fact and philosophy of a positive kind, to be able to conceive a time when these beautiful fancies were construed literally and accepted as serious reality.

Nevertheless it is obvious that Grecian mythes cannot be either understood or appreciated except with reference to the system of conceptions and belief of the ages in which they arose. We must suppose a public not reading and writing, but seeing, hearing and telling — destitute of all records, and careless as well as ignorant of positive history with its indispensable tests, yet at the same time curious and full of eagerness for new or impressive incidents — strangers even to the rudiments of positive philosophy and to the idea of invariable sequences of nature either in the physical or moral world, yet requiring some connecting theory to interpret and regularize the phenomena before them. Such a theory was supplied by the spontaneous inspirations of an early fancy, which supposed the habitual agency of beings intelligent and voluntary like themselves, but superior in extent of power, and different in peculiarity of attributes. In the geographical ideas of the Homeric period, the earth was flat and round, with the deep and gentle ocean-stream flowing around and returning into itself: chronology, or means of measuring past time, there existed none; but both unobserved regions might be described, the forgotten past unfolded, and the unknown future predicted — through particular men specially inspired by the gods, or endowed by them with that peculiar vision which detected and interpreted passing signs and omens.

If even the rudiments of scientific geography and physics, now so universally diffused and so invaluable as a security against error and delusion, were wanting in this early stage of society, their place was abundantly supplied by vivacity of imagination and by personifying sympathy. The unbounded tendency of the Homeric Greeks to multiply fictitious persons, and to construe the phenomena which interested them into manifestations of design, is above all things here to be noticed, because the form of personal narrative, universal in their mythes, is one of its many manifestations. Their polytheism (comprising some elements of an original fetichism, in which particular objects had themselves been supposed to be endued with life, volition, and design) recognized agencies of unseen beings identified and confounded with the different localities and departments of the physical world. Of such beings there were numerous varieties, and many gradations both in power and attributes; there were differences of age, sex and local residence, relations both conjugal and filial between them, and tendencies sympathetic as well as repugnant. The gods formed a sort of political community of their own, which had its hierarchy, its distribution of ranks and duties, its contentions for power and occasional revolutions, its public meetings in the agora of Olympus, and its multitudinous banquets or festivals.<sup>1</sup> The great Olympic gods were in fact only the most exalted amongst an aggregate of quasi-human or ultra-human personages, — dæmons, heroes, nymphs, eponymous (or name-giving) genii, identified with each river, mountain,<sup>2</sup> cape, town, village, or known

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<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, i. 603; xx. 7. Hesiod. *Theogon*. 802.

<sup>2</sup> We read in the *Iliad* that Asteropæus was grandson of the beautiful river Axius, and Achilles, after having slain him, admits the dignity of this parentage, but boasts that his own descent from Zeus was much greater, since even the great river Achelôus and Oceanus himself is inferior to Zeus (xxi. 157-191). Skamander fights with Achilles, calling his brother Simois to his aid (213-308). Tyrô, the daughter of Salmôneus, falls in love with Enipeus, the most beautiful of rivers (*Odyss.* xi. 237). Achelôus appears as a suitor of Deianira (*Sophokl. Trach.* 9).

There cannot be a better illustration of this feeling than what is told of the New Zealanders at the present time. The chief Heu-Heu appeals to his ancestor, the great mountain Tonga Riro: "I am the Heu-Heu, and rule over you all, just as my ancestor Tonga Riro, the mountain of snow, stands above all this land." (E. J. Wakefield, *Adventures in New Zealand*, vol. i.

circumscription of territory, — besides horses, bulls, and immortal breed and peculiar attributes, and monsters of

ch. 17. p. 465). Heu-Heu refused permission to any one to ascend the mountain, on the ground that it was his *tīpuna* or ancestor: "he consoled himself with the mountain and called it his sacred ancestor" (4. p. 113). The mountains in New Zealand are accounted by the masculine and feminine: Tonga Riro, and Taranaki, two male mountains quarrelled about the affections of a small volcanic female mountain neighborhood (*ibid.* ii. c. 4. p. 97).

The religious imagination of the Hindoos also (as described by Sleeman in his excellent work, *Rambles and Recollections of an Official*), affords a remarkable parallel to that of the early Greeks. Sleeman says, —

"I asked some of the Hindoos about us why they called the river *Nerbudda*, if she was really never married. Her Majesty (said with great respect) would really never consent to be married after this; she suffered from her affianced bridegroom the *Sohun*: and was called *mother* because she blesses us all, and we are anxious to accost her by the name which we consider to be the most respectful and endearing.

"Any Englishman can easily conceive a poet in his highest enthusiasm, addressing the Ocean as a steed that knows his rider, and the crested billow as his flowing mane. But he must come to India to understand how every individual of a whole community of many millions address a fine river as a living being — a sovereign princess who understands all they say, and exercises a kind of local superintendence over all their affairs, without a single temple in which her image is worshipped, or a single priest to profit by the delusion. As in the case of the Ganges, it is the river itself to whom they address themselves, and not to any deity residing or presiding over it — the stream itself is the deity which fills the imaginations, and receives their homage" (*Rambles and Recollections of an Official*, ch. iii. p. 20). Compare also the remarks in the same work on the sanctity of *Mother Nerbudda* (chapter xxvii. p. 261); also the personality of the earth. "The land is considered as the mother or prince or chief who holds it, the great parent from whom he derives his existence, maintains him, his family, and his establishments. If well-treated, she bestows this in abundance to her son; but if he presumes to look upon her with the eye of desire, she ceases to be fruitful; or the Deity sends down a plague to destroy all that she yields. The measuring the soil, the sowing the seeds, and the frequently inspecting the crops by the chief and his immediate agents, were considered by the people in this light, should not be done at all, or the duty should be delegated to inferior officers, whose close inspection of the great parent could not be so displeasing to the Deity" (Ch. xxvii. p. 248).

See also about the gods who are believed to reside in trees —

lineaments and combinations, "Gorgons and Harpies and Chimæras dire." As there were in every *gens* or family special gentile deities and foregone ancestors who watched over its members, forming in each the characteristic symbol and recognized guarantee of their union, so there seem to have been in each guild or trade peculiar beings whose vocation it was to coöperate or to impede in various stages of the business.<sup>1</sup>

The extensive and multiform personifications, here faintly sketched, pervaded in every direction the mental system of the Greeks, and were identified intimately both with their conception and with their description of phænomena, present as well as past. That which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy, was to the Greek genuine and venerated reality. Both the earth and the solid heaven (*Gæa* and *Uranos*) were both conceived and spoken of by him as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun such as we now see, subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system the changes of which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god *Hélios*, mounting his chariot in the morning in the east, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose.

tree, the cotton-tree, etc. (ch. ix. p. 112), and the description of the annual marriage celebrated between the sacred pebble, or pebble-god, *Saligram*, and the sacred shrub *Toolsa*, celebrated at great expense and with a numerous procession (chap. xix. p. 158; xxiii. p. 185).

<sup>1</sup> See the song to the potters, in the Homeric Epigrams (14):—

Εἰ μὲν δώσετε μίσθον, αἰίσω, ὦ κεραμῆες·  
 Δεῦρ' ἄγ' Ἀθηναίη, καὶ ἐπείρεχε χεῖρα καμίνον.  
 Εὐ δὲ μελανθεῖεν κότυλοι, καὶ πάντα κίναστρα  
 Φρυχθῆναι τε καλῶς, καὶ τιμῆς ὄνον ἄρεσθαι.  
 ..... Ἦν δ' ἐπ' ἀναιδείην τρεφθέντες ψενδῇ ἄρσασθε,  
 Συγκαλέω δὴ 'πειτα καμίνῳ δηλητῆρας·  
 Στῆντριβ' ὁμῶς, Σμάραγόν τε, καὶ Ἀσβετον, ἥδ' Ἐσβακτῆν,  
 Ὀμβδάμόν θ', ὃς τῆδε τέχνῃ κακὰ πολλὰ πορίζει, etc.

A certain kindred between men and serpents (*οὐγγένειάν τινα πρὸς τοῦ, ὄφεις*) was recognized in the peculiar *gens* of the *ὀφιογενεῖς* near Parion, who possessed the gift of healing by their touches the bite of the serpent: the original hero of this *gens* was said to have been transformed from a serpent into a man (Strabo, xiii. p. 588).

Hēlios, having favorite spots wherein his beautiful cattle took pleasure in contemplating them during the course journey, and was sorely displeased if any man slew or them: he had moreover sons and daughters on earth, and all-seeing eye penetrated everywhere, he was sometimes in situation to reveal secrets even to the gods themselves. On other occasions he was constrained to turn aside in order to avoid contemplating scenes of abomination.<sup>1</sup> To us they appear puerile, though pleasing fancies, but to an Homeric

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. ii. 388; viii. 270; xii. 4, 128, 416; xxiii. 362. Iliad, The Homeric Hymn to Dēmētēr expresses it neatly (63) —

Ἡέλιον δ' ἱκοντο, θεῶν σκόπον ἥδ' ἐκ ἀνδρῶν.

Also the remarkable story of Euēnius of Apollōnia, his neglect of cattle of Hēlios, and the awful consequences of it (Herodot. ix. 93 Theocr. Idyll. xxv. 130).

I know no passage in which this conception of the heavenly bodys is more strikingly set forth than in the words of the German Boiocalus, pleading the cause of himself and his tribe the Ansibarii the Roman legate Avitus. This tribe, expelled by other tribes from their possessions, had sat down upon some of that wide extent of land in the Lower Rhine which the Roman government reserved for the use of soldiers, but which remained desert, because the soldiers had neither the inclination nor the inclination to occupy them. The old chief, pleading his case to Avitus, who had issued an order to him to evacuate the lands, first touching upon his fidelity of fifty years to the Roman cause, and next touching upon the utility of retaining so large an area in a state of waste (Tacit. Ann. "Quotam partem campi jacere, in quam pecora et armenta militum transmitterentur? Servarent sane receptos gregibus, inter famam: modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent, quam amicis Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum, et post Usipiorum. Sicuti cælum Diis, ita terras generi mortalium datas: quæque publicas esse. Solem deinde respiciens, et cætera sidera vocans, et interrogabat — *vellentne contueri inane solum? potius mare superfundere terrarum ereptores.* Commotus his Avitus," etc. The legate request, but privately offered to Boiocalus lands for himself and his tribe, which that chief indignantly spurned. He tried to maintain the lands, but was expelled by the Roman arms, and forced to seek refuge among the other German tribes, all of whom refused it. After much fighting and privation, the whole tribe of the Ansibarii was annihilated, the warriors were all slain, its women and children sold as slaves.

I notice this afflicting sequel, in order to show that the brave old chief pleading before Avitus a matter of life and death both to himself and his tribe, and that the occasion was one least of all suited for a mere

they seemed perfectly natural as description of the sun, as given in would have appeared not merely pious. Even in later times, who had made considerable progress incurred the charge of blindness and trying to assign invariable Personifying fiction was in the

prosopopœia. His appeal is one of and sympathies of *Hélios*.

Tacitus, in reporting the speech *coram*,<sup>2</sup> to mark that the speaker from that to which himself or could have heard, and reported have introduced some explanation of apprehension of *Hélios* under a finds it necessary to illustrate Boiocalus would have had a *re-ification of the god Hélios*.

<sup>1</sup> Physical astronomy was the Peloponnesian war: see proved so fatal to the Athenians religious feelings of Nikias τότε καλουμένους ὡς, εἰς αὐτὴν ναγκασμένα πύθη διατρίβειν c. 32; Diodôr. xii. 39; I

"You strange man, Meno  
"are you seriously affirming the gods, as the rest of men in the Dikastery (*this is the earth and the moon earth*." an accusation against a temptibly ignorant, as such doctrines! Is it that they may buy the boy to me to scorn if I prefer their extreme absurdity Socrat. c. 14. p. 26)

The divinity of *I*  
x. p. 886-889. H  
and to a limited extent  
ii. 8; Plutarch, I  
Anaxagoræ Frag



Greeks with their conception of the physical phenomenon, not simply in the way of poetical ornament, but as an integral portion of their every-day belief.

It was in this early state of the Grecian mind, stimulated forcibly by the imagination and the feelings, and acting through upon the belief, that the great body of the myths grew and obtained circulation. They were, from first to last, narratives and adventures; and the persons who presented themselves as subjects of them were the gods, the heroes, the nymphs, whose names were known and revered, and in whose behalf one felt interested. To every god and every hero it was natural with Grecian ideas to ascribe great diversity of human qualities and attributes: each indeed has his own peculiar character, more or less strictly defined; but in all there was a wide foundation for animated narrative and for romantic fiction. The gods and heroes of the land and the tribe belonged to the conception of a Greek, alike to the present and to the past, worshipped in their groves and at their festivals; he invoked their protection, and believed in their superintending guardianship, even in his own day: but their more special, intimate, and personal pathizing agency was cast back into the unrecorded past.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Catalog. Fragm. 76. p. 48, ed. Düntzer:—

*ἔνθα γὰρ τότε δαίτες ἔσαν ξυνοί τε θεῶκαί,  
'Αθανάτοισι τε θεοῖσι κατασκήτοισι τ' ἀνθρώποις.*

Both the Theogonia and the Works and Days bear testimony to this general feeling. Even the heroes of Homer suppose a precedence of inmates of which were in nearer contact with the gods than they (Odys. viii. 223; Iliad, v. 304; xii. 382). Compare Catullus, Epithalam. Peleüs et Thetidos, v. 382-408.

Menander the Rhetor (following generally the steps of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rhetor. cap. 1-8) suggests to his fellow-citizens at Alexandria Triptolemus and complimentary forms to invite a great man to visit their festival at Sminthia:—*Ὅσπερ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα πολλάκις ἐδέχετο ἡ πόλις τοῖς ἑνὶ καὶ ἑξήνθ' ἐξ ἧν θεοῦ προφανῶς ἐπιδημεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅττω καὶ σὲ ἡ πόλις νῦν προσδέχεται (περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικ. s. iv. c. 14 Coll. Rhetor. t. ix. p. 304).* Menander seems to have been a native of Alexandria Trôas, though Suidas calls him a Laodicean (see Walz, Suidas, ix. p. xv.-xx.; and περὶ Σμινθιακῶν, sect. iv. c. 17). The festival at Sminthia lasted down to his time, embracing the whole duration of the Hellenic era from Homer downwards.

give suitable utterance to this general sentiment, — to furnish body and movement and detail to these divine and heroic pre-existences, which were conceived only in shadowy outline, — to lighten up the dreams of what the past must have been,<sup>1</sup> in the minds of those who knew not what it really had been — such was the spontaneous aim and inspiration of productive genius in the community, and such were the purposes which the Grecian mythes preëminently accomplished.

The love of antiquities, which Tacitus notices as so prevalent among the Greeks of his day,<sup>2</sup> was one of the earliest, the most durable, and the most widely diffused of the national propensities. But the antiquities of every state were divine and heroic, reproducing the lineaments, but disregarding the measure and limits, of ordinary humanity. The gods formed the starting-point, beyond which no man thought of looking, though some gods were more ancient than others: their progeny, the heroes, many of them sprung from human mothers, constitute an intermediate link between god and man. The ancient epic usually recognizes the presence of a multitude of nameless men, but they are introduced chiefly for the purpose of filling the scene, and of executing the orders, celebrating the valor, and bringing out the personality, of a few divine or heroic characters.<sup>3</sup> It was the glory of bards and storytellers to be able to satisfy those religious and patriotic predispositions of the public, which caused the primary demand

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Müller observes justly, in his *Saga-Bibliothek*, in reference to the Icelandic mythes, "In dem Mythischen wird das Leben der Vorzeit dargestellt, wie es wirklich dem kindlichen Verstande, der jugendlichen Einbildungskraft, und dem vollen Herzen, erscheint."

(Lange's *Untersuchungen über die Nordische und Deutsche Heldensage*, translated from P. A. Müller, *Introd.* p. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Titus visited the temple of the Paphian Venus in Cyprus, "*spectatâ opulentâ donisque regum, quæque alia lætam antiquitatibus Græcorum genus incertæ vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consuluit.*" (Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 4-5).

<sup>3</sup> Aristotel. *Problem.* xix. 48. *Οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἀρχαίων μόνοι ἦσαν ἥρωες· οἱ δὲ λαοὶ ἄνθρωποι.* Istros followed this opinion also: but the more common view seems to have considered all who combated at Troy as heroes (see Schol. *Iliad.* ii. 110; xv. 231), and so Hesiod treats them (*Opp.* Di. 158).

In reference to the Trojan war, Aristotle says — *καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἡρωικοῖς περὶ Πριάμον μνηστέρα* (*Ethic. Nicom.* i. 9; compare vii. 1).



for their tales, and which were of a nature eminently inviting and expansive. For Grecian religion was many-sided and many colored; it comprised a great multiplicity of persons, together with much diversity in the types of character; it divinized every vein and attribute of humanity, the lofty as well as the mean — the tender as well as the warlike — the self-devoting and adventurous as well as the laughter-loving and sensual. We shall hereafter reach a time when philosophers protested against such identification of the gods with the more vulgar appetites and enjoyments, believing that nothing except the spiritual attributes of man could properly be transferred to superhuman beings, and drawing their predicates respecting the gods exclusively from what was awful, majestic and terror-striking in human affairs. Such restrictions on the religious fancy were continually on the increase, and the mystic and didactic stamp which marked the last century of paganism in the days of Julian and Libanius, contrasts forcibly with the concrete and vivacious forms, full of vigorous impulse and alive to all the capricious gusts of the human temperament, which people the Homeric Olympus.<sup>1</sup> At present, how-

<sup>1</sup> Generation by a god is treated in the old poems as an act entirely human and physical (*ἐμίγη — παρελέξατο*); and this was the common opinion in the days of Plato (Plato, *Apolog.* Socrat. c. 15. p. 15); the hero Astrabakus is father of the Lacedæmonian king Demaratus (Herod. vi. 66). [Herodotus does not believe the story told him at Babylon respecting Belus (i. 182)] Euripides sometimes expresses disapprobation of the idea (Ion. 350), but Plato passed among a large portion of his admirers for the actual son of Apollo, and his reputed father Aristo on marrying was admonished in a dream to respect the person of his wife Periktioné, then pregnant by Apollo, until after the birth of the child Plato (Plutarch, *Quæst. Sympos.* p. 717. viii. 1; Diogen. Laërt. iii. 2; Origen, *cont. Cels.* i. p. 29). Plutarch (in *Life of Numa*, c. 4; compare *Life of Thæseus*, 2) discusses the subject, and is inclined to disallow everything beyond mental sympathy and tenderness in a god: Pansanias deals timidly with it, and is not always consistent with himself; while the later rhetors spiritualize it altogether. Meander, *περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, (towards the end of the third century B. C.) prescribes rules for praising a king: you are to praise him for the gens to which he belongs: perhaps you may be able to make out that he really is the son of some god; for many who seem to be from men, are really sent down by God and are emanations from the Supreme Potency — πολλοὶ τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἶσι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καταπέμπονται καὶ εἰσιν ἀπόβροται ὄντως τοῦ κρείττονος· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίζετο μὲν Ἀμφιτρυῶνος, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ἦν υἱός. Οὕτω καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἡμέτερος τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τῇ δὲ ἀλη

ever, we have only to consider the early, or Homeric and Hesiodic paganism, and its operation in the genesis of the mythical narratives. We cannot doubt that it supplied the most powerful stimulus, and the only one which the times admitted, to the creative faculty of the people; as well from the sociability, the gradations, and the mutual action and reaction of its gods and heroes, as from the amplitude, the variety, and the purely human cast, of its fundamental types.

*θεία τὴν καταβολὴν οὐράνοθεν ἔχει*, etc. (Menander ap. Walz. Collect. Rhetor. t. ix. c. i. p. 218). Again—*περὶ Σμινθιακῶν Ζεὸς—γένεσιν παιδῶν δημοιουργεῖν ἐνενόησε*—*Ἀπόλλων τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ γένεσιν ἐδημοῦργησε*, p. 322–327; compare Hermogenēs, about the story of Apollo and Daphnē, Progymnasm. c. 4.; and Julian. Orat. vii. p. 220.

The contrast of the pagan phraseology of this age (Menander had himself composed a hymn of invocation to Apollo—*περὶ Ἐγκωμίων*, c. 3. §. ix. p. 136, Walz.) with that of Homer is very worthy of notice. In the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women much was said respecting the marriages and amours of the gods, so as to furnish many suggestions, like the love-songs of Sapphō, to the composers of Epithalamic Odes (Menand. *ib.* sect. iv. c. 6. p. 268).

Menander gives a specimen of a prose hymn fit to be addressed to the Sminthian Apollo (p. 320); the spiritual character of which hymn forms the most pointed contrast with the Homeric hymn to the same god.

We may remark an analogous case in which the Homeric hymn to Apollo is modified by Plutarch. To provide for the establishment of his temple at Delphi, Apollo was described as having himself, in the shape of a dolphin, swam before a Krētian vessel and guided it to Krissa, where he directed the terrified crew to open the Delphian temple. But Plutarch says that this old statement was not correct: the god had not himself appeared in the shape of a dolphin—he had sent a dolphin expressly to guide the vessel (Plutarch. de Solertiā Animal. p. 983). See also a contrast between the Homeric Zeus, and the genuine Zeus, (*ἀληθινός*) brought out in Plutarch, Defect Oracul. c. 30. p. 426.

Illicit amours seem in these later times to be ascribed to the *δαίμονες*: see the singular controversy started among the fictitious pleadings of the ancient rhetors—*Νόμιον ὄντος, παρθένους καὶ καθαρὰς εἶναι τὰς λερείας, λερεία τις ἐβρέθη ἀτόκιον φέρουσα, καὶ κρίνεται*.....*Ἄλλ' ἔπει, φασί, διὰ τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιφοιτήσεις καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς περιπεθεῖσθαι. Καὶ πῶς ἀκ' ἀνόητον κομιδὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον; Ἱδεὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν παρθενίαν φορεῖται ἀποτρόπαιον, οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὸ τεκεῖν* (Anonymi Scholia ad Hermogen. Στάσεις, ap. Walz. Coll. Rh. t. vii. p. 162).

Apainēs of Gadara, a sophist of the time of Diocletian, pretended to be a son of Pan (see Suidas, v. Ἀψίνης). The anecdote respecting the rivers Skamander and Mæander, in the tenth epistle ascribed to the orator Æschines (p. 737), is curious, but we do not know the date of that epistle.

Though we may thus explain the mythopœic fertility of the Greeks, I am far from pretending that we can render any sufficient account of the supreme beauty of their chief epic and artistical productions. There is something in the first-rate productions of individual genius which lies beyond the compass of philosophical theory: the special breath of the Muse (to speak the language of ancient Greece) must be present in order to give them being. Even among her votaries, many are called, but few are chosen; and the peculiarities of those few remain as yet her own secret.

We shall not however forget that Grecian language was also an indispensable requisite to the growth and beauty of Grecian mythes — its richness, its flexibility and capacity of new combinations, its vocalic abundance and metrical pronunciation: and many even among its proper names, by their analogy to words really significant, gave direct occasion to explanatory or illustrative stories. Etymological mythes are found in sensible proportion among the whole number.

To understand properly then the Grecian mythes, we must try to identify ourselves with the state of mind of the original mythopœic age; a process not very easy, since it requires us to adopt a string of poetical fancies not simply as realities, but as the governing realities of the mental system;<sup>1</sup> yet a process

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<sup>1</sup> The mental analogy between the early stages of human civilization and the childhood of the individual is forcibly and frequently set forth in the works of Vico. That eminently original thinker dwells upon the poetical and religious susceptibilities as the first to develop themselves in the human mind, and as furnishing not merely connecting threads for the explanation of sensible phenomena, but also aliment for the hopes and fears, and means of socializing influence to men of genius, at a time when reason was yet asleep. He points out the *personifying instinct* ("istinto d' animazione") as the spontaneous philosophy of man, "to make himself the rule of the universe," and to suppose everywhere a quasi-human agency as the determining cause. He remarks that in an age of fancy and feeling, the conceptions and language of poetry coincide with those of reality and common life, instead of standing apart as a separate vein. These views are repeated frequently (and with some variations of opinion as he grew older) in his Latin work *De Uno Universi Juris Principio*, as well as in the two successive *rédactions* of his great Italian work, *Scienza Nuova* (it must be added that Vico as an expositor is prolix, and does not do justice to his own powers of original thought): I select the following from the second edition of the latter treatise,

which would only reproduce something analogous to our own childhood. The age was one destitute both of recorded history and of positive science, but full of imagination and sentiment and religious impressibility; from these sources sprung that multitude of supposed persons around whom all combinations of sensible

published by himself in 1744, *Della Metafisica Poetica* (see vol. v. p. 189 of Ferrari's edition of his Works, Milan, 1836): "Adunque la sapienza poetica, che fu la prima sapienza della Gentilità, dovette incominciare da una Metafisica, non *ragionata ed astratta*, qual è questa or degli addottrinati, ma *sentita ed immaginata*, quale dovette essere di tai primi uomini, siccome quelli ch' erano di niun raziocinio, e tutti robusti sensi e vigorosissime fantasie, come è stato nelle dignità (the *Axioms*) stabilito. Questa fu la loro propria poesia, la qual in essi fu una facoltà loro connaturale, perchè erano di tali sensi e di sì fatte fantasie naturalmente forniti, nata da *ignoranza di cagioni* — la qual fu loro madre di maraviglia di tutte le cose, che quelli ignoranti di tutte le cose fortemente ammiravano. Tal poesia incominciò in essi divina: perchè nello stesso tempo ch' essi immaginavano le cagioni delle cose, che sentivano ed ammiravano, essere Dei, come ora il confermiamo con gli Americani, i quali tutte le cose che superano la loro picciol capacità, dicono esser Dei. . . . nello stesso tempo, diciamo, alle cose ammirate davano l' essere di sostanze dalla propria lor idea: ch' è appunto la natura dei fanciulli, che osserviamo prendere tra mani cose inanimate, e transtullarsi e favellarvi, come fussero quelle persone vive. In cotal guisa i primi uomini delle nazioni gentili, come fanciulli del nascente gener umano, dalla lor idea creavan essi le cose . . . . per la loro robusta ignoranza, il facevano in forza d' una corpolentissima fantasia, e perch' era corpolentissima, il facevano con una maravigliosa sublimità, tal e tanta, che perturbava all' eccesso essi medesimi, che fingendo le si creavano. . . . Di questa natura di cose umane restò eterna proprietà spiegata con nobil espressione da Tacito, che vanamente gli uomini spaventati *fingunt simul creduntque*."

After describing the condition of rude men, terrified with thunder and other vast atmospheric phenomena, Vico proceeds (*ib.* p. 172) — "In tal caso la natura della mente umana porta ch' ella attribuisca all' effetto la sua natura: e la natura loro era in tale stato d' uomini tutti robuste forze di corpo, che urlando, brontolando, spiegavano le loro violentissime passioni, si finsero il cielo esser un gran corpo animato, che per tal aspetto chiamavano Giove, che col fischio dei fulmini e col fragore dei tuoni volesse lor dire qualche cosa . . . . E si fanno di tutta la natura un vasto corpo animato, che senta passioni ed affetti."

Now the contrast with modern habits of thought: —

"Ma siccome ora per la natura delle nostre umane menti troppo ritirata dai sensi nel medesimo volgo — con le tante astrazioni, di quante sono piene le lingue — con tanti vocaboli astratti — e di troppo assottigliata con l' arti dello scrivere, e quasi spiritualezzata con la pratica dei numeri — *cic* e natu-

phenomena were grouped, and towards whom curiosity, myths, and reverence were earnestly directed. The adventures of such persons were the only aliment suited at once both to appetites and to the comprehension of an early Greek; and myths which detailed them, while powerfully interest-

*nalmente negato di poter formare la vasta imagine di cotal donna che Natura simpatetica, che mentre con la bocca dicono, non hanno nulla di mente, perocchè la lor mente è dentro il falso, che è nulla; nè sono dalla fantasia a poterne formare una falsa vastissima imagine. Così naturalmente negato di poter entrare nella vasta immaginativa di quei primi menti dei quali di nulla erano assottigliate, di nulla astratte, di spiritualezzate. . . . . Onde dicemmo sopra ch' ora appena intendere affatto immaginar non si può, come pensassero i primi uomini che fu la umanità gentilesca."*

In this citation (already almost too long for a note) I have omitted sentences not essential to the general meaning. It places these early fables and theological poets (so Vico calls them) in their true point and assigns to them their proper place in the ascending movement of man society: it refers the myths to an early religious and poetic age, in which feeling and fancy composed the whole fund of the human mind, and above the powers of sense: the great mental change which has taken place has robbed us of the power, not merely of believing them, but of conceiving them as they were originally believed, but even of conceiving completely that what the first inventors intended to express.

The views here given from this distinguished Italian (the precursor of A. Wolf in regard to the Homeric poems, as well as of Niebuhr in regard to the Roman history) appear to me no less correct than profound; and the obvious inference from them is, that attempts to explain (as it is called) the myths (i. e. to translate them into some physical, moral, or political statements, suitable to our order of thought) are, even as they are, essentially unpromising. Nevertheless Vico, inconsistently with his general view, bestows great labor and ingenuity in attempting to discover the internal meaning symbolized under many of the myths; and he sets down the position, "che i primi uomini della Gentilità essendo stati i più cissimi, quanto i fanciulli, i quali per natura son veritieri: le prime menti non poterono finger nulla di falso: per lo che dovettero necessariamente vere narrazioni." (See vol. v. p. 194; compare also p. 99, Axiom I.) If this position be meant simply to exclude the idea of designed imposture, it may for the most part be admitted; but Vico evidently intends more. He thinks that there lies hid under the fables a basis of material history — not literal but symbolized — which he draws out and exhibits in the form of a civil history of the divine and heroic times: a confusion of the more remarkable, since he distinctly tells us (in perfect contrast with the long passage above transcribed from him) that the special

emotions, furnished to him at the same time a quasi-history and quasi-philosophy: they filled up the vacuum of the unrecorded past, and explained many of the puzzling incognita of the present.<sup>1</sup> Nor need we wonder that the same plausibility which cap-

these early mythes is "impossibility accredited as truth,"—"che la di lei propria materia è l'impossibile credibile" (p. 176, and still more fully in the first redaction of the *Scienza Nuova*, b. iii. c. 4; vol. iv. p. 187 of his Works).

When we read the *Canones Mythologici* of Vico (De Constantia Philologiae, Pars Posterior, c. xxx.; vol. iii. p. 363), and his explanation of the legends of the Olympic gods, Hercule, Theseus, Kadmus, etc., we see clearly that the meaning which he professes to bring out is one previously put in by himself.

There are some just remarks to the same purpose in Karl Ritter's *Vorhalle Europäischer Völker—Geschichten*, Abschn. ii. p. 150 seq. (Berlin, 1820) He too points out how much the faith of the old world (der Glaube der Vorwelt) has become foreign to our minds, since the recent advances of "Politik und Kritik," and how impossible it is for us to elicit history from their conceptions by our analysis, in cases where they have not distinctly laid it out for us. The great length of this note prevents me from citing the passage: and he seems to me also (like Vico) to pursue his own particular investigations in forgetfulness of the principle laid down by himself.

<sup>1</sup> O. Müller, in his *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (cap. iv. p. 108), has pointed out the mistake of supposing that there existed originally some nucleus of pure reality as the starting-point of the mythes, and that upon this nucleus fiction was superinduced afterwards: he maintains that the real and the ideal were blended together in the primitive conception of the mythes. Respecting the general state of mind out of which the mythes grew, see especially pages 78 and 110 of that work, which is everywhere full of instruction on the subject of the Grecian mythes, and is eminently suggestive, even where the positions of the author are not completely made out.

The short *Heldensage der Griechen* by Nitzsch (Kiel, 1842, t. v.) contains more of just and original thought on the subject of the Grecian mythes than any work with which I am acquainted. I embrace completely the subjective point of view in which he regards them; and although I have profited much from reading his short tract, I may mention that before I ever saw it, I had enforced the same reasonings on the subject in an article in the *Westminster Review*, May 1843, on the *Heroen-Geschichten* of Niebuhr.

Jacob Grimm, in the preface to his *Deutsche Mythologie* p. 1, 1st edit. Gött. 1835), pointedly insists on the distinction between "Sage" and history, as well as upon the fact that the former has its chief root in religious belief. "Legend and history (he says) are powers each by itself, adjoining indeed on the confines, but having each its own separate and exclusive ground;" also p. xxvii. of the same introduction.

A view substantially similar is adopted by William Grimm, the other of the two distinguished brothers whose labors have so much elucidated Ten-

tivated his imagination and his feelings was sufficient to er-  
 spontaneous belief; or rather, that no question as to the  
 falsehood of the narrative suggested itself to his mind  
 faith is ready, literal and uninquiring, apart from all the  
 discriminating fact from fiction, or of detecting hidden an-  
 bolized meaning; it is enough that what he hears be intri-  
 plausible and seductive, and that there be no special cause  
 voke doubt. And if indeed there were, the poet overru-  
 doubts by the holy and all-sufficient authority of the Muse.  
 omniscience is the warrant for his recital, as her inspir-  
 the cause of his success.

The state of mind, and the relation of speaker to hearer,  
 depicted, stand clearly marked in the terms and tenor of  
 cient epic, if we only put a plain meaning upon what we  
 The poet — like the prophet, whom he so much resem-  
 sings under heavenly guidance, inspired by the goddess to  
 he has prayed for her assisting impulse: she puts the words  
 his mouth and the incidents into his mind: he is a privileged  
 chosen as her organ and speaking from her revelations.<sup>1</sup>

tonic philology and antiquities. He examines the extent to which  
 torical matter of fact or historical names can be traced in the *Deutsche*  
*sage*; and he comes to the conclusion that the former is next to no-  
 latter not considerable. He draws particular attention to the fact  
 audience for whom these poems were intended had not learned  
 guish history from poetry (W. Grimm, *Deutsche Heldensage*, pp. 8,  
 345, 399, Gött. 1829).

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 32. —

..... ἐνέπνευσαν δέ (the Muses) μοι ἀούδην,  
 Θείην, ὡς κλείοιμι τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, πρό τ' ἔόντα,  
 Καί με κέλονθ' ἔμνεϊν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων, etc.

*Odyss.* xxii. 347; viii. 63, 73, 481, 489. *Δημόδοκ'* . . . . ἢ σέ γε Μοῦ  
 Διὸς παῖς, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων: that is, Demodocus has either been in-  
 a poet by the Muse, or as a prophet by Apollo: for the Homeric  
 not the god of song. Kalchas the prophet receives his inspiration  
 Apollo, who confers upon him the same knowledge both of past  
 as the Muses give to Hesiod (*Iliad*, i. 69): —

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων δὲχ' ἀριστος  
 "Ὅς ψόη τὰ τ' ἔόντα, τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, πρό τ' ἔόντα  
 "Ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Also *Iliad*, ii. 485.

Both the *μάντις* and the *αἰοιδὸς* are standing, recognized professions  
 xvii. 383), like the physician and the carpenter, *δημιῆργοι*.

Muse grants the gift of song to whom she will, so she sometimes in her anger snatches it away, and the most consummate human genius is then left silent and helpless.<sup>1</sup> It is true that these expressions, of the Muse inspiring and the poet singing a tale of past times, have passed from the ancient epic to compositions produced under very different circumstances, and have now degenerated into unmeaning forms of speech; but they gained currency originally in their genuine and literal acceptation. If poets had from the beginning written or recited, the predicate of singing would never have been ascribed to them; nor would it have ever become customary to employ the name of the Muse as a die to be stamped on licensed fiction, unless the practice had begun when her agency was invoked and hailed in perfect good faith. Belief, the fruit of deliberate inquiry and a rational scrutiny of evidence, is in such an age unknown: the simple faith of the time slides in unconsciously, when the imagination and feeling are exalted; and inspired authority is at once understood, easily admitted, and implicitly confided in.

The word *mythe* (*μῦθος*, *fabula*, *story*), in its original meaning, signified simply a statement or current narrative, without any connotative implication either of truth or falsehood. Subsequently the meaning of the word (in Latin and English as well as in Greek) changed, and came to carry with it the idea of an old personal narrative, always uncertified, sometimes untrue or avowedly fictitious.<sup>2</sup> And this change was the result of a silent alteration in the mental state of the society, — of a transition on the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 599.

<sup>2</sup> In this later sense it stands pointedly opposed to *ιστορία*, *history*, which seems originally to have designated matter of fact, present and seen by the describer, or the result of his personal inquiries (see *Herodot.* i. 1; *Verrius Flacc.* ap. *Aul. Gell.* v. 18; *Eusebius, Hist. Eccles.* iii. 12; and the observations of *Dr. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 59).

The original use of the word *λόγος* was the same as that of *μῦθος* — a current tale, true or false, as the case might be; and the term designating a person much conversant with the old legends (*λόγιος*) is derived from it (*Herod.* i. 1; ii. 3). *Hekataeus* and *Herodotus* both use *λόγος* in this sense. *Herodotus* calls both *Æsop* and *Hekataeus* *λογηποιοί* (ii. 134–143).

*Aristotle* (*Metaphys.* i. p. 8, ed. *Brandis*) seems to use *μῦθος* in this sense, where he says — *διὸ καὶ φιλόμυθος ὁ φιλόσοφος πῶς ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ μῦθος συγκρίται ἐκ θαυμασίων*, etc. In the same treatise (xi. p. 254), he uses it to signify fabulous amplification and transformation of a doctrine true in the main.



part of the superior minds (and more or less on the part of all) to a stricter and more elevated canon of credibility, in consequence of familiarity with recorded history, and its essential tests, affirmative as well as negative. Among the original hearers of the mythes, all such tests were unknown; they had not yet learned the lesson of critical disbelief; the mythes passed unquestioned from the mere fact of its currency, and from its harmony with existing sentiments and preconceptions. The very circumstances which contributed to rob it of literal belief in after-time, strengthened its hold upon the mind of the Homeric man. He looked for wonders and unusual combinations in the past; he expected to hear of gods, heroes and men, moving and operating together upon earth; he pictured to himself the fore-time as a theatre in which the gods interfered directly, obviously and frequently, for the protection of their favorites and the punishment of their foes. The rational conception, then only dawning in his mind, of a systematic course of nature was absorbed by this fervent and lively faith. And if he could have been supplied with as perfect and philosophical a history of his own real past time, as we are now enabled to furnish with regard to the last century of England or France, faithfully recording all the successive events, and accounting for them by known positive laws, but introducing no special interventions of Zeus and Apollo—such a history would have appeared to him not merely unholy and unimpressive, but destitute of all plausibility or title to credence. It would have provoked in him the same feeling of incredulous aversion as a description of the sun (to repeat the previous illustration) in a modern book on scientific astronomy.

To us these mythes are interesting fictions; to the Homeric and Hesiodic audience they were "*rerum divinarum et humanarum scientia*,"—an aggregate of religious, physical and historical revelations, rendered more captivating, but not less true and real, by the bright coloring and fantastic shapes in which they were presented. Throughout the whole of "mythe-bearing Hellas"<sup>1</sup> they formed the staple of the uninstructed Greek mind,

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<sup>1</sup> M. Ampère, in his *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (ch. viii. v. i. p. 310) distinguishes the Saga (which corresponds as nearly as possible with the Greek *μῦθος*, *λόγος*, *ἐπιχόριος λόγος*), as a special product of the intellect.

upon which history and philosophy were by so slow degrees superinduced; and they continued to be the aliment of ordinary thought and conversation, even after history and philosophy had partially supplanted the mythical faith among the leading men, and disturbed it more or less in the ideas of all. The men, the women, and the children of the remote dâmes and villages of Greece, to whom Thucydides, Hippocratès, Aristotle, or Hipparchus were unknown, still continued to dwell upon the local fables which formed their religious and patriotic antiquity. And Pausanias, even in his time, heard everywhere divine or heroic legends yet alive, precisely of the type of the old epic; he found the conceptions of religious and mythical faith, coëxistent with those of positive science, and contending against them at more or less of odds, according to the temper of the individual. Now it is the remarkable characteristic of the Homeric age, that no such coëxistence or contention had yet begun. The religious and mythical point of view covers, for the most part, all the phænomena of nature; while the conception of invariable sequence exists only in the background, itself personified under the name of the Moeræ, or Fates, and produced generally as an exception to the omnipotence of Zeus for all ordinary purposes.

not capable of being correctly designated either as history, or as fiction, or as philosophy: —

“ Il est un pays, la Scandinavie, où la tradition racontée s'est développée plus complètement qu'ailleurs, où ses produits ont été plus soigneusement recueillis et mieux conservés : dans ce pays, ils ont reçu un nom particulier, dont l'équivalent exact ne se trouve pas hors des langues Germaniques : c'est le mot *Saga*, *Sage*, ce qu'on dit, ce qu'on raconte, — la tradition orale. Si l'on prend ce mot non dans une acception restreinte, mais dans le sens général où le prenait Niebuhr quand il l'appliquoit, par exemple, aux traditions populaires qui ont pu fournir à Tite Live une portion de son histoire, la Saga doit être comptée parmi les produits spontanés de l'imagination humaine. La Saga a son existence propre comme la poésie, comme l'histoire, comme le roman. Elle n'est pas la poésie, parcequ'elle n'est pas chantée, mais parlée; elle n'est pas l'histoire, parcequ'elle est dénuée de critique; elle n'est pas le roman, parcequ'elle est sincère, parcequ'elle a foi à ce qu'elle raconte. Elle n'invente pas, mais répète: elle peut se tromper, mais elle ne ment jamais. Ce récit souvent merveilleux, que personne ne fabrique sciemment, et que tout le monde altère et falsifie sans le vouloir, qui se perpétue à la manière des chants primitifs et populaires, — ce récit, quand il se rapporte non à un héros, mais à un saint, s'appelle une légende.”

Voluntary agents, visible and invisible, impel and govern everything. Moreover this point of view is universal throughout the community, — adopted with equal fervor, and carried out with equal consistency, by the loftiest minds and by the lowest. The great man of that day is he who, penetrated like others with the general faith, and never once imagining any other system of nature than the agency of these voluntary Beings, can clothe them in suitable circumstances and details, and exhibit in living body and action those types which his hearers dimly prefigure. Such men were the authors of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; embodying in themselves the whole measure of intellectual excellence which their age was capable of feeling: to us, the first of poets — but to their own public, religious teachers, historians, and philosophers besides — inasmuch as all that then represented history and philosophy was derived from those epical effusions and from others homogeneous with them. Herodotus recognizes Homer and Hesiod as the main authors of Grecian belief respecting the names and generations, the attributes and agency, the forms and the worship of the gods.<sup>1</sup>

History, philosophy, etc., properly so called and conforming to our ideas (of which the subsequent Greeks were the first creators), never belonged to more than a comparatively small number of thinking men, though their influence indirectly affected more or less the whole national mind. But when positive science and criticism, and the idea of an invariable sequence of events, came to supplant in the more vigorous intellects the old mythical creed of omnipresent personification, an inevitable scission was produced between the instructed few and the remaining community. The opposition between the scientific and the religious point of view was not slow in manifesting itself: in general language, indeed, both might seem to stand together, but in every particular case the admission of one involved the rejection of the other. According to the theory which then became predominant, the course of nature was held to move invariably on, by powers and attributes of its own, unless the gods chose to interfere and reverse it; but they had the power of interfering as often and to as great an extent as they thought fit. Here the

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 53.

question was at once opened, respecting a great variety of particular phænomena, whether they were to be regarded as natural or miraculous. No constant or discernible test could be suggested to discriminate the two: every man was called upon to settle the doubt for himself, and each settled it according to the extent of his knowledge, the force of his logic, the state of his health, his hopes, his fears, and many other considerations affecting his separate conclusion. In a question thus perpetually arising, and full of practical consequences, instructed minds, like Periklēs, Thucydidēs, and Euripidēs, tended more and more to the scientific point of view,<sup>1</sup> in cases where the general public were constantly gravitating towards the religious.

<sup>1</sup> See Plutarch, Perikl. capp. 5, 32, 38; Cicero, De Republ. i. 15-16, ed. Maii.

The phytologist Theophrastus, in his valuable collection of facts respecting vegetable organization, is often under the necessity of opposing his scientific interpretation of curious incidents in the vegetable world to the religious interpretation of them which he found current. Anomalous phænomena in the growth or decay of trees were construed as signs from the gods, and submitted to a prophet for explanation (see *Hist. Plantar.* ii. 3; iv. 16; v. 3).

We may remark, however, that the old faith had still a certain hold over his mind. In commenting on the story of the willow-tree at Philippi, and the venerable old plane-tree at Antandros (more than sixty feet high, and requiring four men to grasp it round in the girth), having been blown down by a high wind, and afterwards spontaneously resuming their erect posture, he offers some explanations how such a phænomenon might have happened, but he admits, at the end, that there *may* be something extra-natural in the case, *Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἔξω φυσικῆς αἰτίας ἐστίν*, etc. (*De Caus. Plant.* v. 4): see a similar miracle in reference to the cedar-tree of Vespasian (*Tacit. Hist.* ii. 78).

Euripidēs, in his lost tragedy called *Μελανίππη Σοφῇ*, placed in the mouth of Melanippē a formal discussion and confutation of the whole doctrine of *τέρατα*, or supernatural indications (*Dionys. Halicar. Ars Rhetoric.* p. 300-356, Reisk). Compare the Fables of Phædrus, iii. 3; Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* ch. 3. p. 149; and the curious philosophical explanation by which the learned men of Alexandria tranquillized the alarms of the vulgar, on occasion of the serpent said to have been seen entwined round the head of the crucified Kleomenēs (Plutarch, *Kleomen.* c. 39).

It is one part of the duty of an able physician, according to the Hippocratic treatise called *Prognosticon* (c. 1. t. ii. p. 112, ed. Littre), when he visits his patient, to examine whether there is anything divine in the malady, *αἴμα δὲ καὶ εἰ τι θεῖον ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇσι νούσοισι*: this, however, does not agree

The age immediately prior to this unsettled condition of things is the really mythopœic age; in which the creative faculty of the society knew no other employment, and the mass of the society no other mental demand. The perfect expression of this period, in its full peculiarity and grandeur, is to be found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, — poems of which we cannot determine the exact date, but which seem both to have existed prior to the first Olympiad, 776 B. C., our earliest trustworthy mark of time. For some time after that event, the mythopœic tenor continued in vigor (*Arktinus*, *Leschês*, *Eumêlus*, and see most of the *Hesiodic* poems, fall within or shortly after the first century of recorded Olympiads); but from and after the fifth century, we may trace the operation of causes which gradually enfeebled and narrowed them, altering the point of view from which the mythes were looked at. What these causes will be necessary briefly to intimate.

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with the memorable doctrine laid down in the treatise, *De Aëre, Aquâ* (c. 22. p. 78, ed. Littré), and cited hereafter, in this chapter does Galen seem to have regarded it as harmonizing with the general opinion of Hippocrætes. In the excellent *Prolegomena* of Mr. Littré to his edition of Hippocrætes (t. i. p. 76) will be found an inedited scholium, which opinion of Bœcœlius and other physicians is given, that the affective plagues were to be looked upon as divine, inasmuch as the disease came from God; and also the opinion of Xenophôn, the friend of Praxagoras, "genus of days of crisis" in fever was divine; "For (said Xenophôn) as the *Dioskuri*, being gods, appear to the mariner in the storm to bring him salvation, so also do the days of crisis, when they arrive, bring it." Galen, in commenting upon this doctrine of Xenophôn, says that it "has expressed his own individual feeling, but has no way set forth the opinion of Hippocrætes:" *Ὁ δὲ τῶν κρίσεων γένος ἡμερῶν εἰκὼν εἰς αὐτὰς τι πάθος ὁμολόγησεν· οὐ μὲν Ἰπποκράτους γε τὴν γνώμη* (Galen, *Opp.* t. v. p. 120, ed. Basil).

The comparison of the *Dioskuri* appealed to by Xenophôn in his reproduction of their function as described in the *Homeric Hymn* xxxiii. 10): his personification of the "days of crisis" introduces a religious agency to fill up a gap in his medical science.

I annex an illustration from the Hindoo vein of thought:—"It is with the Hindoos to bury, and not to burn, the bodies of those who die of the small-pox: for (say they) the small pox is not only caused by *deus Davey*, but is, in fact, *Davey herself*; and to burn the body of one affected with this disease, is, in reality, neither more nor less than to burn the goddess." (Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, etc., vol. i. ch. xxv.)

The foremost and most general of all is, the expansive force of Grecian intellect itself, — a quality in which this remarkable people stand distinguished from all their neighbors and contemporaries. Most, if not all nations have had mythes, but no nation except the Greeks have imparted to them immortal charm and universal interest; and the same mental capacities, which raised the great men of the poetic age to this exalted level, also pushed forward their successors to outgrow the early faith in which the mythes had been generated and accredited.

One great mark, as well as means, of such intellectual expansion, was the habit of attending to, recording, and combining, positive and present facts, both domestic and foreign. In the genuine Grecian epic, the theme was an unknown and aoristic past; but even as early as the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, the present begins to figure: the man who tills the earth appears in his own solitary nakedness, apart from gods and heroes — bound indeed by serious obligations to the gods, but contending against many difficulties which are not to be removed by simple reliance on their help. The poet denounces his age in the strongest terms as miserable, degraded and profligate, and looks back with reverential envy to the extinct heroic races who fought at Troy and Thêbes. Yet bad as the present time is, the Muse condescends to look at it along with him, and to prescribe rules for human life — with the assurance that if a man be industrious, frugal, provident, just and friendly in his dealings, the gods will recompense him with affluence and security. Nor does the Muse disdain, while holding out such promise, to cast herself into the most homely details of present existence and to give advice thoroughly practical and calculating. Men whose minds were full of the heroes of Homer, called Hesiod in contempt the poet of the Helots; and the contrast between the two is certainly a remarkable proof of the tendency of Greek poetry towards the present and the positive.

Other manifestations of the same tendency become visible in the age of Archilochus (B. C. 680-660). In an age when metrical composition and the living voice are the only means whereby the productive minds of a community make themselves felt, the invention of a new metre, new forms of song and recitation, or

diversified accompaniments, constitute an epoch. The elegiac, choric, and lyric poetry, from Archilochus downwards, indicate purposes in the poet, and impressibilities of the time very different from those of the ancient epic. In all of this the personal feeling of the poet and the specialties of time and place, are brought prominently forward, while in the Homeric hexameter the poet is a mere nameless organ of the historical Muse—the hearers are content to learn, believe, feel, the incidents of a foregone world, and the tale is hardly more suitable to one time and place than to another. The iambic trimeter (we are told) was first suggested to Archilochus by the bitterness of his own private antipathies; and the mortal wounds inflicted by his lampoons, upon the individuals against whom they were directed, still remain attested, though the verses themselves have perished. It was the metre (according to the well-founded judgment of Aristotle) most nearly approaching to speech, and well suited both to the coarse vein of sentiment and to the smart and emphatic diction of its inventor.<sup>1</sup> Simonides of Amorgus, the younger contemporary of Archilochus, employed the same metre, with less bitterness, but with an anti-hedonism not less decided. His remaining fragments preserve the true nature of teaching and sarcasm, having a distinct bearing upon actual life,<sup>2</sup> and carrying out the spirit which partially characterizes the Hesiodic Works and Days. Of Alkæus and Anacreon, though unfortunately we are compelled to speak of them on hearsay only, we know enough to satisfy us that their personal sentiments and sufferings, their relations private

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<sup>1</sup> Horat. de Art. Poet. 79:—

“Archilochum proprio rabies arnavit Iambo,” etc.

Compare Epist. i. 19, 23, and Epod. vi. 12; Aristot. Rhetor. ii. Poetic. c. 4—also Synesius de Somniiis—ὡς περ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ οἱ δαδ' ἀπανήκασιν τὴν εὐστομίαν εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον βίον ἐκάρερος. (Ament. Halle, 1810, p. 205). Quintilian speaks in striking language of the power of expression manifested by Archilochus (x. 1, 60).

<sup>2</sup> Simonidēs of Amorgus touches briefly, but in a tone of contempt upon the Trojan war—γυναικὸς οὐνεκ' ἀμφιδηριωμένους (Simon. S. p. 36. v. 118); he seems to think it absurd that so destructive a war should have taken place “*pro und mulierculâ*,” to use the phrase of Knight.

with the contemporary world, constituted the soul of those short effusions which gave them so much celebrity: <sup>1</sup> and in the few remains of the elegiac poets preserved to us — Kallinus, Mimnermus, Tyrtæus — the impulse of some present motive or circumstance is no less conspicuous. The same may also be said of Solôn, Theognis and Phokylidês, who preach, encourage, censure, or complain, but do not recount — and in whom a profound ethical sensibility, unknown to the Homeric poems, manifests itself: the form of poetry (to use the words of Solôn himself) is made the substitute for the public speaking of the agora.<sup>2</sup>

Doubtless all these poets made abundant use of the ancient mythes, but it was by turning them to present account, in the way of illustration, or flattery, or contrast, — a tendency which we may usually detect even in the compositions of Pindar, in spite of the lofty and heroic strain which they breathe throughout. That narrative or legendary poetry still continued to be composed during the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian æra is not to be questioned; but it exhibited the old epical

<sup>1</sup> See Quintilian, x. 1, 63. Horat. Od. i. 32; ii. 13. Aristot. Polit. iii. 10, 4. Dionys. Halic. observes (Vett. Scriptt. Censur. v. p. 421) respecting Alkæus — πολλοῦ γοῦν τὸ μέτρον εἰ τις περιέλοι, ῥητορικὴν ἂν εὖροι πολιτείαν; and Strabo (xiii. p. 617), τὰ στασιωτικὰ καλούμενα τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ποιήματα.

There was a large dash of sarcasm and homely banter aimed at neighbors and contemporaries in the poetry of Sapphō, apart from her impassioned love-songs — ἄλλως σκώπτει τὸν ἄγροικον νύμφιον καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς γύμοις, εὐτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πέζοις ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς. Ὡστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἐστὶ τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι ἢ ἄδειν· οὐδ' ἂν ἄρμοσαι πρὸς τὸν χόρον ἢ πρὸς τὴν λύραν, εἰ μὴ τις εἴη χόρος διαλεκτικός (Démêtr. Phaler, De Interpret. c. 167).

Compare also Herodot. ii. 135, who mentions the satirical talent of Sapphō, employed against her brother for an extravagance about the courtesan Rhodôpis.

<sup>2</sup> Solôn, Fragm. iv. 1, ed. Schneidewin: —

Αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἡμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος

Κόσμον ἐπέων φέδην ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος, etc.

See Brandis, Handbuch der Griechischen Philosophie, sect. xxiv.—xxv. Plato states that Solôn, in his old age, engaged in the composition of an epic poem, which he left unfinished, on the subject of the supposed island of Atlantis and Attica (Plato, Timæus, p. 21, and Kritias, p. 113). Plutarch, Solôn, c. 31.



character without the old epical genius; both the inspiration of the composer and the sympathies of the audience had more deeply enlisted in the world before them, and disport fasten on incidents of their own actual experience. From Homer and Theognis we pass to the abandonment of all metrical restrictions and to the introduction of prose writing, — a fact, the importance of which it is needless to dwell upon, — marking the increased familiarity with written records, as the commencement of a separate branch of literature for the intellect, from the imagination and emotions wherein the old legend found their exclusive root.

Egypt was first unreservedly opened to the Greeks during the reign of Psammetichus, about B. C. 660; gradually it became much frequented by them for military or commercial purposes, or for simple curiosity, and enlarged the range of their knowledge and observations, while it also imparted to them that mysticism, which overgrew the primitive simplicity of Egyptian religion, and of which I have spoken in a former chapter. They found in it a long-established civilization, colossal in the extent of its architecture, and a certain knowledge of astronomy and geometry, elementary indeed, but in advance of their own. And it was a portion of their present world, and it contributed to them an interest for noting and describing the actual state of things before them. A sensible progress is made in the Greek literature during the two centuries from B. C. 700 to B. C. 500, in the recording and arrangement of historical facts: an *historical sense* begins to prevail in the superior intellects, and some idea of evidence as a separating and insinuating test between fact and fiction. And this progress was further stimulated by increased communication by more settled and peaceful social relations between the members of the Hellenic world, to which may be added the improvements, purchased at the expense of a period of darkness and revolution, in the internal administration of the separate state. The Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games became frequented by visitors from the most distant parts of Greece; the great periodical festival in the island of Delos brought together the citizens of every Ionic community, with their wives and children, and an ample display of wealth and or-

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Hymn. ad Apollin.* 155; Thucyd. iii. 104.

Numerous and flourishing colonies were founded in Sicily, the south of Italy, the coasts of Epirus and of the Euxine Sea: the Phœceans explored the whole of the Adriatic, established *Masalia*, and penetrated even as far as the south of Ibéria, with which they carried on a lucrative commerce.<sup>1</sup> The geographical ideas of the Greeks were thus both expanded and rectified: the first preparation of a map, by Anaximander the disciple of Thalês, is an epoch in the history of science. We may note the ridicule bestowed by Herodotus both upon the supposed people called Hyperboreans and upon the idea of a circumfluous ocean-stream, as demonstrating the progress of the age in this department of inquiry.<sup>2</sup> And even earlier than Herodotus, Xanthus had noticed the occurrence of fossil marine productions in the interior of Asia Minor, which led him to reflections on the changes of the earth's surface with respect to land and water.<sup>3</sup>

If then we look down the three centuries and a half which elapsed between the commencement of the Olympic æra and the age of Herodotus and Thucydides, we shall discern a striking advance in the Greeks,—ethical, social and intellectual. Positive history and chronology has not only been created, but in the case of Thucydides, the qualities necessary to the historiographer, in their application to recent events, have been developed with a degree of perfection never since surpassed. Men's minds have assumed a gentler as well as a juster cast; and acts come to be criticized with reference to their bearing on the internal happiness of a well-regulated community, as well as upon the stand-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. iv. 36. *γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων τῆς περιόδου γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη, καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἔχοντας ἐξηγησάμενον· οἱ Ὀκείανόν τε βέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν, τοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὥς ἀπὸ τόρνου, etc., a remark probably directed against Hekataeus.*

Respecting the map of Anaximander, Strabo, i. p. 7; Diogen. Laert. ii. 1; Agathemer ap. Geograph. Minor. i. 1. *πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὴν εἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι.*

Aristagoras of Milêtus, who visited Sparta to solicit aid for the revolted Ionians against Darius, brought with him a brazen tablet or map, by means of which he exhibited the relative position of places in the Persian empire (Herodot. v. 49).

<sup>3</sup> Xanthus ap. Strabo. i. p. 50; xii. p. 579. Compare Creuzer, *Fragmenta Xanthi*, p. 162.

ing harmony of fraternal states. While Thucydides in habitual and licensed piracy, so coolly alluded to in the *Iliads*, as an obsolete enormity, many of the acts described in the old heroic and Theogonic legends were found not less repugnant to this improved tone of feeling. The battles of the gods with the Giants and Titans,—the castration of Uranus by his son Kronus,—the cruelty, deceit and licentiousness, often ascribed both in the gods and heroes, provoked strong disapprobation. And the language of the philosopher Xenophanes, who composed both elegiac and iambic poems for the express purpose of denouncing such tales, is as vehement and unsparing as that of the Christian writers,\* who, eight centuries afterwards, completed the whole scheme of paganism.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was it alone as an ethical and social critic that Xenophanes stood distinguished. He was one of a great and illustrious triad—Thales and Pythagoras being the others—which, in the sixth century before the Christian era, first opened the veins of speculative philosophy which occupied afterwards a large portion of Grecian intellectual energy. Of the differences between the three I do not here speak; I refer only in reference to the Homeric and Hesiodic philosophy which preceded them, and from which all three deviated by perhaps the most remarkable in all the history of philosophy. In the scheme of ideas common to Homer and to the *Theogony* (as has been already stated), we find nature parcelled out into a variety of personal agencies, administered according to the free-will of different Beings more or less analogous to each other—each of these Beings having his own character, attributes, powers, his own sources of pain and pleasure, and his own special sympathies or antipathies with human individuals; each determined to act or forbear, to grant favor or inflict punishment in his own department of phenomena, according as men, or other Beings analogous to himself, might conciliate or offend him. The Gods, properly so called, (those who bore a prominent part in the legends, and received some public or family worship,) were the commanding and capital members amidst this vast network

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophan. ap. Sext. Empiric. adv. Mathemat. ix. 193. Fragm. Græc. ed. Schneidewin. Diogen. Laërt. ix. 18.

visible and invisible, spread over the universe.<sup>1</sup> The whole view of nature was purely religious and subjective, the spontaneous suggestion of the early mind. It proceeded from the instinctive tendencies of the feelings and imagination to transport, to the world without, the familiar type of free-will and conscious personal action: above all, it took deep hold of the emotions, from the widely extended sympathy which it so perpetually called forth between man and nature.<sup>2</sup>

The first attempt to disenthral the philosophic intellect from this all-personifying religious faith, and to constitute a method of interpreting nature distinct from the spontaneous inspirations of untaught minds, is to be found in Thalès, Xenophanès and Pythagoras, in the sixth century before the Christian æra. It is in them that we first find the idea of Person tacitly set aside or limited, and an impersonal Nature conceived as the object of study. The divine husband and wife, Oceanus and Têthys, parents of many gods and of the Oceanic nymphs, together with the avenging goddess Styx, are translated into the material substance *water*, or, as we ought rather to say, the *Fluid*: and Thalès set himself to prove that water was the primitive element, out of which all the different natural substances had been formed.<sup>3</sup> He, as well as Xenophanès and Pythagoras, started the problem of physical philosophy, with its objective character and invariable laws, to be discoverable by a proper and methodical application of the human intellect. The Greek word *Φύσις*, denoting *nature*, and its derivatives *physics* and *physiology*, unknown in that large sense to Homer or Hesiod, as well as the word *Kosmos*, to denote the mundane system, first appears with these philosophers.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Opp. Di. 122; Homer, Hymn. ad Vener. 260.

<sup>2</sup> A defence of the primitive faith, on this ground, is found in Plutarch, Quæstion. Sympos. vii. 4, 4, p. 703.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotel. Metaphys. i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, Placit. Philos. ii. 1; also Stobæus, Eclog. Physic. i. 22, where the difference between the Homeric expressions and those of the subsequent philosophers is seen. Damm, Lexic. Homeric. v. *Φύσις*; Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos*, p. 76, the note 9 on page 62 of that admirable work.

The title of the treatises of the early philosophers (Melissus, Démokritus, Parmenidès, Empedoclès, Alkmæôn, etc.) was frequently *Περὶ Φύσεως* (Galen. Opp. tom. i. p. 56, ed. Basil).

elemental analysis of Thalés — the one unchangeable existence, varying only in appearance, but not in reality, as held by Xenophanês, — and the geometrical and arithmetical combinations of Pythagoras, — all these were different approaches to the explanation of physical phenomena, and gave rise to a distinct school or succession of philosophers. They all agreed in departing from the primitive method of recognizing determinate properties, invariable sequences, objective truth, in nature — either independent of all designing agents, or serving to these latter at once as an ensuable subject-matter and as a limiting condition. Xenophanês disclaimed openly all knowledge respecting the gods, pronounced that no man could have any means of ascertaining whether he was right and when he was wrong, in affirmations concerning them:¹ while Pythagoras represents in part the scientific spirit of his age, in part also the spirit of mysticism and fraternities for religious and ascetic observance, which diffused throughout Greece in the sixth century before the Christian æra. This was another point which placed him in contrast with the simple, unconscious and demonstrative faith of the poets, as well as with the current legends.

If these distinguished men, when they ceased to follow the primitive instinct of tracing the phenomena of nature to their causes and designing agents, passed over, not at once to induction and observation, but to a misemployment of abstract words in metaphysical *eideôla* in the place of polytheism, we must remember that nothing else could be expected from a scanty stock of facts then accessible, and that the most advanced study of the human mind points out such transition as a necessary law of intellectual progress.² At present, we have

¹ Xenophan, ap. Sext. Empiric. vii. 50; viii. 326. —

Καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν, ὅτε τις ἐστιν  
Εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄλλα λέγω περὶ πάντων·  
Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπὼν,  
Αὐτός δ' ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε, δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται.

Compare Aristotel. De Xenophane, Zenone, et Georgiâ, capp. i. et ii.

² See the treatise of M. Auguste Comte (*Cours de Philosophie*).

them only with that state of the Greek mind<sup>1</sup> which they partially superseded, and with which they were in decided opposition. The rudiments of physical science were conceived and developed among superior men; but the religious feeling of the mass was averse to them; and the aversion, though gradually mitigated, never wholly died away. Some of the philosophers were not backward in charging others with irreligion, while the multitude seems to have felt the same sentiment more or less towards all — or towards that postulate of constant sequences, with determinate conditions of occurrence, which scientific study implies, and which they could not reconcile with their belief in the agency of the gods, to whom they were constantly praying for special succor and blessings.

The discrepancy between the scientific and the religious point of view was dealt with differently by different philosophers. Thus Socratēs openly admitted it, and assigned to each a distinct and independent province. He distributed phænomena into two classes: one, wherein the connection of antecedent and consequent was invariable and ascertainable by human study, and therefore future results accessible to a well-instructed foresight; the other, and those, too, the most comprehensive and important, which the gods had reserved for themselves and their own unconditional agency, wherein there was no invariable or ascertainable sequence, and where the result could only be foreknown by some omen, prophecy, or other special inspired communication from themselves. Each of these classes was essentially distinct, and required to be looked at and dealt with in a manner radically incompatible with the other. Socratēs held it wrong to apply the scientific interpretation to the latter, or the theological interpretation to the former. Physics and astronomy, in his opinion,

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his doctrine of the three successive stages of the human mind in reference to scientific study — the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; — a doctrine laid down generally in his first lecture (vol. i. p. 4–12), and largely applied and illustrated throughout his instructive work. It is also re-stated and elucidated by Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his *System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive*, vol. ii. p. 610.

<sup>1</sup> "Human wisdom (*ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία*), as contrasted with the primitive theology (*οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ διατρέβοντες περὶ τὰς θεολογίας*)," to take the words of Aristotle (*Meteorolog.* ii. 1. pp. 41–42, ed. Tauchnitz).

belonged to the divine class of phenomena, in which search was insane, fruitless, and impious.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Hippocrátēs; the contemporary o denied the discrepancy, and merged into one those two phenomena, — the divine and the scientifically deter which the latter had put asunder. Hippocrátēs treat nomena as at once both divine and scientifically det In discussing certain peculiar bodily disorders found Scythians, he observes, "The Scythians themselves cause of this to God, and reverence and bow down ferers, each man fearing that he may suffer the like; self think too that these affections, as well as all oth vine: no one among them is either more divine or n than another, but all are on the same footing, and all d urthertheless each of them has its own physical condition one occurs without such physical conditions."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Memor. i. 1, 6-9. Τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα (Σωκράτης) συ πράττειν, ὡς ἐνόμιζεν ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδύλων βήσοιτο, μαντευσομένους ἐπεμπεύειν, εἰ ποιητέα. Καὶ τοὺς μέλλου καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκῆσειν· μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι· τεκτονι χαλκευτικὴν ἢ γεωργικὴν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὴν, ἢ τῶν τοιούτων τικὴν, ἢ λογιστικὴν, ἢ οἰκονομικὴν, ἢ στρατηγικὴν γενέσθαι, πάν μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ ἀρετέα, ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι· τὰ δὲ μ τοῦτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὡ εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· . . . . . Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ο δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, δαιμονῶν ἔφη καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἂ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθο . . . . . Ἐφη δὲ δεῖν, ἂ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔστι, πειρᾶσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τ θάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ὤσιν ὁλῶ, σημαίνειν. ( Memorab. iv. 7. 7; and Cyropæd. i. 6, 3, 23-46.

Physical and astronomical phenomena are classified by Sc the divine class, interdicted to human study (Memor. i. 1, 1; δαιμόνια as supposed to τάνθρώπεια. Plato (Phileb. c. 16; La 889; xii. p. 967) held the sun and stars to be gods, each an special soul: he allowed astronomical investigation to the ex for avoiding blasphemy respecting these beings — μέχρι τοῦ , περὶ αὐτά (vii. 821).

<sup>2</sup> Hippocrátēs, De Aëre, Locis et Aquis, c. 22 (p. 78, ed. L ed. Petersen): Ἐτι τε πρὸς τοιούτοις ἐννούχαι γίνονται Σκύθησι, καὶ γυναικῖα ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες διαλέγου καλεῖνται τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνάνδοις. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιχώριοι τῆ

A third distinguished philosopher of the same day, Anaxagoras, allegorizing Zeus and the other personal gods, proclaimed the doctrine of one common pervading Mind, as having first established order and system in the mundane aggregate, which had once been in a state of chaos — and as still manifesting its uninterrupted agency for wise and good purposes. This general doctrine obtained much admiration from Plato and Aristotle; but they at the same time remarked with surprise, that Anaxagoras never made any use at all of his own general doctrine for the explanation of the phenomena of nature, — that he looked for nothing but physical causes and connecting laws,<sup>1</sup> — so that in fact the spirit of his particular researches was not materially different from those of Demokritus or Leukippus, whatever might be the difference in their general theories. His investigations in meteorology and astronomy, treating the heavenly bodies as subjects for calculation, have been already noticed as offensive, not only to the general public of Greece, but even to Socratēs himself among them: he was tried at Athens, and seems to have escaped condemnation only by voluntary exile.<sup>2</sup>

τιθέσσι θεῶ καὶ σέβονται τουντέους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ προσκυνέουσι, δεδοί-  
κότες περὶ ἐωυτέων ἑκαστοί. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δοκέει ταῦτα τὰ πάντα θεῶ  
εἶναι, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἑτέρου θεϊότερον οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπινώ-  
τερον, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα. ἑκαστον δὲ ἔχει φύσιν τῶν τουντέων, καὶ οὐδὲν  
ἀνευ φύσιος γίγνεται. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ὡς μοι δοκέει γίγνεσθαι, φράσω,  
etc.

Again, sect. 112. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἔλεξα, θεῖα μὲν καὶ  
ταῦτά ἐστι ὁμοίως τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, γίγνεται δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἑκαστα.

Compare the remarkable treatise of Hippocratēs, *De Morbo Sacro*, capp. 1 and 18, vol. vi. p. 352–394, ed. Littre. See this opinion of Hippocratēs illustrated by the doctrines of some physical philosophers stated in Aristotle, *Physic.* ii. 8. ὥσπερ θεὸς Ζεὺς, οὐχ ὅπως τὸν σίτον αὐξήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, etc. Some valuable observations on the method of Hippocratēs are also found in Plato, *Phædr.* p. 270.

<sup>1</sup> See the graphic picture in Plato, *Phædon.* p. 97–98 (cap. 46–47): compare Plato, *Legg.* xii. p. 967; Aristotle, *Metaphysic.* i. p. 13–14 (ed. Brandis); Plutarch, *Defect. Oracul.* p. 435.

Simplicius, *Commentar.* in Aristotel. *Physic.* p. 38. καὶ ὅπερ δὲ ὁ ἐν φαίδωνι Σωκράτης ἐγλαίει τῷ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ, τὸ ἐν ταῖς τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰτιολογίαις μὴ τῷ νῦν κεχρησθαι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ὑλικαῖς ἀποδόσεσιν, οἰκεῖον ἦν τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ. Anaxagoras thought that the superior intelligence of men, as compared with other animals, arose from his possession of hands (*Aristot. de Part. Animal.* iv. 10. p. 687, ed. Bekk.).

<sup>2</sup> Xenophōn, *Memorab.* iv. 7. Socratēs said, καὶ παραβρονῆσαι τὸν ταῦτε



The three eminent men just named, all essentially from each other, may be taken as illustrations of the ph mind of Greece during the last half of the fifth cen Scientific pursuits had acquired a powerful hold, and themselves in various ways with the prevalent religiou of the age. Both Hippocratēs and Anaxagoras mod ideas of the divine agency so as to suit their thirst for research. According to the former, the gods were the ficient agents in the production of all phænomena, — and indifferent not less than the terrific or tutelary. E alike connected with all phænomena, they were speciated with none — and the proper task of the inquirer v out those rules and conditions by which (he assumed) th was always determined, and according to which it mig told. And this led naturally to the proceeding which Aristotle remark in Anaxagoras, — that the all-gove Infinite Mind, having been announced in sublime la the beginning of his treatise, was afterward left out of never applied to the explanation of particular phæno ing as much consistent with one modification of natu

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*μεριμνῶντα οὐδὲν ἦτρον ἢ Ἀναξαγόρας παρεφρόνησεν, ὁ μέγιστος ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς τῶν θεῶν μηχανὰς ἐξηγεῖσθαι, etc.* Compare Schaul agoræ Fragment. p. 50-141; Plutarch, Nikias, 23, and Periklēs, gen. Laert. ii. 10-14.

The Ionic philosophy, from which Anaxagoras receded more than in spirit, seems to have been the least popular of all the sch some of the commentators treat it as conformable to vulgar opin it confined itself for the most part to phænomenal explanations, recognize the *noumena* of Plato, or the *τὸ ἐν νοητὸν* of Parmenidē fuit Ionicorum, quæ tum dominabatur, ratio, vulgari opinione sensu comprobata" (Karsten, Parmenidis Fragment, De Parm sophiâ, p. 154). This is a mistake: the Ionic philosophers, wh searched for and insisted upon physical laws, came more directly with the sentiment of the multitude than the Eleatic school.

The larger atmospheric phænomena were connected in the n manner with Grecian religious feeling and uneasiness (see De Sect. Empiric. ix. sect. 19-24. p. 552-554, Fabric.): the attemp agoras and Demokritus to explain them were more displeasing than the Platonic speculations (Demokritus ap. Aristot. Me Stobæus, Eclog. Physic. p. 594: compare Mullach, Democriti lib. iv. p. 394).

another. Now such a view of the divine agency could never be reconciled with the religious feelings of the ordinary Grecian believer, even as they stood in the time of Anaxagoras; still less could it have been reconciled with those of the Homeric man, more than three centuries earlier. By him Zeus and Athênê were conceived as definite Persons, objects of special reverence, hopes, and fears, and animated with peculiar feelings, sometimes of favor, sometimes of wrath, towards himself or his family or country. They were propitiated by his prayers, and prevailed upon to lend him succor in danger — but offended and disposed to bring evil upon him if he omitted to render thanks or sacrifice. This sense of individual communion with, and dependence upon them was the essence of his faith; and with that faith, the all-pervading Mind proclaimed by Anaxagoras — which had no more concern with one man or one phenomenon than with another, — could never be brought into harmony. Nor could the believer, while he prayed with sincerity for special blessings or protection from the gods, acquiesce in the doctrine of Hippocratês, that their agency was governed by constant laws and physical conditions.

That radical discord between the mental impulses of science and religion, which manifests itself so decisively during the most cultivated ages of Greece, and which harassed more or less so many of the philosophers, produced its most afflicting result in the condemnation of Socratês by the Athenians. According to the remarkable passage recently cited from Xenophôn, it will appear that Socratês agreed with his countrymen in denouncing physical speculations as impious, — that he recognized the religious process of discovery as a peculiar branch, coördinate with the scientific, — and that he laid down a theory, of which the basis was, the confessed divergence of these two processes from the beginning — thereby seemingly satisfying the exigencies of religious hopes and fears on the one hand, and those of reason, in her ardor for ascertaining the invariable laws of phenomena, on the other. We may remark that the theory of this religious and extra-scientific process of discovery was at that time sufficiently complete; for Socratês could point out, that those anomalous phenomena which the gods had reserved for themselves, and into

which science was forbidden to pry, were yet accessible to the pious man, through oracles, omens, and other traditional means of communication which divine benevolence had kept open. Considering thus to how great a degree Socrates was identified in feeling with the religious life of Athens, and considering moreover that his performance of religious duties was assiduous — we might wonder, as Plato does wonder,<sup>1</sup> how it could have happened that the Athenians mistook him at the end of his life for an irreligious man. But we see, by the defence which Xenophon as well as Plato gives for him, that the Athenian public really considered him, in spite of his own disclaimer, as homogeneous with Aristotle and the other physical inquirers, because he had applied scientific reasonings to moral and social phenomena. They looked upon him with the same displeasure as he himself felt towards the physical philosophers, and we cannot but admit that in this respect they were more unfortunately consistent than he. It is true that the mode of defence adopted by Socrates contributed much to the verdict found against him, and that he was weighed down by private offence given to powerful individuals and professions; but all these separate antipathies found account in swelling the cry against him as an over-curtain, and an impious innovator.

Now the scission thus produced between the superstitious and the multitude, in consequence of the development of the scientific point of view, is a fact of great moment in the history of Greek progress, and forms an important connection between the age of Homer and Hesiod and that of Theophrastus. Though in point of fact even the multitude, during this period, were partially modified by those very scientific views which were regarded with disfavor. And we must keep in view the primitive religious faith, once universal and unobstructed, frequently disturbed by the intrusions of science; we must note the great change, as well in respect to enlarged intellect as to refinement of social and ethical feeling, among the Athenians from the Hesiodic times downward, in order to render account of the altered manner in which the ancient myth

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Memorab. i. 1.

to be dealt with. These mythes, the spontaneous growth of a creative and personifying interpretation of nature, had struck root in Grecian associations at a time when the national faith required no support from what we call evidence. They were *now* submitted, not simply to a feeling, imagining, and believing public, but also to special classes of instructed men, — philosophers, historians, ethical teachers, and critics, — and to a public partially modified by their ideas<sup>1</sup> as well as improved by a wider practical experience. They were not intended for such an audience; they had ceased to be in complete harmony even with the lower strata of intellect and sentiment, — much more so with the higher. But they were the cherished inheritance of a past time; they were interwoven in a thousand ways with the religious faith, the patriotic retrospect, and the national worship, of every Grecian community; the general type of the mythe was the ancient, familiar, and universal form of Grecian thought, which even the most cultivated men had imbibed in their childhood from the poets,<sup>2</sup> and by which they were to a certain degree unconsciously

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to see that some of the most recondite doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy were actually brought before the general Syracusan public in the comedies of Epicharmus: "In comœdiis suis personas sæpe ita colloqui fecit, ut sententias Pythagoricas et in universum sublimia vitæ præcepta immisceret" (Grysar, *De Doriensium Comœdiâ*, p. 111, Col. 1828). The fragments preserved in Diogen. Laërt. (iii. 9-17) present both criticisms upon the Hesiodic doctrine of a primæval chaos, and an exposition of the archetypal and immutable ideas (as opposed to the fluctuating phenomena of sense) which Plato afterwards adopted and systematized.

Epicharmus seems to have combined with this abstruse philosophy a strong vein of comic shrewdness and some turn to scepticism (Cicero, *Epistol. ad Attic.* i. 19): "ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus Epicharmus insusurret cantilenam suam." Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 258. *Νῆφε καὶ μέμναο' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. Ζῶμεν ἀριθμῶ καὶ λογισμῶ· ταῦτα γὰρ σώζει βροτοῦς.* Also his contemptuous ridicule of the prophetesses of his time who cheated foolish women out of their money, pretending to universal knowledge, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι τῷ τῆν᾽ λόγῳ (ap Polluc. ix. 81). See about Epicharmus, O. Müller, *Dorians*, iv. 7, 4.

These dramas seem to have been exhibited at Syracuse between 480-460 B. C., anterior even to Chionidēs and Magnēs at Athens (*Aristot. Poet.* c. 3): he says πᾶσι πρῶτος, which can hardly be literally exact. The critics of the Horatian age looked upon Epicharmus as the prototype of Plautus (*Hor. Epistol.* ii. 1. 58).

<sup>2</sup> The third book of the republic of Plato is particularly striking in refer-

enslaved. Taken as a whole the mythes had acquired a  
tive and ineffaceable possession: to attack, call in que  
repudiate them, was a task painful even to undertake,  
beyond the power of any one to accomplish.

For these reasons the anti-mythic vein of criticism  
no effect as a destroying force, but nevertheless its dissol  
composing and transforming influence was very considera  
accommodate the ancient mythes to an improved tone of s  
and a newly created canon of credibility, was a functi  
even the wisest Greeks did not disdain, and which occ  
small proportion of the whole intellectual activity of th

The mythes were looked at from a point of view co  
foreign to the reverential curiosity and literal imagina  
of the Homeric man; they were broken up and recast  
to force them into new moulds such as their authors h  
conceived. We may distinguish four distinct classes  
in the literary age now under examination, as having ta  
in hand—the poets, the logographers, the philosophers  
historians.

With the poets and logographers, the mythical person  
predecessors, and the mythical world an antecedent fa  
is divine and heroic reality, not human; the present is  
brother of the past (to borrow<sup>1</sup> an illustration from Pin  
allusion to gods and men), remotely and generically  
closely and specifically, analogous to it. As a general  
old feelings and the old unconscious faith, apart from a  
evidence, still remain in their minds; but recent feel  
grown up which compel them to omit, to alter, sometim  
reject and condemn, particular narratives.

Pindar repudiates some stories and transforms other  
they are inconsistent with his conceptions of the gods.  
formally protests against the tale that Pelops had b  
and served up at table by his father, for the immortal g  
he shrinks from the idea of imputing to them so horri

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ence to the use of the poets in education: see also his treatise l  
p. 810–811. Some teachers made their pupils learn whole p  
(*ὅλους ποιητὰς ἐκμανθάνων*), others preferred extracts and selec

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Nem.* vi. 1. Compare Simonidēs, *Fragm.* 1 (Gaisfo

tite; he pronounces the tale to have been originally fabricated by a slanderous neighbor. Nor can he bring himself to recount the quarrels between different gods.<sup>1</sup> The amours of Zeus and Apollo are no way displeasing to him; but he occasionally suppresses some of the simple details of the old myths, as deficient in dignity: thus, according to the Hesiodic narrative, Apollo was informed by a raven of the infidelity of the nymph Korônîs: but the mention of the raven did not appear to Pindar consistent with the majesty of the god, and he therefore wraps up the mode of detection in vague and mysterious language.<sup>2</sup> He feels considerable repugnance to the character of Odysseus, and intimates more than once that Homer has unduly exalted him, by force of poetical artifice. With the character of the Æakid Ajax, on the other hand, he has the deepest sympathy, as well as with his untimely and inglorious death, occasioned by the undeserved preference of a less worthy rival.<sup>3</sup> He appeals for his authority usually to the Muse, but sometimes to "ancient sayings of men," accompanied with a general allusion to story-tellers and bards,—admitting, however, that these stories present great discrepancy, and sometimes that they are false.<sup>4</sup> Yet the marvellous and the supernatural afford no ground whatever for rejecting a story: Pindar makes an express declaration to this effect in reference to the romantic adventures of Perseus and the Gorgon's head.<sup>5</sup> He treats even those mythical characters, which conflict the most palpably with positive experience, as connected by a real genealogical thread with the world before him. Not merely the heroes of Troy and Thêbes, and the demigod seamen of Jasôn and the ship Argô, but also the Centaur Cheirôn, the hundred-headed Typhôs, the giant Alkyoneus, Antæus, Bellerophon,

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Olymp. i. 30-55; ix. 32-45.

<sup>2</sup> Pyth. iii. 25. See the allusions to Semelê, Alkmêna, and Danaë, Pyth. iii. 98; Nem. x. 10. Compare also *supra*, chap. ix. p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, Nem. vii. 20-30; viii. 23-31. Isthm. iii. 50-60.

It seems to be sympathy for Ajax, in odes addressed to noble Æginetan victors, which induces him thus to depreciate Odysseus; for he eulogizes Sisyphus, specially on account of his cunning and resources (Olymp. xiii. 50). in the ode addressed to Xenophôn the Corinthian.

<sup>4</sup> Olymp. i. 28; Nem. viii. 20; Pyth. i. 93; Olymp. vii. 55; Nem. vi. 43 *ἀντι δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιὰ ρήσεις*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Pyth. x. 49. Compare Pyth. xii. 11-22.

phôn and Pegasus, the Chimæra, the Amazons and the boreans — all appear painted on the same canvas, and with the same colors, as the men of the recent and recent Phalaris and Kræsus; only they are thrown back to a distance in the perspective.<sup>1</sup> The heroic ancestors of the Æginetan, Thessalian, Thêban, Argean, etc. families, whose members the poet celebrates for their agonistic sympathize with the exploits and second the efforts of ascendants: the inestimable value of a privileged breed the stamp of nature is powerfully contrasted with the idea of unassisted teaching and practice.<sup>2</sup> The power of the Argeian Theseus and his relatives as wrestlers, are partly to the fact that their ancestors Pamphaês in had hospitably entertained the Tyndarids Kastôr and Perhaps however the strongest proof of the sincerity of mythical faith is afforded when he notices a guilty incest, shame and repugnance, but with an unwilling confession of truth, as in the case of the fratricide committed on his brothers Pêleus and Telamôn.<sup>4</sup>

Æschylus and Sophoklês exhibit the same spontaneous uninquiring faith as Pindar in the legendary antiquities taken as a whole; but they allow themselves greater freedom to the details. It was indispensable to the success of positions that they should recast and group anew the events, preserving the names and general understood those characters whom they introduced. The demand of combination increased with the multiplication of traditions at Athens: moreover the feelings of the Athenians as well as political, had become too critical to tolerate reproduction of many among the ancient stories.

Both of them exalted rather than lowered the dignity of the mythical world, as something divine and heroic rather than

<sup>1</sup> Pyth. i. 17; iii. 4-7; iv. 12; viii. 16. Nem. iv. 27-32; v. 31; vi. 44-48. Olymp. iii. 17; viii. 63; xiii. 61-87.

<sup>2</sup> Nem. iii. 39; v. 40. συγγενής εὐδοξία — πότμος συγγενής; ix. 103. Pindar seems to introduce φάλα in cases where Homer mentioned the divine assistance.

<sup>3</sup> Nem. x. 37-51. Compare the family legend of the Atharates, in Plato, Lysis, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Nem. v.

The Promêtheus of Æschylus is a far more exalted conception than his keen-witted namesake in Hesiod, and the more homely details of the ancient Thêbais and Œdipodia were in like manner modified by Sophoklês.<sup>1</sup> The religious agencies of the old epic are constantly kept prominent, and the paternal curse, — the wrath of deceased persons against those from whom they have sustained wrong, — the judgments of the Erinnys against guilty or foredoomed persons, sometimes inflicted directly, sometimes brought about through dementation of the sufferer himself (like the Homeric Atê), — are frequent in their tragedies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, chap. xiv. p. 368. on the Legend of the Siege of Thêbes.

<sup>2</sup> The curse of Œdipus is the determining force in the Sept. ad Thêb., 'Αρά τ', 'Εριννὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενὴς (v. 70); it reappears several times in the course of the drama, with particular solemnity in the mouth of Eteoklês (695-709, 725, 785, etc.); he yields to it as an irresistible force, as carrying the family to ruin: —

Ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεὸς,  
 Ἴτω κατ' οὐδρον, κύμα Κωκντοῦ λαχόν,  
 Φοίβω στυγθὲν πᾶν τὸ Δαΐου γένος.

\* \* \* \* \*

Φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς τέλει ἄρα  
 Ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὁμμασιν προσίζανει, etc.

So again at the opening of the Agamemnôn, the *νύμῳ* *μήνις* *τεκνόποινοις* (v. 155) and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia are dwelt upon as leaving behind them an avenging doom upon Agamemnôn, though he took precautions for gagging her mouth during the sacrifice and thus preventing her from giving utterance to imprecations — *Φθόγγον ἀραὶον οἴκοις βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει (κατασχεῖν)*, v. 346. The Erinnys awaits Agamemnôn even at the moment of his victorious consummation at Troy (467; compare 762-990, 1336-1433): she is most to be dreaded after great good fortune: she enforces the curse which ancestral crimes have brought upon the house of Atreus — *πρώταρχος ἄτη — παλαιαὶ ἀμαρτίαι δόμων* (1185-1197, Choëph. 692) — the curse imprecated by the outraged Thyestês (1601). In the Choëphoræ, Apollo menaces Orestês with the wrath of his deceased father, and all the direful visitations of the Erinnys, unless he undertakes to revenge the murder (271-296). *Alsa* and *'Εριννὺς* bring on blood for blood (647). But the moment that Orestês, placed between these conflicting obligations (925), has achieved it, he becomes himself the victim of the Erinnys, who drive him mad even at the end of the Choëphoræ (*ὥς δ' ἔτ' ἐμφρων εἰμι*, 1026), and who make their appearance bodily, and pursue him throughout the third drama of this fearful trilogy. The *Eidôlon* of Klytæmnêstra impels them to vengeance (Eumenid. 96) and even spurs them on when they appear to relax.



*Æschylus* in two of his remaining pieces brings forward gods as the chief personages, and far from sharing the object of *Pindar* to dwell upon dissensions of the gods, he introduces *Prometheus* and *Zeus* in the one, *Apollo* and the *Eumenides* in the other, in marked opposition. The dialogue, first superior by him upon the primitive Chorus, gradually became the important portion of the drama, and is more elaborated in *klês* than in *Æschylus*. Even in *Sophoklês*, however, generally retains its ideal majesty as contrasted with the local and forensic tone which afterwards crept in; it grows the piece, and addresses itself to the emotions more than reason of the audience. Nevertheless, the effect of a political discussion and democratical feeling is visible in both dramatists. The idea of rights and legitimate privilege posed to usurping force, is applied by *Æschylus* even to society of the gods: the *Eumenidês* accuse *Apollo* of having, insolence of youthful ambition, "ridden down" their old

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*Apollo* conveys *Orestês* to Athens, whither the *Erinnyes* pursue to prosecute him before the judgment-seat of the goddess *Athênê*, they submit the award; *Apollo* appearing as his defender. The dialogue between "the daughters of Night" and the god, accusing and defending (576-730): the *Erinnyes* are deeply mortified at their situation put upon them when *Orestês* is acquitted, but *Athênê* at length ciles them, and a covenant is made whereby they become protectors of Attica, accepting of a permanent abode and solemn worship (1006) returns to Argos, and promises that even in his tomb he will watch of his descendants shall ever injure the land of Attica (770). The scene and acquittal of *Orestês* formed the consecrating legend of the Hill of *Areiopagus*.

This is the only complete trilogy of *Æschylus* which we possess. The avenging *Erinnyes* (416) are the movers throughout the whole — the first two dramas, visible and appalling in the third. And the appearance of *Cassandra* under the actual prophetic fever in the first, contributes farther to impart to it a coloring different from common humanity.

The general view of the movement of the *Oresteia* given in (*Æschyl. Trilogie*, p. 445) appears to me more conformable to the ideas than that of *Klausen* (*Theologumena Æschyli*, pp. 157-168). A valuable collection and comparison of passages is too much afforded here and elsewhere, by the desire to bring the agencies of the Greek world into harmony with what a religious mind of the present would approve. Moreover, he sinks the personality of *Athênê* too much in the supreme authority of *Zeus* (p. 158-168).

lives! — while the Titan Promêtheus, the champion of suffering humanity against the unfriendly dispositions of Zeus, ventures to depict the latter as a recent usurper reigning only by his superior strength, exalted by one successful revolution, and destined at some future time to be overthrown by another, — a fate which cannot be averted except through warnings communicable only by Promêtheus himself.<sup>2</sup>

It is commonly understood that Æschylus disapproved of the march of democracy at Athens during his later years, and that the *Eumenidês* is intended as an indirect manifestation in favor of the senate of Areiopagus. Without inquiring at present whether such a special purpose can be distinctly made out, we may plainly see that the poet introduces, into the relations of the gods with each other, a feeling of political justice, arising out of the times in which he lived and the debates of which he was a witness. But though Æschylus incurred reproaches of impiety from Plato, and seemingly also from the Athenian public, for particular speeches and incidents in his tragedies,<sup>3</sup> and though he does not adhere

<sup>1</sup> *Eumenidês*, 150. —

Ἰὼ καὶ Διὸς, ἐπὶ κλοπῇ πέλει,  
Νεὸς δὲ γράϊας δαίμονας καθ' ἡπτάσω, etc.

The same metaphor again, v. 731. Æschylus seems to delight in contrasting the young and the old gods: compare 70–162, 882.

The Erinyes tell Apollo that he assumes functions which do not belong to him, and will thus desecrate those which do belong to him (715–754): —

Ἄλλ' αἰματηρὰ πράγματ', οὐ λαχὼν, σέβεις,  
Μαντεῖα δ' οὐκ ἔθ' ἄγνῳ μαντεύσει μένων.

The refusal of the king Pelasgos, in the *Supplices*, to undertake what he feels to be the sacred duty of protecting the suppliant Danaïdes, without first submitting the matter to his people and obtaining their expressed consent, and the fear which he expresses of their blame (κατ' ἀρχὰς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λέως), are more forcibly set forth than an old epic poet would probably have thought necessary (see *Supplices*, 369, 397, 485, 519). The solemn wish to exclude both anarchy and despotism from Athens bears still more the mark of political feeling of the time — μήτ' ἀναρχὸν μήτε δεσποτουμενον (*Eumenid.* 527–696)

<sup>2</sup> Promêtheus, 35, 151, 170, 309, 524, 910, 940, 956.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Republ.* ii. 381–383; compare Æschyl. *Fragment* 159, ed. Dindorf. He was charged also with having divulged in some of his plays secret matters of the mysteries of Démêtêr, but is said to have excused himself by alleging ignorance: he was not aware that what he had said was comprised

to the received vein of religious tradition with the same strictness as Sophoklēs — yet the ascendancy and interference of the gods is never out of sight, and the solemnity with which they are represented, set off by a bold, figurative, and elliptical style of

in the mysteries (Aristot. *Ethic. Nicom.* iii. 2; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* ii. p. 387); the story is different again in Ælian, *V. H.* v. 19.

How little can be made out distinctly respecting this last accusation may be seen in Lobeck, *Aglaopham.* p. 81.

Cicero (*Tusc. Dis.* ii. 10) calls Æschylus "almost a Pythagorean:" upon what the epithet is founded we do not know.

There is no evidence to prove to us that the *Promêtheus Vincetus* was considered as impious by the public before whom it was represented; but its obvious meaning has been so regarded by modern critics, who resort to many different explanations of it, in order to prove that when properly construed it is not impious. But if we wish to ascertain what Æschylus really meant, we ought not to consult the religious ideas of modern times; we have no taste except what we know of the poet's own time and that which had preceded him. The explanations given by the ablest critics seem generally to exhibit a predetermination to bring out Zeus as a just, wise, merciful, and all-powerful Being; and all, in one way or another, distort the figures, alter the perspective, and give far-fetched interpretations of the meaning, of this striking drama, which conveys an impression directly contrary (see Welcker, *Trilogie, Æsch.* p. 90-117, with the explanation of Dissen there given; Klausen, *Theologum. Æsch.* p. 140-154; Schömann, in his recent translation of the play, and the criticism on that translation in the *Wiener Jahrbucher*, vol. cix. 1845, p. 245, by F. Ritter). On the other hand, Schutz (*Excurs. ad Prom. Vincet.* p. 149) thinks that Æschylus wished by means of this drama to enforce upon his countrymen the hatred of a despot. Though I do not agree in this interpretation, it appears to me less wide of the truth than the forcible methods employed by others to bring the poet into harmony with their own religious ideas.

Without presuming to determine whether Æschylus proposed to himself any special purpose, if we look at the Æschylean *Promêtheus* in reference only to ancient ideas, it will be found to borrow both its characters and all its main circumstances from the legend in the Hesiodic *Theogony*. Zeus acquires his supremacy only by overthrowing Kronos and the Titans: the Titan god *Promêtheus* is the pronounced champion of helpless man, and negotiates with Zeus on their behalf: Zeus wishes to withhold from them the most essential blessings, which *Promêtheus* employs deceit and theft to procure for them, and ultimately with success; undergoing, however, severe punishment for so doing from the superior force of Zeus. These are the main features of the Æschylean *Promêtheus*, and they are all derived from the legend as it stands in the *Theogony*. As for the human race, they are depicted as abject and helpless in an extreme degree, in Æschylus even

expression (often but imperfectly intelligible to modern readers), reaches its maximum in his tragedies. As he throws round the

more than in Hesiod: they appear as a race of aboriginal savages, having the god Promêtheus for their protector.

Æschylus has worked up the old legend, homely and unimpressive as we read it in Hesiod, into a sublime ideal. We are not to forget that Promêtheus is not a man, but a god, — the equal of Zeus in race, though his inferior in power, and belonging to a family of gods who were once superior to Zeus: he has moreover deserted his own kindred, and lent all his aid and superior sagacity to Zeus, whereby chiefly the latter was able to acquire supremacy (this *last* circumstance is an addition by Æschylus himself to the Hesiodic legend). In spite of such essential service, Zeus had doomed him to cruel punishment, for no other reason than because he conferred upon helpless man the prime means of continuance and improvement, thus thwarting the intention of Zeus to extinguish the race.

Now Zeus, though superior to all the other gods and exercising general control, was never considered, either in Grecian legend or in Grecian religious belief, to be superior in so immeasurable a degree as to supersede all free action and sentiment on the part of gods less powerful. There were many old legends of dissension among the gods, and several of disobedience against Zeus: when a poet chose to dramatize one of these, he might so turn his composition as to sympathize either with Zeus or with the inferior god, without in either case shocking the general religious feeling of the country. And if there ever was an instance in which preference of the inferior god would be admissible, it is that of Promêtheus, whose proceedings are such as to call forth the maximum of human sympathy, — superior intelligence pitted against superior force, and resolutely encountering foreknown suffering, for the sole purpose of rendering inestimable and gratuitous service to mortals.

Of the Promêtheus Solutus, which formed a sequel to the Promêtheus Vincetus (the entire trilogy is not certainly known), the fragments preserved are very scanty, and the guesses of critics as to its plot have little base to proceed upon. They contend that, in one way or other, the apparent objections which the Promêth. Vincetus presents against the justice of Zeus were in the Promêth. Solutus removed. Hermann, in his *Dissertatio de Æschyli Prometheus Solutus* (Opuscula, vol. iv. p. 256), calls this position in question: I transcribe from his Dissertation one passage, because it contains an important remark in reference to the manner in which the Greek poets handled their religious legends: "while they recounted and believed many enormities respecting individual gods, they always described the Godhead in the abstract as holy and faultless." .....

"Immo illud admirari oportet, quod quum de singulis Diis indignissima quæque crederent, tamen ubi sine certo nomine Deum dicebant, immunem ab omni vitio, summâque sanctitate præditum intelligebant. Illam igitur Jovis sævitiam ut excusent defensores Trilogiæ, et jure punitum volunt Pro-

gods a kind of airy grandeur, so neither do his men appear like tenants of the common earth: the mythic from which he borrows his characters is peopled only with immediate seed of the gods, in close contact with Zeus, in the divine blood has not yet had time to degenerate:"<sup>1</sup> Individuals are taken, not from the iron race whom Hesiod pledges with shame as his contemporaries, but from the heroic race which had fought at Troy and Thêbes. It is that his conceptions aspire, and he is even chargeable with frequent straining, beyond the limits of poetical taste, to reach the picture. If he does not consistently succeed in it, the reason is because consistency in such a matter is unattainable, since, in all, the analogies of common humanity, the only material for the most creative imagination has to work upon, obtrude themselves involuntarily, and the lineaments of the man are visible even under a dress which promises superhuman proportions.

Sophoklês, the most illustrious ornament of Grecian drama, dwells upon the same heroic characters, and maintains the same grandeur, on the whole, with little abatement, combining far better dramatic structure, and a wider appeal to human sympathies. Even in Sophoklês, however, we find indications of an altered ethical feeling and a more predominant sense of perfection are allowed to modify the harsher religious atmosphere of the old epic; occasional misplaced effusions of rhetorical

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metheum — et in sequente fabulâ reconciliato Jove, restitutam divinam justitiam. Quo invento, vereor ne non optime dignitatem sint supremi Deorum, quem decuerat potius non sævire omnino, cari eâ lege, ut alius Promethei vice lucret."

<sup>1</sup> Æschyl. Fragment. 146, Dindorf; ap. Plato. Repub. iii. p. 391 Strabo, xii. p. 580. —

..... οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσκοροι  
Οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγυς, οἷς ἐν Ἰδαίῳ πάγῳ  
Διὸς πατρῶν βωμὸς ἐστ' ἐν αἰθέρι,  
Κούρω σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἶμα δαιμόνων.

There is one real exception to this statement — the *Persæ* founded upon an event of recent occurrence; and one apparent exception the *Promêtheus Vincetus*. But in that drama no individual motif appears; we can hardly consider *Iô* as an *ἐφήμερος* (253).

<sup>2</sup> For the characteristics of Æschylus see Aristophan. *Ran. passim*. The competition between Æschylus and Euripidês turns

as of didactic prolixity, may also be detected. It is *Æschylus*, not *Sophoklēs*, who forms the marked antithesis to *Euripidēs*; it is *Æschylus*, not *Sophoklēs*, to whom *Aristophanēs* awards the prize of tragedy, as the poet who assigns most perfectly to the heroes of the past those weighty words, imposing equipments, simplicity of great deeds with little talk, and masculine energy superior to the corruptions of *Aphroditē*, which besem the comrades of *Agamemnōn* and *Adrastus*.<sup>1</sup>

How deeply this feeling, of the heroic character of the mythical world, possessed the Athenian mind, may be judged by the bitter criticisms made on *Euripidēs*, whose compositions were pervaded, partly by ideas of physical philosophy learnt under *Anaxagoras*, partly by the altered tone of education and the wide diffusion of practical eloquence, forensic as well as political, at

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μαί ἀγαθὰ, 1497; the weight and majesty of the words, 1362; *πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά*, 1001, 921, 930 ("sublimis et gravis et grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium," Quintil. x. 1); the imposing appearance of his heroes, such as *Mæmnōn* and *Cycnus*, 961; their reserve in speech, 908; his dramas "full of *Arēs*" and his lion-hearted chiefs, inspiring the auditors with fearless spirit in defence of their country, — 1014, 1013, 1040; his contempt of feminine tenderness, 1042. —

*ÆSCH.* Οὐδ' οἷδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρῶσαν κῆποι' ἐποίησα γυναῖκα.

*EURIP.* Μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.

*ÆSCH.* μηδέ γ' ἐκείη.

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ σοὶ τοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖσιν πολλὴ πολλοῦ πικῶθυτο.

To the same general purpose *Nubes* (1347–1356), composed so many years earlier. The weight and majesty of the *Æschylean* heroes (*βᾶρος, τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές*) is dwelt upon in the life of *Æschylus*, and *Sophoklēs* is said to have derided it — *Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἔλεγε, τὸν Διοχύλου διακεκραιχὲς δοκον*, etc. (*Plutarch, De Profect. in Virt. Sent. c. 7*), unless we are to understand this as a mistake of *Plutarch* quoting *Sophoklēs* instead of *Euripidēs*, as he speaks in the *Frogs* of *Aristophanēs*, which is the opinion both of *Lessing* in his *Life of Sophoklēs* and of *Welcker* (*Æschyl. Trilogie*, p. 525).

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapters xiv. and xv.

*Æschylus* seems to have been a greater innovator as to the matter of the myths than either *Sophoklēs* or *Euripidēs* (*Dionys. Halic. Judic. de Vett. Script. p. 422, Reisk.*). For the close adherence of *Sophoklēs* to the Homeric epic, see *Athenæ. vii. p. 277*; *Diogen. Laërt. iv. 20*; *Suidas, v. Πολέμων*. *Æschylus* puts into the mouth of the *Eumenidēs* a serious argument derived from the behavior of *Zeus* in chaining his father *Kronos* (*Eumen. 642*).

Athens.<sup>1</sup> While Aristophanês assails Euripidês as the representative of this "young Athens," with the utmost keenness of sarcasm, — other critics also concur in designating him as having vulgarized the mythical heroes, and transformed them into mere characters of common life, — loquacious, subtle, and savoring of the market-place.<sup>2</sup> In some of his plays, sceptical expressions and sentiments were introduced, derived from his philosophical studies, sometimes confounding two or three distinct gods into one, sometimes translating the personal Zeus into a substantial Æther with determinate attributes. He put into the mouths of some of his unprincipled dramatic characters, apologetic speeches which were denounced as ostentatious sophistry, and as setting out a triumphant case for the criminal.<sup>3</sup> His thoughts, his words, and the rhythm of his choric songs, were all accused of being deficient in dignity and elevation. The mean attire and miserable attitude

<sup>1</sup> See Valckenaer, *Diatribæ in Euripid. Fragm. capp. 5 and 6.*

The fourth and fifth lectures among the *Dramatische Vorlesungen* of August Wilhelm Schlegel depict both justly and eloquently the difference between Æschylus, Sophoklês and Euripidês, especially on this point of the gradual sinking of the mythical colossus into an ordinary man; about Euripidês especially in lecture 5, vol. i. p. 206, ed. Heidelberg 1809.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Poetic*, c. 46. *Οἷον καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν οἷον δεῖ ποιεῖν Εὐριπίδης δὲ, οἷοι εἰσι.*

The *Ranæ* and *Acharneis* of Aristophanês exhibit fully the reproaches urged against Euripidês: the language put into the mouth of Euripidês in the former play (vv. 935-977) illustrates specially the point here laid down. Plutarch (*De Gloria Atheniens. c. 5*) contrasts *ἡ Εὐριπίδου σοφία καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλεὺς λογιότης*. Sophoklês either adhered to the old myths or introduced alterations into them in a spirit conformable to their original character, while Euripidês refined upon them. The comment of Dêmêtrius Phalereus connects τὸ λόγιον expressly with the maintenance of the dignity of the tales. *Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς, ὅπερ νῦν λόγιον ὀνομάζουσιν* (c. 38).

<sup>3</sup> Aristophan. *Ran.* 770, 887, 1066.

Euripidês says to Æschylus, in regard to the language employed by both of them, —

*Ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Ἀνκαβήττως*

*Καὶ Παρνασσῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν,*

*Ὅν χρὴ φράζειν ἀνθρωπείως;*

Æschylus replies, —

*Ἄλλ', ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἀνάγκη*

*Μεγάλων γυνυῶν καὶ διανοιῶν ἴσα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τίκτειν.*

*Κάλλως εἰκὸς τοῦς ἡμίθεοις τοῖς ῥήμασι μείζοσι χρῆσθαι*

in which he exhibited *Æacus*, *Téléphus*, *Thyestès*, *Ino*, and other heroic characters, were unmercifully derided,<sup>1</sup> though it seems that their position and circumstances had always been painfully melancholy; but the effeminate pathos which Euripidès brought so nakedly into the foreground, was accounted unworthy of the majesty of a legendary hero. And he incurred still greater obloquy on another point, on which he is allowed even by his enemies to have only reproduced in substance the preëxisting tales, — the illicit and fatal passion depicted in several of his female characters, such as *Phædra* and *Sthænobæa*. His opponents admitted that these stories were true, but contended that they ought to be kept back and not produced upon the stage, — a proof both of the continued mythical faith and of the more sensitive ethical criticism of his age.<sup>2</sup> The marriage of the six

*Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμῶν χρώνται πολλὰ σεμνοτέροισι.*

\* Ἀ' μοῦ χρηστῶς καταδείξαντος διελημῆνυσιν.

EURIP. Τί δράσας,

ÆSCH. Πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ῥάκι' ἀμπίσχων, ἐν' ἔλειναι  
Τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαίνονται εἶναι.

For the character of the language and measures of Euripidès, as represented by *Æschylus*, see also v. 1297, and Pac. 527. Philosophical discussion was introduced by Euripidès (*Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetor. viii. 10–ix. 11*) about the *Melanippè*, where the doctrine of prodigies (*τέρας*) appears to have been argued. *Quintilian* (x. 1) remarks that to young beginners in judicial pleading, the study of Euripidès was much more specially profitable than that of *Sophoklès*: compare *Dio Chrysostom, Orat. xviii. vol. i. p. 477, Reisk.*

In Euripidès the heroes themselves sometimes delivered moralizing discourses: — *εἰσάγων τὸν Βελλεροφόντην γνωμολογοῦντα* (*Welcker, Griechisch. Tragöd. Eurip. Stheneb. p. 782*). Compare the fragments of his *Bellerophôn* (15–25, *Matthiæ*), and of his *Chrysippus* (7, *ib.*). A striking story is found in *Seneca, Epistol. 115*; and *Plutarch, de Audiend. Poetis, c. 4. t. i. p. 70, Wytt.*

<sup>1</sup> *Aristophan. Ran. 840.* —

ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδῃ

Καὶ πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥακισυμβραπτάδῃ.

See also *Aristophan. Acharn. 385–422*. For an unfavorable criticism upon such proceeding, see *Aristotat. Poet. 27*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristophan. Ran. 1050.* —

EURIP. Πότερον δ' οὐκ ὄντα λόγον τοῦτον περὶ τῆς Φαίδρας ξυνέθηκα;  
ÆSCH. Μὰ Δι', ἀλλ' ὄντ' ἀλλ' ἀποκρύπτειν χρὴ τὸ πονηρὸν τὸν γε ποιητὴν,  
Καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν.

In the *Hercules Furens*, Euripidès puts in relief and even exaggerates the



daughters to the six sons of Æolus is of Homeric origin stands now, though briefly stated, in the *Odyssey*: but incestuous passion of Macareus and Canacê, embodied by Euripides in the lost tragedy called *Æolus*, drew upon him severe censure. Moreover, he often disconnected the horrors of the old myths with those religious agencies by which they had been enforced on, prefacing them by motives of a more refined character which carried no sense of awful compulsion: thus the conditions by which the Euripidean Alcmæon was reduced to the necessity of killing his mother appeared to Aristotle ridiculous. After the time of this great poet, his successors seem to have followed him in breathing into their characters the spirit of common life, but the names and plot were still borrowed from stricken mythical families of Tantalus, Kadmus, etc.: the heroic exaltation of all the individual personages introduced contrasted with the purely human character of the C

worst elements of the ancient myths: the implacable hatred of Hêrê Hêraklês is pushed so far as to deprive him of his reason (by sending Iris and the unwilling *Atossa*), and thus intentionally to drive him and his wife and children with his own hands.

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 849, 1041, 1080; *Thesmophor.* 547; *Nubes*, 135. De *Mediâ Græcorum Comœdiâ* in *Rheinisch. Museum*, 2nd Jahrs. 51. It suited the plan of the drama of *Æolus*, as composed by Euripides, to place in the mouth of Macareus a formal recommendation of marriages: probably this contributed much to offend the Athenians. See Dionys. *Hal. Rhetor.* ix. p. 355.

About the liberty of intermarriage among relatives, indicated by parents and children being alone excepted, see *Terpstra*, *Antiquitas* cap. xiii. p. 104.

Ovid, whose poetical tendencies led him chiefly to copy Euripides (Trist. ii. 1, 380) —

“Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragoedia vincit,  
Hæc quoque materiam semper amoris habet.  
Nam quid in Hippolyto nisi cæcæ flammæ novercæ?  
Nobilis est Canacæ fratris amore sui.”

— This is the reverse of the truth in regard to Æschylus and Sophocles only very partially true in respect to Euripides.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Ethic. Nicom.* iii. 1, 8. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμαίων φαίνεται τὰ ἀναγκάσαντα μητροκτονῆσαι (In the lost tragedy Calpion was driven to the murder of his mother).

still numbered by Aristotle among the essential points of the theory of tragedy.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency then of Athenian tragedy — powerfully manifested in Æschylus, and never wholly lost — was to uphold an unquestioning faith and a reverential estimate of the general mythical world and its personages, but to treat the particular narratives rather as matter for the emotions than as recitals of actual fact. The logographers worked along with them to the first of these two ends, but not to the second. Their grand object was, to cast the mythes into a continuous readable series, and they were in consequence compelled to make selection between inconsistent or contradictory narratives; to reject some narratives as false, and to receive others as true. But their preference was determined more by their sentiments as to what was appropriate, than by any pretended historical test. Pherekydês, Akusilaus and Hellanikus<sup>2</sup> did not seek to banish miraculous or fantastic incidents from the mythical world; they regarded it as peopled with loftier beings, and expected to find in it phenomena not paralleled in their own degenerate days. They reproduced the fables as they found them in the poets, rejecting little except the discrepancies, and producing ultimately what they believed to be not only a continuous but an exact and trustworthy history of the past — wherein they carry indeed their precision to such a length, that Hellanicus gives the year, and even the day of the capture of Troy.<sup>3</sup>

Hekataeus of Milêtus (500 B. C.), anterior to Pherekydês and Hellanikus, is the earliest writer in whom we can detect any disposition to disallow the prerogative and specialty of the mythes, and to soften down their characteristic prodigies, some of which

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Poetic. 26-27. And in his Problemata also, in giving the reason why the Hypo-Dorian and Hypo-Phrygian musical modes were never assigned to the Chorus, he says —

Ταῦτα δὲ ἄμφω χόρω μὲν ἀναρμοστὰ, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς οἰκείωτέα. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἡρώων μίμηται· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἀρχαίων μόνοι ἦσαν ἥρωες, οἱ δὲ λαοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ χόρος. Διδὼ καὶ ἀρμόζει αὐτῷ τὸ γοερὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον ἦθος καὶ μέλος· ἀνθρωπικὰ γάρ.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller, Prolegom. zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie, c. iii. p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Hellanic. Fragment. 143, ed. Didot.

however still find favor in his eyes, as in the case of the ram who carried Phryxus over the Hellespont. He pro the Grecian fables to be "many and ridiculous;" whet their discrepancies or from their intrinsic improbabilitie not know: and we owe to him the first attempt to force the in the limits of historical credibility; as where he transf three-headed Cerberus, the dog of Hadês, into a serpent ing a cavern on Cape Tanarus — and Geryôn of Erythe king of Epirus rich in herds of oxen.<sup>1</sup> Hekataeus tr genealogy of himself and the gens to which he belonged a line of fifteen progenitors up to an initial god,<sup>2</sup> — the proof both of his profound faith in the reality of the world, and of his religious attachment to it as the point tion between the human and the divine personality.

We have next to consider the historians, especially H and Thucydides. Like Hekataeus, Thucydides belon gens which traced its descent from Ajax, and through Æakus and Zeus.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus modestly implies that h had no such privilege to boast of.<sup>4</sup> Their curiosity resp

<sup>1</sup> Hekataei Fragm. ed. Didot. 332, 346, 349; Schol. Apollôn. R Athenæ. ii. p. 133; Skylax, c. 26.

Perhaps Hekataeus was induced to look for Erytheia in Ep brick-red color of the earth there in many places, noticed by Pouc other travellers (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, vol. ii. 248: see Klau und die Penaten, vol. i. p. 222). *Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος* — λόγον ε Pausan. iii. 25, 4. He seems to have written expressly concerni lous Hyperboreans, and to have upheld the common faith aga which had begun to rise in his time: the derisory notice of Hyp Herodotus is probably directed against Hekataeus, iv. 36; Sch Rhod. ii. 675; Diodôr. ii. 47.

It is maintained by Mr. Clinton (*Fast. Hell.* ii. p. 480) and oth ad Fragment. Hekataei, p. 30, ed. Didot), that the work on the H was written by Hekataeus of Abdera, a literary Greek of the age Philadelphus — not by Hekataeus of Milêtus. I do not concur ion. I think it much more probable that the earlier Hekatae author spoken of.

The distinguished position held by Hekataeus at Milêtus is only by the notice which Herodotus takes of his opinions on pu but also by his negotiation with the Persian satrap Artaphernes his countrymen (Diodôr. Excerpt. xvii. p. 41, ed. Dindorf).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. ii. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellin. Vit. Th

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. ii. 143.

past had no other materials to work upon except the myths; but these they found already cast by the logographers into a continuous series, and presented as an aggregate of antecedent history, chronologically deduced from the times of the gods. In common with the body of the Greeks, both Herodotus and Thucydides had imbibed that complete and unsuspecting belief in the general reality of mythical antiquity, which was interwoven with the religion and the patriotism, and all the public demonstrations of the Hellenic world. To acquaint themselves with the genuine details of this foretime, was an inquiry highly interesting to them: but the increased positive tendencies of their age, as well as their own habits of personal investigation, had created in them an *historical sense* in regard to the past as well as to the present. Having acquired a habit of appreciating the intrinsic tests of historical credibility and probability, they found the particular narratives of the poets and logographers, inadmissible as a whole even in the eyes of Hekataeus, still more at variance with their stricter canons of criticism. And we thus observe in them the constant struggle, as well as the resulting compromise, between these two opposite tendencies; on one hand a firm belief in the reality of the mythical world, on the other hand an inability to accept the details which their only witnesses, the poets and logographers, told them respecting it.

Each of them however performed the process in his own way. Herodotus is a man of deep and anxious religious feeling; he often recognizes the special judgments of the gods as determining historical events: his piety is also partly tinged with that mystical vein which the last two centuries had gradually infused into the religion of the Greeks — for he is apprehensive of giving offence to the gods by reciting publicly what he has heard respecting them; he frequently stops short in his narrative and intimates that there is a sacred legend, but that he will not tell it: in other cases, where he feels compelled to speak out, he entreats forgiveness for doing so from the gods and heroes. Sometimes he will not even mention the name of a god, though he generally thinks himself authorized to do so, the names being matter of public notoriety.<sup>1</sup> Such pious reserve, which the open-hearted Herodo-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 3, 51, 61, 65, 170. He alludes briefly (c. 51) to an *ἱερὸς λόγος* which was communicated in the Samothracian mysteries, but he does not

thus avowedly proclaims as chaining up his tongue, affording contrast with the plain-spoken and unsuspecting of ancient epic, as well as of the popular legends, wherein and their proceedings were the familiar and interesting of common talk as well as of common sympathy, without to inspire both fear and reverence.

Herodotus expressly distinguishes, in the comparison *kratês* with *Minôs*, the human race to which the former is from the divine or heroic race which comprised the latter. He has a firm belief in the authentic personality and parallel the names in the myths, divine, heroic and human as in the trustworthiness of their chronology computed by traditions. He counts back 1600 years from his own day to *Semelê*, mother of *Dionysus*; 900 years to *Hêraklês*, years to *Penelopê*, the Trojan war being a little earlier. Indeed even the longest of these periods must have seemed comparatively short, seeing that he apparently accepts the continuous series of years which the Egyptians professed to have a recorded chronology — 17,000 years from their god and 15,000 years from their god *Osiris* or *Dionysus* their king *Amasis*<sup>3</sup> (550 B. C.) So much was he familiarized with these long chronological computations of events, that he treats *Homer* and *Hesiod* as "men of yesterday though separated from his own age by an interval which amounts to four hundred years."<sup>4</sup>

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mention what it was: also about the *Thesmophoria*, or *τελευτή* (c. 171).

*Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐθιμνεῖα εἴτε* (c. 45).

Compare similar scruples on the part of *Pausanias* (viii. 25 a). The passage of *Herodotus* (ii. 8) is equivocal, and has been understood in more ways than one (see *Lobeck*, *Aglaopham.* p. 1287).

The aversion of *Dionysius of Halikarnassus* to reveal the divinity not less powerful (see *A. R.* i. 67, 68), and *Pausanias* passes.

<sup>1</sup> *Herod.* iii. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Herc*

<sup>3</sup> *Herodot.* ii. 43-145. *Καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντρεκέως φασὶ ἀεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη.*

<sup>4</sup> *Herodot.* ii. 53. *μέχρι οὐ πρῶν τε καὶ χθές, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβύσθαι, καὶ οὐ πᾶσι.*

Herodotus had been profoundly impressed with what he saw and heard in Egypt. The wonderful monuments, the evident antiquity, and the peculiar civilization of that country, acquired such preponderance in his mind over his own native legends, that he is disposed to trace even the oldest religious names or institutions of Greece to Egyptian or Phœnician original, setting aside in favor of this hypothesis the Grecian legends of Dionysus and Pan.<sup>1</sup> The oldest Grecian mythical genealogies are thus made ultimately to lose themselves in Egyptian or Phœnician antiquity, and in the full extent of these genealogies Herodotus firmly believes. It does not seem that any doubt had ever crossed his mind as to the real personality of those who were named or described in the popular myths: all of them have once had reality, either as men, as heroes, or as gods. The eponyms of cities, *démés* and tribes, are all comprehended in this affirmative category; the supposition of fictitious personages being apparently never entertained. Deukaliôn, Hêllên, Dorus,<sup>2</sup> — Iôn, with his four sons, the eponyms of the old Athenian tribes,<sup>3</sup> — the autochthonous Titakus and Dekelus,<sup>4</sup> — Danaus, Lynkeus, Perseus, Amphitryôn, Alkmêna, and Hêrâklês,<sup>5</sup> — Talthybius, the heroic progenitor of the privileged heraldic gens at Sparta, — the Tyn-darids and Helena,<sup>6</sup> — Agamemnôn, Menellus, and Orestes,<sup>7</sup> — Nestôr and his son Peisistratus, — Asôpus, Thêbê, and Ægina, — Inachus and Iô, Æêtês and Mêdea,<sup>8</sup> — Melanippus, Adrastus, and Amphiaraus, as well as Jasôn and the Argô,<sup>9</sup> — all these are occupants of the real past time, and predecessors of himself and his contemporaries. In the veins of the Lacedæmonian kings flowed the blood both of Kadmus and of Danaus, their splendid pedigree being traceable to both of these great mythical names: Herodotus carries the lineage up through Hêrâklês first to Perseus and Danaë, then through Danaë to Akrisius and the Egyptian Danaus; but he drops the paternal lineage when he comes

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. v. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ix. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. ii. 43-44, 91-98, 171-182. (the Egyptians admitted the truth of the Greek legend, that Perseus had come to Libya to fetch the Gorgon's head).

<sup>6</sup> Herod. ii. 113-120; iv. 145; vii. 134. <sup>7</sup> Herod. i. 67-68; ii. 113. vii. 159

<sup>8</sup> Herod. i. 1, 2, 4; v. 81, 65.

<sup>9</sup> Herod. i. 52; iv. 145; v. 67; vii. 193.

to Perseus (inasmuch as Perseus is the son of Zeus by without any reputed human father, such as Amphitryôn Hêraklês), and then follow the higher members of the through Danaë alone.<sup>1</sup> He also pursues the same regality, through the mother of Eurysthenês and Proclês, up to nikês, CEdipus, Laius, Labdakus, Polydôrus and Kadmus: he assigns various ancient inscriptions which he saw in the of the Ismenian Apollo at Thêbes, to the ages of Lai CEdipus.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the sieges of Thêbes and Troy, — gonautic expedition, — the invasion of Attica by the Amaz the protection of the Herakleids, and the defeat and of Eurystheus, by the Athenians,<sup>3</sup> — the death of Mèkiste Tydeus before Thêbes by the hands of Melanippus, touching calamities of Adrastus and Amphiaräus connected the same enterprise, — the sailing of Kastôr and Pollux Argô,<sup>4</sup> — the abductions of Iô, Eurôpa, Mædea and Helen the emigration of Kadmus in quest of Eurôpa, and his to Bœôtia, as well as the attack of the Greeks upon Troy cover Helen,<sup>5</sup> — all these events seem to him portions of history, not less unquestionably certain, though more clo by distance and misrepresentation, than the battles of and Mykalê.

But though Herodotus is thus easy of faith in regard the persons and to the general facts of Grecian myths, he comes to discuss particular facts taken separately, with applying to them stricter tests of historical credibility, disposed to reject as well the miraculous as the extraordinary. Thus even with respect to Hêraklês, he censures the the Greeks in ascribing to him absurd and incredible he tries their assertion by the philosophical standard or of determinate powers and conditions governing the events. "How is it consonant to nature (he asks), that being, as he was, according to the statement of the *man*, should kill many thousand persons? I pray that may be shown to me both by gods and heroes for sayi

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 61; ix. 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 1-4; ii. 49, 113; iv. 147; v. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. iv. 147;

<sup>5</sup> Herod. i. 52; i

as this." The religious feelings of Herodotus here told him that he was trenching upon the utmost limits of admissible scepticism.<sup>1</sup>

Another striking instance of the disposition of Herodotus to rationalise the miraculous narratives of the current myths, is to be found in his account of the oracle of Dôdôna and its alleged Egyptian origin. Here, if in any case, a miracle was not only in full keeping, but apparently indispensable to satisfy the exigences of the religious sentiment; anything less than a miracle would have appeared tame and unimpressive to the visitors of so revered a spot, much more to the residents themselves. Accordingly, Herodotus heard, both from the three priestesses and from the Dodonæans generally, that two black doves had started at the same time from Thêbes in Egypt: one of them went to Libya, where it directed the Libyans to establish the oracle of Zeus Ammon; the other came to the grove of Dôdôna, and perched on one of the venerable oaks, proclaiming with a human voice that an oracle of Zeus must be founded on that very spot. The injunction of the speaking dove was respectfully obeyed.<sup>2</sup>

Such was the tale related and believed at Dôdôna. But Herodotus had also heard, from the priests at Thêbes in Egypt, a different tale, ascribing the origin of all the prophetic establishments, in Greece as well as in Libya, to two sacerdotal women, who had been carried away from Thêbes by some Phœnician

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 45. Λέγονσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνέθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οὗτος ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγονται . . . .  
... Ἐτι δὲ ἓνα εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἐτι ἀνδρῶπον ὡς δὴ φασὶ, κ ὡς φ ὕ σ ι ο ὡ  
ἔ χ ε ι πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰκοῦσι,  
καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἶη.

We may also notice the manner in which the historian criticizes the stratagem whereby Peisistratus established himself as despot at Athens — by dressing up the stately Athenian woman Phylê in the costume of the goddess Athênê, and passing off her injunctions as the commands of the goddess; the Athenians accepted her with unsuspecting faith, and received Peisistratus at her command. Herodotus treats the whole affair as a piece of extravagant silliness, πρᾶγμα εὐηθέστατον μακρῶ (i. 60).

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 55. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρηταὶ . . . . ἔλεγον ταῦτα, συνυμολόγεον  
ἅ ἐ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

The miracle sometimes takes another form; the oak at Dôdôna was itself once endued with speech (Dionys. Hal. Ars. Rhetoric. i. 6; Strabo).



merchants and sold, the one in Greece, the other in Libya. Theban priests boldly assured Herodotus that much had been taken to discover what had become of these women reported, and that the fact of their having been taken to Libya had been accordingly verified.<sup>1</sup>

The historian of Halicarnassus cannot for a moment admitting the miracle which harmonized so well with the story of the priestesses and the Dodonæans.<sup>2</sup> "How (he asks) can a dove speak with human voice?" But the narrative of the miracle at Thêbes, though its prodigious improbability hardly needs to be stated, yet involved no positive departure from the laws of nature and possibility, and therefore Herodotus makes no apology in accepting it. The curious circumstance is, that the native Dodonæan legend into a figurative representation, rather a misrepresentation, of the supposed true story told by the Theban priests. According to his interpretation, the woman who came from Thêbes to Dôdôna was called a dove, and she uttered sounds like a bird, because she was non-Hellenic and spoke a foreign tongue: when she learned to speak the language of the country, it was then said that the dove-spoke with a human voice. And the dove was moreover called black, because of the Egyptian color.

That Herodotus should thus bluntly reject a miracle attested to him by the prophetic women themselves as the true circumstance in the *origines* of this holy place, is a proof of the habits of dealing with historical evidence that had come over his mind; and the awkwardness of his explanation of the relation between the dove and the woman, marks not less his timidity, while discarding the legend, to let it softly down in a quasi-historical and not intrinsically incredible.

We may observe another example of the unconscious

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 57. 'Ἐπεὶ τὴν τρόπον ἂν πελειᾶς γε ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ

According to one statement, the word *Πελειᾶς* in the Theban legend meant both a dove and a prophetess (Scriptor. Rer. Mythicar. i. 96). Had there been any truth in this, Herodotus could not have failed to notice it, inasmuch as it would exactly have helped to the difficulty which he felt

of Herodotus to eliminate from the myths the idea of special aid from the gods, in his remarks upon Melampus. He designates Melampus "as a clever man, who had acquired for himself the art of prophecy;" and had procured through Kadmus much information about the religious rites and customs of Egypt, many of which he introduced into Greece<sup>1</sup> — especially the name, the sacrifices, and the phallic processions of Dionysus: he adds, "that Melampus himself did not accurately comprehend or bring out the whole doctrine, but wise men who came after him made the necessary additions."<sup>2</sup> Though the name of Melampus is here maintained, the character described<sup>3</sup> is something in the vein of Pythagoras — totally different from the great seer and leech of the old epic myths — the founder of the gifted family of the Amythaonids, and the grandfather of Amphiaraus.<sup>4</sup> But that which is most of all at variance with the genuine legendary spirit, is the opinion expressed by Herodotus (and delivered with some emphasis as *his own*), that Melampus "was a clever man, who had acquired for himself prophetic powers." Such a supposition would have appeared inadmissible to Homer or Hesiod, or indeed to Solon, in the preceding century, in whose view even inferior arts come from the gods, while Zeus or Apollo bestows the power

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 49. 'Εγὼ μὲν τὴν φημι Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφόν, μαντικὴν τε ἐκὼτῳ συστήσαι, καὶ πνθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἄλλα τε καλλὰ ἐσπρήσασθαι Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 49. 'Ατρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὸν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε· (Melampus) ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγνώμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Herod. iv. 95; ii. 81. 'Ελλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Homer, *Odyss.* xi. 290; xv. 225. Apollodōr. i. 9, 11–12. Hesiod, *Eoiai*, *Fragm.* 55, ed. Düntzer (p. 43) —

'Ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδῃσι,

Νοῦν δ' Ἀμυνθᾶονίδαις, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι.

also *Frag.* 34 (p. 38), and *Frag.* 65 (p. 45); Schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 118.

Herodotus notices the celebrated mythical narrative of Melampus healing the deranged Argive women (ix. 34); according to the original legend, the daughters of Proetus. In the Hesiodic *Eoiai* (*Fr.* 16, Düntz.; *Apollod.* ii. 2) the distemper of the Proetid females was ascribed to their having repudiated the rites and worship of Dionysus (Akusilaus, indeed, assigned a different cause), which shows that the old fable recognized a connection between Melampus and these rites

of prophesying.<sup>1</sup> The intimation of such an opinion by Herodotus, himself a thoroughly pious man, marks the sensibly diminished omnipresence of the gods, and the increasing tendency to look for the explanation of phenomena among more visible and determinate agencies.

We may make a similar remark on the dictum of the historian respecting the narrow defile of Tempê, forming the embouchure of the Pêneus and the efflux of all the waters from the Thessalian basin. The Thessalians alleged that this whole basin of Thessaly had once been a lake, but that Poseidôn had split the chain of mountains and opened the efflux;<sup>2</sup> upon which primi-

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<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Hiad*, i. 72-87; xv. 412. *Odyss.* xv. 245-252; iv. 233. Some times the gods inspired prophecy for the special occasion, without conferring upon the party the permanent gift and *status* of a prophet (compare *Odyss.* i. 202; xvii. 383). Solôn, *Fragm.* xi. 48-53, Schneidewin:—

Ἄλλον μάντιν ἐθήκεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπολλῶν,

Ἐγνώ δ' ἀνδρὶ κακὸν τήλοθεν ἐρχόμενον,

Ἵμι συνομαρτήσωσι θεοί.....

Herodotus himself reproduces the old belief in the special gift of prophetic power by Zeus and Apollo, in the story of Euenius of Apollônia (ix. 94).

See the fine ode of Pindar, describing the birth and inspiration of Jamus, eponymous father of the great prophetic family in Elis called the Jamids (*Herodot.* ix. 33), Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 40-75. About Teiresias, *Sophoc.* *Ced.* Tyr. 283-410. Neither Nestôr nor Odysseus possesses the gift of prophecy.

<sup>2</sup> More than one tale is found elsewhere, similar to this, about the defile of Tempê:—

“A tradition exists that this part of the country was once a lake, and that Solomon commanded two deeves, or genii, named Ard and Beel, to turn off the water into the Caspian, which they effected by cutting a passage through the mountains; and a city, erected in the newly-formed plain, was named after them Ard-u-beel.” (*Sketches on the Shores of the Caspian*, by W. R. Holmes.)

Also about the plain of Santa Fe di Bogota, in South America, that it was once under water, until Bochica cleft the mountains and opened a channel of egress (*Humboldt*, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 87-88); and about the plateau of Kashmir (*Humboldt*, *Asie Centrale*, vol. i. p. 102), drained in a like miraculous manner by the saint Kâsyapa. The manner, in which conjectures, derived from local configuration or peculiarities, are often made to assume the form of *traditions*, is well remarked by the same illustrious traveller: “Ce qui se présente comme une tradition, n’est souvent que le reflet de l’impression que laisse l’aspect des lieux. Des bancs de coquilles à demi-fossiles, répandues dans les isthmes ou sut des plateaux, font naître

tive belief, thoroughly conformable to the genius of Homer and Hesiod, Herodotus comments as follows: "Thé Thessalian statement is reasonable. For whoever thinks that Poseidón shakes the earth, and that the rifts of an earthquake are the work of that god, will, on seeing the défile in question, say that Poseidón has caused it. For the rift of the mountains is, as appeared to me (when I saw it), the work of an earthquake." Herodotus admits the reference to Poseidón, when pointed out to him, but it stands only in the background: what is present to his mind is the phenomenon of the earthquake, not as a special act, but as part of a system of habitual operations.<sup>1</sup>

même chez les hommes les moins avancés dans la culture intellectuelle, l'idée de grandes inondations, d'anciennes communications entre des bassins limitrophes. Des opinions, que l'on pourroit appeler systématiques, se trouvent dans les forêts de l'Orénoque comme dans les îles de la Mer du Sud. Dans l'une et dans l'autre de ces contrées, elles ont pris la forme des traditions." (A. von Humboldt, *Asie Centrale*, vol. ii. p. 147.) Compare a similar remark in the same work and volume, p. 286-294.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 129. (Poseidón was worshipped as Περαιός in Thessaly, in commemoration of this geological interference: Schol. Pindar. *Pyth.* iv. 245.) Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἔόντες καὶ τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διακρόνον τοῦτον, τοὺς ποταμούς τούτους ..... μέοντας ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. Αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θέσσαλοι λέγουσι Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα, δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, οἰκῶτα λέγοντες. "Ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διεσπῶντα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι. Ἐστὶ γὰρ σεισμοὶ ἔργον, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν οὐρέων. In another case (viii. 129), Herodotus believes that Poseidón produced a preternaturally high tide, in order to punish the Persians, who had insulted his temple near Potidæa: here was a special motive for the god to exert his power.

This remark of Herodotus illustrates the hostile ridicule cast by Aristophanes (in the *Nubes*) upon Socrátēs, on the score of alleged impiety, because he belonged to a school of philosophers (though in point of fact he discountenanced that line of study) who introduced physical laws and forces in place of the personal agency of the gods. The old man Strepsiades inquires from Socrátēs, *Who rains? Who thunders?* To which Socrátēs replies, "Not Zeus, but the Nephelæ, i. e. the clouds: you never saw rain without clouds." Strepsiades then proceeds to inquire—"But who is it that compels the clouds to move onward? is it not Zeus?" Socrátēs—"Not at all; it is æthereal rotation." Strepsiades—"Rotation? that had escaped me: Zeus then no longer exists, and Rotation reigns in his place."

STREPS. Ὁ δ' ἀναγκάζων ἐστὶ τίς αὐτὰς (Νεφέλας), οὐχ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε φέρονται;

Herodotus adopts the Egyptian version of the legend founded on that capital variation which seems to have originated with Stesichorus, and according to which Helen never left at all—her *eidolon* had been taken to Troy in her place. On this basis a new story had been framed, midway between that of Stesichorus, representing Paris to have really carried Helen from Sparta, but to have been driven by storms to

SOCRAT. "Ἡμιστ', ἀλλ' αἰθέριος δῖνος.

STREPS.

Δῖνος; τοῦτί μ' ἐλελήθη.

Ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὦν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων.

To the same effect v. 1454, Δῖνος βασιλεύει τὸν Δι' ἐξεληλακώς—Zeus has driven out Zeus, and reigns in his place."

If Aristophanes had had as strong a wish to turn the public against Herodotus as against Socrates and Euripides, the explanation given would have afforded him a plausible show of truth for doing so; it is highly probable that the Thessalians would have been sufficiently pleased with the view of Herodotus to sympathize in the poet's attack on him. The point would have been made (waiving metrical considerations)

Σεισμὸς βασιλεύει, τὸν Ποσειδῶν' ἐξεληλακώς.

The comment of Herodotus upon the Thessalian view seems almost entirely intended to guard against this very inference.

Other accounts ascribed the cutting of the defile of Tempê to Poseidon (Diodôr. iv. 18).

Respecting the ancient Grecian faith, which recognized the displacement of Poseidôn as the cause of earthquakes, see Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, did. i. 127; Strabo, xii. p. 579; Diodôr. xv. 48-49. It ceased to give general satisfaction even so early as the time of Thalês and Anaximander. Aristot. Meteorolog. ii. 7-8; Plutarch, Placit. Philos. iii. 15; Senec. Nat. Quæst. vi. 6-23; and that philosopher, as well as Anaxagoras, and others, suggested different physical explanations of the fact. Still, notwithstanding a dissentient minority, however, the old doctrine still continued to be generally received: and Diodôrus, in describing the terrible earthquake in 373 B. C., by which Helikê and Bura were destroyed, while he mentions those philosophers (probably Kallisthenês, Senec. Nat. Quæst. v. 23) who had substituted physical causes and laws in place of the divine agency, yet still ranks their views, and ranks himself with the religious public, who traced the terrible phenomenon to the wrath of Poseidôn (xv. 48-49).

The Romans recognized many different gods as producers of earthquakes, and an unfortunate creed, since it exposed them to the danger of directing their prayers to the wrong god: "Unde in ritualibus et pontificiis votis, obtemperantibus sacerdotibus caute, ne alio Deo pro alio cum quis eorum terram concutiat, piacula committantur." (Ammian. Marcell. xvii. 7.)

where she remained during the whole siege of Troy, having been detained by *Prôteus*, the king of the country, until *Menelaus* came to reclaim her after his triumph. The Egyptian priests, with their usual boldness of assertion, professed to have heard the whole story from *Menelaus* himself—the Greeks had besieged Troy, in the full persuasion that *Helen* and the stolen treasures were within the walls, nor would they ever believe the repeated denials of the Trojans as to the fact of her presence. In intimating his preference for the Egyptian narrative, *Herodotus* betrays at once his perfect and unsuspecting confidence that he is dealing with genuine matter of history, and his entire distrust of the epic poets, even including *Homer*, upon whose authority that supposed history rested. His reason for rejecting the Homeric version is that it teems with historical improbabilities. If *Helen* had been really in Troy (he says), *Priam* and the Trojans would never have been so insane as to retain her to their own utter ruin: but it was the divine judgment which drove them into the miserable alternative of neither being able to surrender *Helen*, nor to satisfy the Greeks of the real fact that they had never had possession of her—in order that mankind might plainly read, in the utter destruction of Troy, the great punishments with which the gods visit great misdeeds. *Homer* (*Herodotus* thinks) had heard this story, but designedly departed from it, because it was not so suitable a subject for epic poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Enough has been said to show how wide is the difference between *Herodotus* and the logographers with their literal transcript of the ancient legends. Though he agrees with them in admitting the full series of persons and generations, he tries the circumstances narrated by a new standard. Scruples have arisen in his mind respecting violations of the laws of nature: the poets

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<sup>1</sup> *Herod. ii. 116.* δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυνθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως εὐπρεπὲς ἦν ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην ἢν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχράσαστο· ἐς ὃ μετῆκε αὐτὸν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιστάϊτο τὸν λόγον.

*Herodotus* then produces a passage from the *Iliad*, with a view to prove that *Homer* knew of the voyage of *Paris* and *Helen* to Egypt; but the passage proves nothing at all to the point.

Again (c. 120), his slender confidence in the epic poets breaks out—*εἰ χρά τι τοῖσι ἐποποιῶσι χρεώμενον λέγειν.*

It is remarkable that *Herodotus* is disposed to identify *Helen* with the *ἑστὴν Ἀφροδίτην* whose temple he saw at *Memphis* (c. 112).

are unworthy of trust, and their narratives must be brought into conformity with historical and ethical conditions, before they can be admitted as truth. To accomplish this conformity, Herodotus is willing to mutilate the old legend in one of its most vital parts: he sacrifices the personal presence of Helena in Troy, and through every one of the ancient epic poems belonging to the Trojan cycle, and is indeed, under the gods, the great animating force throughout.

Thucydides places himself generally in the same position as Herodotus with regard to mythical antiquity, yet with considerable differences. Though manifesting no belief in miracles or prodigies,<sup>1</sup> he seems to accept without reservation the existent reality of all the persons mentioned in the myth of the long series of generations extending back through the supposed centuries: in this category, too, are included the famous personages, Hellen, Kekrops, Eumolpus, Pandion, and Demofon, the son of Amphiaraus, and Akarnan. But on the other hand, we find no trace of that distinction between a heroic ante-human race, which Herodotus still admitted, and any respect for Egyptian legends. Thucydides, regarding the personages of the mythes as men of the same breed as his own contemporaries, not only tests the acts of the heroes by the same limits of credibility, but presumes to judge them by the same political views and feelings as he was accustomed to find in the proceedings of Peisistratus or Perikles. He regards the Trojan war as a great political enterprise, undertaken for the benefit of Greece; brought into combination through the imposi-

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<sup>1</sup> "Ut conquirere fabulosa (says Tacitus, Hist. ii. 50, a word which Thucydides) et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gra-  
tiam operis crediderim, ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non  
possum. Quo Bebrici certabatur, avem inusitatâ specie, apud Regium I-  
berum in vico consedissee, incolæ memorant; nec deinde cœtu hor-  
rum cum volitantium alitum, territam pulsamque, donec Otho se ips-  
um ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus, initium finem  
cum Othonis exitu competisse." Suetonius (Vesp. 5) records the  
miracle, in which three eagles appear.

This passage of Tacitus occurs immediately after his magnification of the suicide of the emperor Otho, a deed which he counts among the most fervent admiration. His feelings were evidently such that he was content to relax the canons of historical credibility

Agamemnôn, not (according to the legendary narrative) through the influence of the oath exacted by Tyndareus. Then he explains how the predecessors of Agamemnôn arrived at so vast a dominion — beginning with Pelops, who came over (as he says) from Asia with great wealth among the poor Peloponnésians, and by means of this wealth so aggrandized himself, though a foreigner, as to become the eponym of the peninsula. Next followed his son Atreus, who acquired after the death of Eurystheus the dominion of Mykênæ, which had before been possessed by the descendants of Perseus: here the old legendary tale, which described Atreus as having been banished by his father Pelops in consequence of the murder of his elder brother Chrysippus, is invested with a political bearing, as explaining the reason why Atreus retired to Mykênæ. Another legendary tale — the defeat and death of Eurystheus by the fugitive Herakleids in Attica, so celebrated in Attic tragedy as having given occasion to the generous protecting intervention of Athens — is also introduced as furnishing the cause why Atreus succeeded to the deceased Eurystheus: "for Atreus, the maternal uncle of Eurystheus, had been entrusted by the latter with his government during the expedition into Attica, and had effectually courted the people, who were moreover in great fear of being attacked by the Herakleids." Thus the Pelopids acquired the supremacy in Peloponnésus, and Agamemnôn was enabled to get together his 1200 ships and 100,000 men for the expedition against Troy. Considering that contingents were furnished from every portion of Greece, Thucydides regards this as a small number, treating the Homeric catalogue as an authentic muster-roll, perhaps rather exaggerated than otherwise. He then proceeds to tell us why the armament was not larger: many more men could have been furnished, but there was not sufficient money to purchase provisions for their subsistence; hence they were compelled, after landing and gaining a victory, to fortify their camp, to divide their army, and to send away one portion for the purpose of cultivating the Chersonese, and another portion to sack the adjacent towns. This was the grand reason why the siege lasted so long as ten years. For if it had been possible to keep the whole army together, and to act



with an undivided force, Troy would have been taken both earlier and at smaller cost.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the general sketch of the war of Troy, as given by Thucydides. So different is it from the genuine epical narrative, that we seem hardly to be reading a description of the same event; still less should we imagine that the event was known, to him as well as to us, only through the epic poets themselves. The men, the numbers, and the duration of the siege, do indeed remain the same; but the cast and juncture of events, the determining forces, and the characteristic features, are altogether heterogeneous. But, like Herodotus, and still more than Herodotus, Thucydides was under the pressure of two conflicting impulses — he shared the general faith in the mythical antiquity, but at the same time he could not believe in any facts which contradicted the laws of historical credibility or probability. He was thus under the necessity of torturing the matter of the old myths into conformity with the subjective exigencies of his own mind: he left out, altered, recombined, and supplied new connecting principles and supposed purposes, until the story became such as no one could have any positive reason for calling in question: though it lost the impressive mixture of religion, romance, and individual adventure, which constituted its original charm, it acquired a smoothness and plausibility, and a poetical *ensemble*, which the critics were satisfied to accept as historical truth. And historical truth it would doubtless have been, if any independent evidence could have been found to sustain it. Had Thucydides been able to produce such new testimony, we should have been pleased to satisfy ourselves that the war of Troy, as he recounted it, was the real event; of which the war of Troy, as sung by the epic poets, was a misreported, exaggerated, and ornamented recital. But in this case the poets are the only real witnesses, and the narrative of Thucydides is a mere extract and distillation from their incredibilities.

A few other instances may be mentioned to illustrate the views of Thucydides respecting various mythical incidents. 1. He treats the residence of the Homeric Phæakians at Corkyra as an undisputed fact, and employs it partly to explain the efficiency of

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 9-12.

the Korkyrean navy in times preceding the Peloponnesian war.<sup>1</sup> 2. He notices, with equal confidence, the story of Têreus and Proknê, daughter of Pandiôn, and the murder of the child Itys by Proknê his mother, and Philomêla; and he produces this ancient mythe with especial reference to the alliance between the Athenians and Têrés, king of the Odrysian Thracians, during the time of the Peloponnesian war, intimating that the Odrysian Têrés was neither of the same family nor of the same country as Têreus the husband of Proknê.<sup>2</sup> The conduct of Pandiôn, in giving his daughter Proknê in marriage to Têreus, is in his view dictated by political motives and interests. 3. He mentions the Strait of Messina as the place through which Odysseus is said to have sailed.<sup>3</sup> 4. The Cyclôpes and the Læstrygones (he says) were the most ancient reported inhabitants of Sicily; but he cannot tell to what race they belonged, nor whence they came.<sup>4</sup> 5. Italy derived its name from Italus, king of the Sikels. 6. Eryx and Egesto in Sicily were founded by fugitive Trojans after the capture of Troy; also Skionê, in the Thracian peninsula of Pal lônê, by Greeks from the Achæan town of Pellênê, stopping thither in their return from the siege of Troy: the Amphilochian Argos in the Gulf of Ambrakia was in like manner founded by

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. ii. 29. Καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐπραξαν· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοιο μνήμῃ Δαυλιῶς ἡ ὄρνις ἐκυνόμασται. Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίωνα ξυνέφασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσοῦτον, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ. The first of these sentences would lead us to infer, if it came from any other pen than that of Thucydides, that the writer believed the metamorphosis of Philomêla into a nightingale: see above, ch. xi. p. 270.

The observation respecting the convenience of neighborhood for the marriage is remarkable, and shows how completely Thucydides regarded the event as historical. What would he have said respecting the marriage of Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, with Boreas, and the prodigious distance which she is reported to have been carried by her husband? Ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ', ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός, etc. (Sophoklēs ap. Strabo. vii. p. 295.)

From the way in which Thucydides introduces the mention of this event, we see that he intended to correct the misapprehension of his countrymen, who having just made an alliance with the Odrysian Têrés, were led by that circumstance to think of the old mythical Têreus, and to regard him as the ancestor of Têrés.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. iv. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. vi. 2.

Amphilochus son of Amphiaræus, in his return from the enterprise. The remorse and mental derangement of the cidal Alkmæôn, son of Amphiaræus, is also mentioned by *Didêa*,<sup>1</sup> as well as the settlement of his son Akarnan in the called after him Akarnania.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the special allusions made by this illustrious in the course of his history to mythical events. From the of his language we may see that he accounted all that known about them to be uncertain and unsatisfactory; but it much at heart to show, that even the greatest were in

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. ii. 68-102; iv. 120; vi. 2. Antiochus of Syracuse, the porary of Thucydides, also mentioned Italus as the eponymous king; he farther named Sikelus, who came to Morgos, son of Italus, after been banished from Rome. He talks about Italus, just as Thucyd about Thêseus, as a wise and powerful king, who first acquire dominion (Dionys. H. A. R. i. 12, 35, 73). Aristotle also mentions in the same general terms (Polit. vii. 9, 2).

<sup>2</sup> We may here notice some particulars respecting Isokratês. He rests entire confidence in the authenticity of the mythical genealogical chronology; but while he treats the mythical personages as historical, he regards them at the same time not as human, but as half-god to humanity. About Helena, Thêseus, Sarpêdôn, Cynus, Memnon, etc., see Encom. Helen. Or. x. pp. 282, 292, 295, Bek. Helena is shipped in his time as a goddess at Therapnê (ib. p. 295). He mentions settlements of Danans, Kadmus, and Pelops in Greece, as undoubted facts (p. 297). In his discourse called *Busiris*, he accuses Polydorus, of a gross anachronism, in having placed Busiris subsequent of date to Orpheus and Æolus (Or. xi. p. 301, Bek.), and he adds the tale of Busiris having been slain by Hêraklês was chronologically (p. 309). Of the long Athenian genealogy from Kekrops to Theseus, he speaks with perfect historical confidence (Panathenaic. p. 349, Bek.), less so of the adventures of Hêraklês and his mythical contemporaries; he places in the mouth of Archidamus as a justification of the Spartan to Messenia (Or. vi. *Archidamus*, p. 156, Bek.; compare Or. v. *Philippus*, 114, 138), *φάσιν, οἷς περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πιστεύομεν*, etc. He concludes his poets in strong language for the wicked and dissolute tales which they culled respecting the gods: many of them (he says) had been guilty of such blasphemies by blindness, poverty, exile, and other misfortunes (p. 309, Bek.).

In general, it may be said that Isokratês applies no principles of criticism to the mythes; he rejects such as appear to him discreditable and unworthy, and believes the rest.

magnitude and importance to the Peloponnesian war.<sup>1</sup> In this respect his opinion seems to have been at variance with that which was popular among his contemporaries.

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 21-22.

The first two volumes of this history have been noticed in an able article of the Quarterly Review, for October, 1846; as well as in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* (1846. No. 41. pp. 641-655), by Professor Kortüm.

While expressing, on several points, approbation of my work, by which I feel much flattered — both my English and my German critic take partial objection to the views respecting Grecian legend. While the Quarterly Reviewer contends that the mythopoic faculty of the human mind, though essentially loose and untrustworthy, is never creative, but requires some basis of fact to work upon — Kortüm thinks that I have not done justice to Thucydides, as regards his way of dealing with legend; that I do not allow sufficient weight to the authority of an historian so circumspect and so cold-blooded (*den kalt-blüthigsten und besonnensten Historiker des Alterthums*, p. 653) as a satisfactory voucher for the early facts of Grecian history in his preface (*Herr G. Fehlt also, wenn er das anerkannt kritische Pro-öemium als Gewährsmann verschmäh*t, p. 654).

No man feels more powerfully than I do the merits of Thucydides as an historian, or the value of the example which he set in multiplying critical inquiries respecting matters recent and verifiable. But the ablest judge or advocate, in investigating specific facts, can proceed no further than he finds witnesses having the means of knowledge, and willing more or less to tell truth. In reference to facts prior to 776 B. C., Thucydides had nothing before him except the legendary poets, whose credibility is not at all enhanced by the circumstance that he accepted them as witnesses, applying himself only to cut down and modify their allegations. His credibility in regard to the specific facts of these early times depends altogether upon theirs. Now we in our day are in a better position for appreciating their credibility than he was in his, since the foundations of historical evidence are so much more fully understood, and good or bad materials for history are open to comparison in such large extent and variety. Instead of wondering that he shared the general faith in such delusive guides — we ought rather to give him credit for the reserve with which he qualified that faith, and for the sound idea of historical possibility to which he held fast as the limit of his confidence. But it is impossible to consider Thucydides as a *satisfactory guarantee* (*Gewährsmann*) for matters of fact which he derives only from such sources.

Professor Kortüm considers that I am inconsistent with myself in refusing to discriminate particular matters of historical fact among the legends — and yet in accepting these legends (in my chap. xx.) as giving a faithful mirror of the general state of early Grecian society (p. 653). It appears to me that this is no inconsistency, but a real and important distinction. Whether Herakles, Agamemnon, Odysseus, etc. were real persons, and performed all,

To touch a little upon the later historians by whom mythes were handled, we find that Anaximénès of Lampsacus composed a consecutive history of events, beginning from Theogony down to the battle of Mantinea.<sup>1</sup> But Ephorus confessed to omit all the mythical narratives which are referred to times anterior to the return of the Herakleids, (such rest would of course have banished the siege of Troy,) and approved those who introduced mythes into historical works, adding, that everywhere truth was the object to be aimed at. Yet in practice he seems often to have departed from his rule.<sup>3</sup> Theopompus, on the other hand, openly proclaimed

or a part, of the possible actions ascribed to them — I profess myself to determine. But even assuming both the persons and their exploits to be fictions, these very fictions will have been conceived and put together in conformity to the general social phenomena among which the described hearers lived — and will thus serve as illustrations of the manners of the age. In fact, the real value of the Preface of Thucydides, upon which Professor Kortüm bestows such just praise, consists, not in the particulars which he brings out by altering the legends, but in the rational generalization which he sets forth respecting early Grecian society, and respecting the causes as well as the consequences whereby it attained its actual position as he says.

Professor Kortüm also affirms that the mythes contain "real fact along with mere conceptions;" which affirmation is the same as that of the Quarterly Reviewer, when he says that the mythopœic faculty is creative. Taking the mythes in the mass, I doubt not that this is true; but I have I anywhere denied it. Taking them one by one, I neither affirm nor deny it. My position is, that, whether there be matter of fact or not, there is no test whereby it can be singled out, identified, and severed from the accompanying fiction. And it lies upon those, who proclaim the practical utility of such severance, to exhibit some means of verification better than has been yet pointed out. If Thucydides has failed in doing this, I maintain that none of the many authors who have made the same attempt will have been more successful.

It cannot surely be denied that the mythopœic faculty is creative; and we have before us so many divine legends, not merely in Greece, but in all countries also. To suppose that these religious legends are mere fictions, etc. of some basis of actual fact — that the gods of polytheism are merely divinized men, with qualities distorted or feigned — would detract in substance the theory of Euhemerus.

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. xv. 89. He was a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iv. 1. Strabo, ix. p. 422, ἐπιτιμήσας τοῖς φιλομυθούσι κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν γραφῇ.

<sup>3</sup> Ephorus recounted the principal adventures of Hēraklēs (F

he could narrate fables in his history better than Herodotus, or Ktesias, or Hellanicus.<sup>1</sup> The fragments which remain to us, exhibit some proof that this promise was performed as to quantity;<sup>2</sup> though as to his style of narration, the judgment of Dionysius is unfavorable. Xenophôn ennobled his favorite amusement of the chase by numerous examples chosen from the heroic world, tracing their portraits with all the simplicity of an undiminished faith. Kallisthenês, like Ephorus, professed to omit all mythes which referred to a time anterior to the return of the Hērakleids; yet we know that he devoted a separate book or portion of his history to the Trojan war.<sup>3</sup> Philistus introduced some mythes in the earlier portions of his Sicilian history; but Timæus was distinguished above all others for the copious and indiscriminate way in which he collected and repeated such legends.<sup>4</sup> Some of these

ed. Marx.), the tales of Kadmus and Harmonia (Fragm. 12), the banishment of Ætôlus from Elis (Fragm. 15; Strabo, viii. p. 357); he drew inferences from the chronology of the Trojan and Theban wars (Fragm. 28); he related the coming of Dædalus to the Sikan king Kokalus, and the expedition of the Amazons (Fragm. 99-103).

He was particularly copious in his information about κτίσεις, ἀποικίας and συγγενείαι (Polyb. ix. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. Halic. De Vett. Scriptt. Judic. p. 428, Reisk; Ælian, V. H. iii. 18, Θεόπομπος . . . . . δεινὸς μυθόλογος.

Theopompus affirmed, that the bodies of those who went into the forbidden precinct (τὸ ἄβατον) of Zeus, in Arcadia, gave no shadow (Polyb. xvi. 12). He recounted the story of Midas and Silênus (Fragm. 74, 75, 76, ed. Wichers); he said a good deal about the heroes of Troy; and he seems to have assigned the misfortunes of the Νόστοι to an historical cause — the rottenness of the Grecian ships, from the length of the siege, while the genuine epic ascribes it to the anger of Athênê (Fragm. 112, 113, 114; Schol. Homer. Iliad. ii. 135); he narrated an alleged expulsion of Kinyras from Cyprus by Agamemnôn (Fragm. 111); he gave the genealogy of the Macedonian queen Olympias up to Achilles and Æakus (Fragm. 232).

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, Epist. ad Familiar. v. 12; Xenophôn de Venation. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Philistus, Fragg. 1. (Göller), Dædalus, and Kokalus; about Liber and Juno (Fragm. 57); about the migration of the Sikels into Sicily, eighty years after the Trojan war (ap. Dionys. Hal. i. 3).

Timæus Fragg. 50, 51, 52, 53, Göller) related many fables respecting Jasôn, Mædea, and the Argonauts generally. The miscarriage of the Athenian armament under Nikias, before Syracuse, is imputed to the anger of Hēraklēs against the Athenians because they came to assist the Egæstæ

writers employed their ingenuity in transforming the circumstances into plausible matter of history: Ephorus, ticular, converted the serpent Pythô, slain by Apollo, into a rannical king.<sup>1</sup>

But the author who pushed this transmutation of legend history to the greatest length, was the Messenian Euêmerus, a temporary of Kassander of Macedôn. He melted down the way the divine persons and legends, as well as the heroic, representing both gods and heroes as having been mere ear men, though superior to the ordinary level in respect of and capacity, and deified or heroified after death as a reward for services or striking exploits. In the course of a voyage the Indian sea, undertaken by command of Kassander, Euêmerus professed to have discovered a fabulous country called Pales in which was a temple of the Triphylian Zeus: he there scribed a golden column, with an inscription purporting to have been put up by Zeus himself, and detailing his exploits on earth.<sup>2</sup> Some eminent men, among whom may be named Polybius, followed the views of Euêmerus, and the Roman Ennius<sup>3</sup> translated his *Historia Sacra*; but on the whole he acquired favor, and the unblushing inventions which he put into circulation were of themselves sufficient to disgrace both the author and his opinions. The doctrine that all the gods had existed as mere men offended the religious pagans, and upon Euêmerus the imputation of atheism; but, on the other hand, it came to be warmly espoused by several of the champions of paganism,—by Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and St. Augustin, who found the ground ready prepared for their efforts to strip Zeus and the other pagan gods of their attributes of deity. They believed not only in the main theory, but also in the copious details of Euêmerus; and the same man Strabo casts aside as almost a proverb for mendacity, and

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descendants of Troy (Plutarch, *Nikias*, 1),—a naked reproduction of the same epical agencies by an historian; also about Diomêdês and the Argians; Phæthôn and the river Eridanus; the combats of the Gigantes on the Phlegrean plains (*Fragm.* 97, 99, 102).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodôr. v. 44-46; and Lactantius, *De Falsâ Relig.* i.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *De Naturâ Deor.* i. 42; Varro, *De Re Rust.* i. 48.

toll'd by them as an excellent specimen of careful historical inquiry.<sup>1</sup>

But though the pagan world repudiated that "lowering tone of explanation," which effaced the superhuman personality of Zeus and the great gods of Olympus, the mythical persons and narratives generally came to be surveyed more and more from the point of view of history, and subjected to such alterations as might make them look more like plausible matter of fact. Polybius, Strabo, Diodôrus, and Pausanias, cast the mythes into historical statements — with more or less of transformation, as the case may require, assuming always that there is a basis of truth, which may be discovered by removing poetical exaggerations and allowing for mistakes. Strabo, in particular, lays down that principle broadly and unequivocally in his remarks upon Homer. To give pure fiction, without any foundation of fact, was in his judgment utterly unworthy of so great a genius; and he comments with considerable acrimony on the geographer Eratosthenês, who maintains the opposite opinion. Again, Polybius tells us that the Homeric Æolus, the dispenser of the winds by

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, ii. p. 102. Οὐ πολὺ οὖν λείπεται τὰ ταῦτα τῶν Πύθεω καὶ Εὐήμερου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους ψευσμάτων; compare also i. p. 47, and ii. p. 104.

St. Augustin, on the contrary, tells us (Civitat. Dei, vi. 7), "Quid de ipso Jove senserunt, qui nutricem ejus in Capitolio posuerunt? Nonne attestati sunt omnes Eumero, qui non fabulosâ garrulitate, sed *historicâ diligentia*, homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit?" And Minucius Felix (Octav. 20-21), "Eumerus exequitur Deorum natales: patrias, sepulcra dinumerat, et per provincias monstrat, Dictæi Jovis, et Apollinis Delphici, et Phariæ Isidis, et Cereris Eleusiniae." Compare Augustin, Civit. Dei, xviii. 8-14; and Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. pp. 15-18, Sylb.

Lactantius (De Falsâ Relig. c. 13, 14, 16) gives copious citations from Ennius's translation of the *Historia Sacra* of Eûmêrus.

Εὐήμερος, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς ἄθεος, Sextus Empiricus, adv. Physicos, ix. § 17-51. Compare Cicero, De Nat. Deor. i. 42; Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, c. 23. tom. ii. p. 475, ed. Wytt.

Nitzsch assumes (Helden Sage der Griechen, sect. 7. p. 84) that the voyage of Eûmêrus to Panchaia was intended only as an amusing romance, and that Strabo, Polybius, Eratosthenês and Plutarch were mistaken in construing it as a serious recital. Böttiger, in his *Kunst-Mythologie der Griechen* (Absch. ii. s. 6. p. 190), takes the same view. But not the least reason is given for adopting this opinion, and it seems to me far-fetched and improbable; Lobeck (Aglaopham. p. 989), though Nitzsch alludes to him as holding it, manifests no such tendency, as far as I can observe.



appointment from Zeus, was in reality a man eminently in navigation, and exact in predicting the weather; that the *clôpes* and *Læstrygones* were wild and savage real men in and that *Scylla* and *Charybdis* were a figurative representation of dangers arising from pirates in the Strait of Messina. He speaks of the amazing expeditions of *Dionysus* and *Hercules* and of the long wanderings of *Jasôn*, *Menelaus*, and *Odysseus* in the same category with the extended commercial range of Phœnician merchant-ships: he explains the report of *Theseus* and *Peirithôus* having descended to *Hadês*, by their daring earthly pilgrimages, — and the invocation of the *Dioskuri*, protectors of the imperiled mariner, by the celebrity which they had acquired as real men and navigators.

*Diodôrus* gave at considerable length versions of the fables respecting the most illustrious names in the Grecian world, compiled confusedly out of distinct and inconsistent authors. Sometimes the myth is reproduced in its simplicity, but for the most part it is partially, and sometimes wholly, historicized. Amidst this jumble of dissentient traditions we can trace little of a systematic view, except the conviction that there was at the bottom of the mythical chronological sequence of persons, and real matter of fact, historical or ultra-historical. Nevertheless, there are so many occasions on which *Diodôrus* brings us back a step nearer to the point of view of the old logographers. For, in reference to *Héraklês*, he protests against the scheme of cutting down the mythes to the level of present reality, and contends that the standard of ultra-historical credibility ought to be constituted as to include the myth in its native dimensions, and do honor to the grand, beneficent, and superhuman personages *Héraklês* and other heroes or demi-gods. To apply to such persons the common measure of humanity (he says), and to the glorious picture which grateful man has drawn of them, once ungracious and irrational. All nice criticism into the nature of the legendary narratives is out of place: we show our reverence to the god by acquiescing in the incredibilities of the story, and we must be content with the best guesses which we can make, amidst the inextricable confusion and numberless

ancies which they present.<sup>1</sup> Yet though Diodôrus here exhibits a preponderance of the religious sentiment over the purely historical point of view, and thus reminds us of a period earlier than Thucydides — he in another place inserts a series of stories which seem to be derived from Euêmerus, and in which Uranus, Kronus, and Zeus appear reduced to the character of human kings celebrated for their exploits and benefactions.<sup>2</sup> Many of the authors, whom Diodôrus copies, have so entangled together Grecian, Asiatic, Egyptian, and Libyan fables, that it becomes impossible to ascertain how much of this heterogeneous mass can be considered as at all connected with the genuine Hellenic mind.

Pausanias is far more strictly Hellenic in his view of the Grecian mythes than Diodôrus: his sincere piety makes him inclined to faith generally with regard to the mythical narratives, but subject nevertheless to the frequent necessity of historicizing or allegorizing them. His belief in the general reality of the mythical history and chronology is complete, in spite of the many

<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 1-8. Ἐνιοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων, οὗ δικαίᾳ χρώμενοι κρίσει, τὰκριβὲς ἐπιζητοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις μυθολογίαις, ἐπίσης τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ, καὶ τὰ δισταζόμενα τῶν ἔργων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἐκ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς βίου τεκμαιρόμενοι, τὴν Ἡρακλέους δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων θεωροῦσιν, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἔργων ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὴν γραφὴν. Καθόλου γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις μυθολογίαις οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πικρῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξεταστέον. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις πεπεισμένοι μήτε Κενταύρους διφυεῖς ἐξ ἑτερογενῶν σωμάτων ὑπάρχειν, μήτε Γηρῦνὴν τρισώματον, ὅμως προσδεχόμεθα τὰς τοιαύτας μυθολογίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπισημασίαις συναύξομεν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν. Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, Ἡρακλέα μὲν εἶναι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὄντα τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις ἐξημερῶσαι τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπιλαθομένους τῆς κοινῆς εὐεργεσίας, συκοφαντεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἔργοις ἔπαινον, etc.

This is a remarkable passage: first, inasmuch as it sets forth the total inapplicability of analogies drawn from the historical past as narratives about Hēraklēs; next, inasmuch as it suspends the employment of critical and scientific tests, and invokes an acquiescence interwoven and identified with the feelings, as the proper mode of evincing pious reverence for the god Hēraklēs. It aims at reproducing exactly that state of mind to which the mythes were addressed, and with which alone they could ever be in thorough harmony.

<sup>2</sup> Diodôr. iii. 45-60; v. 44-46.

discrepancies which he finds in it, and which he is unable to reconcile.

Another author who seems to have conceived clearly and applied consistently, the semi-historical theory of the myths, is Palæphatus, of whose work what appears to be an abstract has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> In the short preface of this "concerning Incredible Tales," he remarks, that some, from want of instruction, believe all the current narratives to be true; others, more searching and cautious, disbelieve them all. Each of these extremes he is anxious to avoid. On the one hand, he thinks that no narrative could ever have acquired credence unless it had been founded in truth; on the other, it is impossible for him to accept so much of the existing narratives as conflicts with the analogies of present natural phenomena. If such things ever had been, they would still continue to be true; but they never have so occurred; and the extra-analogical parts of the stories are to be ascribed to the license of the poets. Palæphatus wishes to adopt a middle course, neither accepting nor rejecting all: accordingly, he had taken great pains to separate the true from the false in many of the narratives; he visited the localities wherein they had taken place, and made careful inquiries from old men and others.<sup>2</sup> The result

<sup>1</sup> The work of Palæphatus, probably this original, is alluded to in the *Ciris* of Virgil (88):—

"Docta Palæphatidæ testatur voce papyrus."

The date of Palæphatus is unknown—indeed this passage seems the only ground that there is for inference respecting it. The work we now possess is probably an extract from a larger work—made by some person at some later time: see Vossius de Historicis Græcis, Westermann.

<sup>2</sup> Palæphat. init. ap. Script. Mythogr. ed. Westermann, p. 1. ἁνθρώπων οἱ μὲν πείθονται πᾶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὡς ἀνομίλητοι ἐπιστήμης—οἱ δὲ πυκνότεροι τὴν φύσιν καὶ πολυπράγμονες ἐκ παραπάνω μὴδὲν γενέσθαι τούτων. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα. . . . . γενόμενα δὲ τίνα οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ λογιγράφοι παρέργῃ ἀπιστότερον καὶ θαυμασιώτερον τοῦ θαυμίζειν ἕνεκα τοῦς ἀνθρώπους δὲ γινώσκω, ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι οἷα καὶ λέγεται. . . . . ἡεὶ ληφά, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγετο.

The main assumption of the semi-historical theory is here clearly stated.

One of the early Christian writers, Minucius Felix, is astonished at the belief of his pagan forefathers in miracles. If ever such

researches are presented in a new version of fifty legends, among the most celebrated and the most fabulous, comprising the Centaurs, Pasiphaë, Aktæôn, Kadmus and the Sparti, the Sphinx, Cycnus, Dædalus, the Trojan horse, Æolus, Scylla, Geryôn, Bellerophôn, etc.

It must be confessed that Palæphatus has performed his promise of transforming the "incredibilia" into narratives in themselves plausible and unobjectionable, and that in doing so he always follows some thread of analogy, real or verbal. The Centaurs (he tells us) were a body of young men from the village of Nephelê in Thessaly, who first trained and mounted horses for the purpose of repelling a herd of bulls belonging to Ixiôn king of the Lapithæ, which had run wild and done great damage: they pursued these wild bulls on horseback, and pierced them with their spears, thus acquiring both the name of *Prickers* (*κέρτροες*) and the imputed attribute of joint body with the horse. Aktæôn was an Arcadian, who neglected the cultivation of his land for the pleasures of hunting, and was thus eaten up by the expense of his hounds. The dragon whom Kadmus killed at Thêbes, was in reality Drako, king of Thêbes; and the dragon's teeth which he was said to have sown, and from whence sprung a crop of armed men, were in point of fact elephants' teeth, which Kadmus as a rich Phœnician had brought over with him: the sons of Drako sold these elephants' teeth and employed the proceeds to levy troops against Kadmus. Dædalus, instead of flying across the sea on wings, had escaped from Krête in a swift sailing-boat under a violent storm: Kottus, Briareus, and Gygês were not persons with one hundred hands, but inhabitants of the village of Hekatoncheiria in Upper Macedonia, who warred with the inhabitants of Mount Olympus against the Titans: Scylla, whom Odysseus so narrowly escaped, was a fast-

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been done in former times (he affirms), they would continue to be done now; as they cannot be done now, we may be sure that they never were *really* done formerly (Minucius Felix, Octav. c. 20): "Majoribus enim nostris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temerè crediderint etiam alia monstruosa mira miracula, Scyllam multiplicem, Chimæram multiformem, Hydram, et Centauros. Quid illas aniles fabulas — de hominibus aves, et feras homines, et de hominibus arbores atque flores? *Quia, si essent facta, fierent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.*"

sailing piratical vessel, as was also Pegasus, the alleged winged horse of Bellerophôn.<sup>1</sup>

By such ingenious conjectures, Palæphatus eliminates all the incredible circumstances, and leaves to us a string of tales perfectly credible and commonplace, which we should readily believe, provided a very moderate amount of testimony could be produced in their favor. If his treatment not only disenchant the original mythes, but even effaces their generic and essential character, we ought to remember that this is not more than what is done by Thucydídēs in his sketch of the Trojan war. Palæphatus handles the mythes consistently, according to the semi-historical theory, and his results exhibit the maximum which that theory can ever present. By aid of conjecture, we get out of the impossible, and arrive at matters intrinsically plausible, but to-

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<sup>1</sup> Palæphat. Narrat. 1, 3, 6, 13, 20, 21, 29. Two short treatises on the same subject as this of Palæphatus, are printed along with it, both in the collection of Gale and of Westermann; the one, *Heracliti de Incredibilibus*, the other *Anonymi de Incredibilibus*. They both profess to interpret some of the extraordinary or miraculous mythes, and proceed in a track not unlike that of Palæphatus. Scylla was a beautiful courtesan, surrounded with abominable parasites: she ensnared and ruined the companions of Odysseus, though he himself was prudent enough to escape her (Heraclit. c. 2. p. 313, West.). Atlas was a great astronomer: Pasiphaë fell in love with a youth named Taurus; the monster called the Chimæra was in reality a ferocious queen, who had two brothers called Leo and Drako; the ram which carried Phryxus and Hellé across the Ægean was a boatman named Krias (Heraclit. c. 2, 6, 15, 24).

A great number of similar explanations are scattered throughout the Scholia on Homer and the Commentary of Eustathius, without specification of their authors.

Theôn considers such resolution of fable into plausible history as a proof of surpassing ingenuity (*Progymnasmata*, cap. 6, ap. Walz. Coll. Rhett. Græc. i. p. 219). Others among the Rhetors, too, exercised their talents sometimes in vindicating, sometimes in controverting, the probability of the ancient mythes. See the *Progymnasmata* of Nicolaus — *Κατασκευὴ δὲ ἐκ λόγων τὰ κατὰ Νιόβην Ἀνασκευὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ λόγων τὰ κατὰ Νιόβην* (ap. Walz. Coll. Rhetor. i. p. 284–318), where there are many specimens of this fanciful mode of handling.

Plutarch, however, in one of his treatises, accepts Minotaurs, Sphirxes, Centaurs, etc. as realities; he treats them as products of the monstrous, incestuous, and ungovernable lusts of man, which he contrasts with the simple and moderate passions of animals (Plutarch, Gryllus, p. 990).

tally uncertified; beyond this point we cannot penetrate, without the light of extrinsic evidence, since there is no intrinsic mark to distinguish truth from plausible fiction.<sup>1</sup>

It remains that we should notice the manner in which the ancient mythes were received and dealt with by the philosophers. The earliest expression which we hear, on the part of philosophy, is the severe censure bestowed upon them on ethical grounds by Xenophanês of Kolophôn, and seemingly by some others of his contemporaries.<sup>2</sup> It was apparently in reply to such charges, which did not admit of being directly rebutted, that Theagenês of Rhêgium (about 520 B. C.) first started the idea of a double meaning in the Homeric and Hesiodic narratives, — an interior sense, different from that which the words in their obvious meaning bore, yet to a certain extent analogous, and discoverable by sagacious divination. Upon this principle, he allegorized especially the battle of the gods in the *Iliad*.<sup>3</sup> In the succeeding cen-

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<sup>1</sup> The learned Mr. Jacob Bryant regards the explanations of Palæphatus as if they were founded upon real fact. He admits, for example, the city Nephelê alleged by that author in his exposition of the fable of the Centaurs. Moreover, he speaks with much commendation of Palæphatus generally: "He (Palæphatus) wrote early, and seems to have been a serious and sensible person; one who saw the absurdity of the fables upon which the theology of his country was founded." (*Ancient Mythology*, vol. i. p. 411-435.)

So also Sir Thomas Brown (*Enquiry into Vulgar Errors*, Book I. chap. vi. p. 221, ed. 1835) alludes to Palæphatus as having incontestably pointed out the real basis of the fables. "And surely the fabulous inclination of those days was greater than any since; which swarmed so with fables, and from such slender grounds took hints for fictions, poisoning the world ever after: wherein how far they succeeded, may be exemplified from Palæphatus, in his *Book of Fabulous Narrations*."

<sup>2</sup> Xenophan. ap. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathemat. ix. 193. He also disapproved of the rites, accompanied by mourning and wailing, with which the Eleatês worshipped Leukothea: he told them, *εἰ οὐκ ἐδὲν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν · εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπον, μὴ θύειν* (Aristotel. *Rhet.* ii. 23).

Xenophanês pronounced the battles of the Titans, Gigantes, and Centaurs to be "fictions of our predecessors," *πλάσματα τῶν προτέρων* (Xenophan. *Fragm.* 1. p. 42, ed. Schneidewin).

See a curious comparison of the Grecian and Roman theology in Dionys. Halicarn. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. *Iliad.* xx. 67: Tatian. adv. Græc. c. 48. Hērakleitus indignantly repelled the impudent atheists who found fault with the divine mythes of the

tury, Anaxagoras and Metrodorus carried out the allegorical explanation more comprehensively and systematically; the former representing the mythical personages as mere mental conceptions, invested with name and gender, and illustrative of ethical precepts, — the latter connecting them with physical principles and phenomena. Metrodorus resolved not only the persons of Zeus, Hêrê, and Athênê, but also those of Agamemnôn, Achilles, and Hector, into various elemental combinations and physical agencies, and treated the adventures ascribed to them as natural facts concealed under the veil of allegory.<sup>1</sup> Empedoklês, Prodikos, Antisthenês, Parmenidês, Hêrakteidês of Pontus, and in a later age, Chrysippus, and the Stoic philosophers generally,<sup>2</sup> followed more or less

Iliad, ignorant of their true allegorical meaning: ἡ τῶν ἐπιφαινόμενων τῷ Ὅμηρῳ τόλμα τοὺς Ἦρας δεσμοδὸς αἰτιῶνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἕλην τινα θαψιλῇ τῆς ἀθέτου πρὸς Ὅμηρον ἔχειν μανίας ταῦτα — Ἡ οὐ μέμνηται ὅτι τ' ἐκρέμω ἐψοθεν, etc. λέληθε δ' αὐτοὺς ὅτι τούτοις τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκτεθεολόγηται ἡ τοῦ παντὸς γένεσις, καὶ τὰ συνεχῶς ῥέδμενα τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα τούτων τῶν στίχων ἐστὶ τάξις (Schol. ad Hom. Iliad. xv. 18).

<sup>1</sup> Diogen. Laërt. ii. 11; Tatian. adv. Græc. c. 37; Hesychius, v. Ἀγαμέμνονα. See the ethical turn given to the stories of Circe, the Sirens, and Scylla, in Xenoph. Memorab. i. 3, 7; ii. 6, 11–31. Syncellus, Chronic. p. 149. Ἑρμηνεύουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀναξαγόρειοι τοὺς μυθώδεις θεοὺς, νοῦν μὲν τὸν Δία, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν τέχνην, etc.

Uschold and other modern German authors seem to have adopted in its full extent the principle of interpretation proposed by Metrodorus — treating Odysseus and Penelopê as personifications of the Sun and Moon, etc. See Halbig, Die Sittlichen Zustände des Griechischen Helden Alters, Einleitung, p. xxix. (Leipzig, 1839.)

Corrections of the Homeric text were also resorted to, in order to escape the necessity of imputing falsehood to Zeus (Aristotel. De Sophist. Elench. c. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Sextus Empiric. ix. 18; Diogen. viii. 76; Plutarch, De Placit. Philosoph. i. 3–6; De Poesi Homericâ, 92–126; De Stoicor. Repugn. p. 1050; Menander, De Encomiis, c. 5.

Cicero, De Nat. Deor. i. 14, 15, 16, 41; ii. 34–25. “Physica ratio non inelegans inclusa in impiis fabulis.”

In the *Bacchæ* of Euripidês, Pentheus is made to deride the tale of the motherless infant Dionysus having been sewn into the thigh of Zeus. Teiresias, while reproving him for his impiety, explains the story away in a sort of allegory: the *μηρὸς Διὸς* (he says) was a mistaken statement in place of the αἰθὴρ χυθὼνα ἐγκυκλούμενος (*Bacch.* 235–290).

Lucretius (iii. 995–1036) allegorizes the conspicuous sufferers in Hadês, — Tantalus, Sisyphus, Tityus, and the Danaïds, as well as the ministers of

the same principle of treating the popular gods as allegorical personages; while the expositors of Homer (such as Stesimbrotus, Glaukôn, and others, even down to the Alexandrine age), though none of them proceeded to the same extreme length as Metrodôrus, employed allegory amongst other media of explanation for the purpose of solving difficulties, or eluding reproaches against the poet.

In the days of Plato and Zenophôn, this allegorizing interpretation was one of the received methods of softening down the obnoxious mythes — though Plato himself treated it as an insufficient defence, seeing that the bulk of youthful hearers could not see through the allegory, but embraced the story literally as it was set forth.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias tells us, that when he first began to write his work, he treated many of the Greek legends as silly and undeserving of serious attention; but as he proceeded, he gradually arrived at the full conviction, that the ancient sages had designedly spoken in enigmatical language, and that there was valuable truth wrapped up in their narratives: it was the duty of a pious man, therefore, to study and interpret, but not to reject,

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penal infliction, Cerberus and the Furies. The first four are emblematic descriptions of various defective or vicious characters in human nature, — the dædalaemonic, the ambitious, the amorous, or the insatiate and querulous man; the last two represent the mental terrors of the wicked.

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ νῦν περὶ Ὅμηρον δεινοί — so Plato calls these interpreters (Kratylus, p. 407); see also Xenoph. Sympos. iii. 6; Plato, Ion. p. 530; Plutarch, De Audiend. Poet. p. 19. ὑπόνοια was the original word, afterwards succeeded by ἀλληγορία.

Ἦρας δὲ δεσμονὸς καὶ Ἡφαίστου βίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς, μέλλοντος τῇ μητρὶ τυπτομένη ἀμυνεῖν, καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποιήκεν, οὐ παραδεκτόν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας, οὐτ' ἀνεῦ ὑπονοίας. Ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ' οἷός τε κρίνειν ὅτι τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ἄλλ' ἂν τηλικούτος ὢν λάβῃ ἐν ταῖς δόξαις, δυσέκνιπτά τε καὶ ἀμετάστατα φιλεῖ γιγνεσθαι (Plato, Republ. ii. 17. p. 378).

The idea of an interior sense and concealed purpose in the ancient poets occurs several times in Plato (Theætet. c. 93. p. 180): παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων, μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τούδ' πολλοὺς, etc.; also Protagor. c. 20. p. 316.

“Modo Stoicum Homerum faciunt, — modo Epicureum, — modo Peripateticum, — modo Academicum. Apparat nihil horum esse in illo, quia omnia sunt.” (Seneca, Ep. 88.) Compare Plutarch, De Defectu Oracul. c. 11-12. t. ii. p. 702, Wytt., and Julian, Orat. vii. p. 216.



stories current and accredited respecting the gods.<sup>1</sup> And others, — arguing from the analogy of the religious mysteries, which could not be divulged without impiety to any except such as had been specially admitted and initiated, — maintained that it would be a profanation to reveal directly to the vulgar, the genuine scheme of nature and the divine administration: the ancient poets and philosophers had taken the only proper course, of talking to the many in types and parables, and reserving the naked truth for privileged and qualified intelligences.<sup>2</sup> The allegorical mode of explaining the ancient fables<sup>3</sup> became more and more popular in

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 8, 2. To the same purpose (Strabo, x. p. 474), allegory is admitted to a certain extent in the fables by Dionys. Halic. Ant. Rom. ii. 20. The fragment of the lost treatise of Plutarch, on the Platæan festival of the Dædala, is very instructive respecting Grecian allegory (Fragm. ix. t. 5. p. 754-763, ed. Wyt.; ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. iii. 1).

<sup>2</sup> This doctrine is set forth in Macrobius (i. 2). He distinguishes between *fabula* and *fabulosa narratio*: the former is fiction pure, intended either to amuse or to instruct, — the latter is founded upon truth, either respecting human or respecting divine agency. The gods did not like to be publicly talked of (according to his view) except under the respectful veil of a fable (the same feeling as that of Herodotus, which led him to refrain from inserting the *λεπτοὶ λόγοι* in his history). The supreme god, the *ῥάγαν*, the *πρῶτον αἰτίον*, could not be talked of in fables: but the other gods, the ærial or æthereal powers and the soul, might be, and ought to be, talked of in that manner alone. Only superior intellects ought to be admitted to a knowledge of the secret reality. “De Diis cæteris, et de animâ, non frustra se, nec ut oblectant, ad fabulosa convertunt; sed quia sciunt inimicam esse naturâ apertam nudamque expositionem sui: quæ sicut vulgaribus sensibus hominum intellectum sui, vario rerum tegmine operimentoque, subtrahit; ita à prudentibus arcana sua voluit per fabulosa tractari . . . . . Adeo semper ita se et sciri et coli numina maluerunt, qualiter in vulgus antiquitus fabulata est. . . . . Secundum hæc Pythagoras ipse atque Empedocles, Parmenides quoque et Heraclides, de Diis fabulati sunt: nec secus Timæus.” Compare also Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. x. and xxxii. Arnobius exposes the allegorical interpretation as mere evasion, and holds the Pagans to literal historical fact (Adv. Gentes, v. p. 185, ed. Elm.).

Respecting the allegorical interpretation applied to the Greek fables, Böttiger (Die Kunst — Mythologie der Griechen, Abschn. ii. p. 176) · Nitzsch (Heldensage der Griech. sect. 6. p. 78); Lobeck (Aglaopham. p. 133-155).

<sup>3</sup> According to the anonymous writer ap. Westermann (Script. Myth. p. 328), every personal or denominated god may be construed in three different ways: either *πραγματικῶς* (historically, as having been a king or a man) —

the third and fourth centuries after the Christian era, especially among the new Platonic philosophers; being both congenial to

or *ψυχικῶς*, in which theory *Hērê* signifies the *soul*; *Athênê*, *prudence*; *Aphroditê*, *desire*; *Zeus*, *mind*, etc. — or *στοιχειακῶς*, in which system *Apollo* signifies the *sun*; *Poseidôn*, the *sea*; *Hērê*, the upper stratum of the air, or *æther*; *Athênê*, the lower or denser stratum; *Zeus*, the upper hemisphere; *Kronus*, the lower, etc. This writer thinks that all the three principles of construction may be resorted to, each on its proper occasion, and that neither of them excludes the others. It will be seen that the first is pure *Enemism*; the two latter are modes of allegory.

The allegorical construction of the gods and of the divine mythes is copiously applied in the treatises, both of *Phurnutus* and *Sallustius*, in *Gale's* collection of mythological writers. *Sallustius* treats the mythes as of divine origin, and the chief poets as inspired (*θεόληπτοι*): the gods were propitious to those who recounted worthy and creditable mythes respecting them, and *Sallustius* prays that they will accept with favor his own remarks (cap. 3 and 4. pp. 245–251, *Gale*). He distributes mythes into five classes; theological, physical, spiritual, material, and mixed. He defends the practice of speaking of the gods under the veil of allegory, much in the same way as *Macrobius* (in the preceding note): he finds, moreover, a good excuse even for those mythes which imputed to the gods theft, adultery, outrages towards a father, and other enormities: such tales (he says) were eminently suitable, since the mind must at once see that the facts as told are not to be taken as being themselves the real truth, but simply as a veil, disguising some interior truth (p. 247).

Besides the *Life of Homer* ascribed to *Plutarch* (see *Gale*, p. 325–332). *Hēraklîdês* (not *Hēraklîdês* of *Pontus*) carries out the process of allegorizing the Homeric mythes most earnestly and most systematically. The application of the allegorizing theory is, in his view, the only way of rescuing *Homer* from the charge of scandalous impiety — *πάντη γὰρ ἡσέβησεν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡλλαγόρησεν* (*Hêrac. in init.* p. 407, *Gale*). He proves at length, that the destructive arrows of *Apollo*, in the first book of the *Iliad*, mean nothing at the bottom except a contagious plague, caused by the heat of the summer sun in marshy ground (pp. 416–424). *Athênê*, who darts down from *Olympus* at the moment when *Achilles* is about to draw his sword on *Agamemnon*, and seizes him by the hair, is a personification of repentant prudence (p. 435). The conspiracy against *Zeus*, which *Homer* (*Iliad*, i. 400) relates to have been formed by the Olympic gods, and defeated by the timely aid of *Thetis* and *Briareus* — the chains and suspension imposed upon *Hērê* — the casting of *Hêphæstos* by *Zeus* out of *Olympus*, and his fall in *Lêmnus* — the destruction of the Grecian wall by *Poseidôn*, after the departure of the Greeks — the amorous scene between *Zeus* and *Hêrê* on *Mount Gargarus* — the distribution of the universe between *Zeus*, *Poseidôn*, and *Hadês* — all these he resolves into peculiar manifestations and conflicts of the elemental substances in nature. To the much-decried battle of the gods, he gives a

their orientalized turn of thought, and useful as a shield against the attacks of the Christians.

It was from the same strong necessity, of accommodating the old mythes to a new standard both of belief and of appreciation, that both the historical and the allegorical schemes of transforming them arose; the literal narrative being decomposed for the purpose of arriving at a base either of particular matter of fact,

turn partly physical, partly ethical (p. 481). In like manner, he transforms and vindicates the adventures of the gods in the *Odyssey*: the wanderings of Odysseus, together with the *Lotophagi*, the *Cyclôps*, *Circê*, the *Sirens*, *Æolus*, *Scylla*, etc., he resolves into a series of temptations, imposed as a trial upon a man of wisdom and virtue, and emblematic of human life (p. 496). The story of *Arês*, *Aphroditê*, and *Hêphæstos*, in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, seems to perplex him more than any other: he offers two explanations, neither of which seems satisfactory even to himself (p. 494).

An anonymous writer in the collection of Westermann (pp. 329-344) has discussed the wanderings of Odysseus upon the same ethical scheme of interpretation as *Hêracliðês*: he entitles his treatise "A short essay on the Wanderings of Odysseus in Homer, worked out in conjunction with ethical reflections, and rectifying what is rotten in the story, as well as may be, for the benefit of readers." (*τὸ μύθου σαθρὸν θεραπεύονσα.*) The author resolves the adventures of Odysseus into narratives emblematic of different situations and trials of human life. *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, for example (c. 8. p. 338), represent, the one, the infirmities and temptations arising out of the body, the other, those springing from the mind, between which man is called upon to steer. The adventure of Odysseus with *Æolus*, shows how little good a virtuous man does himself by seeking, in case of distress, aid from conjurors and evil enchanters; the assistance of suah allies, however it may at first promise well, ultimately deceives the person who accepts it, and renders him worse off than he was before (c. 3. p. 332). By such illustrations does the author sustain his general position, that there is a great body of valuable ethical teaching wrapped up in the poetry of Homer.

Proclus is full of similar allegorization, both of Homer and Hesiod: the third *Excursus* of Heyne ad *Iliad*. xxiii. (vol. viii. p. 563), *De Allegoriâ Homericâ*, contains a valuable summary of the general subject.

The treatise *De Astrologiâ*, printed among the works of Lucian, contains specimens of astrological explanations applied to many of the Grecian *μῦθοι*, which the author as a pious man cannot accept in their literal meaning. "How does it consist with holiness (he asks) to believe that *Æneas* was son of *Aphroditê*, *Minôs* of *Zeus*, or *Askalaphus* of *Mars*? No; these were men born under the favorable influences of the planets *Venus*, *Jupiter*, and *Mars*." He considers the principle of astrological explanation peculiarly fit to be applied to the mythes of Homer and Hesiod (*Lucian, De Astrologiâ*, c. 21-22).

or of general physical or moral truth. Instructed men were commonly disposed to historicize only the heroic legends, and to allegorize more or less of the divine legends: the attempt of Euëmerus to historicize the latter was for the most part denounced as irreligious, while that of Metrodôrus to allegorize the former met with no success. In allegorizing, moreover, even the divine legends, it was usual to apply the scheme of allegory only to the inferior gods, though some of the great Stoic philosophers carried it farther, and allegorized all the separate personal gods, leaving only an all-pervading cosmic Mind,<sup>1</sup> essential as a co-efficient along with Matter, yet not separable from Matter. But many pious pagans seem to have perceived that allegory pushed to this extent was fatal to all living religious faith,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as it divested the gods of their character of Persons, sympathizing with mankind and modifiable in their dispositions according to the conduct and prayers of the believer: and hence they permitted themselves to employ allegorical interpretation only to some of the obnoxious legends connected with the superior gods, leaving the personality of the latter unimpeached.

One novelty, however, introduced seemingly by the philosopher Empedoklês and afterwards expanded by others, deserves notice, inasmuch as it modified considerably the old religious creed by drawing a pointed contrast between gods and dæmons, — a distinction hardly at all manifested in Homer, but recognized in the Works and Days of Hesiod.<sup>3</sup> Empedoklês widened the gap between the two, and founded upon it important consequences. The gods were good, immortal, and powerful agents, having freewill

<sup>1</sup> See Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2nd edit. part 3. book 11. chap. 4. p. 592; Varro ap. Augustin. *Civitat. Dei*, vi. 5, ix. 6; Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* ii. 24–28.

Chrysippus admitted the most important distinction between Zeus and the other gods (*Plutarch. de Stoicor. Repugnant.* p. 1052.)

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch. de Isid. et Osirid.* c. 66. p. 377; c. 70. p. 379. Compare on this subject O. Müller, *Prolegom. Mythol.* p. 59 *seq.*, and Eckermann, *Lehrbuch der Religions Geschichte*, vol. i. sect. ii. p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Opp. et Di.* 122: to the same effect Pythagoras and Thalês (*Diogen. Laër.* viii. 32; and *Plutarch, Placit. Philos.* i. 8).

The Hesiodic dæmons are all good: Athenagoras (*Legat. Chr.* p. 8) says that Thalês admitted a distinction between good and bad dæmons, which seems very doubtful.

and intelligence, but without appetite, passion, or infirmity: the dæmons were of a mixed nature between gods and men, ministers and interpreters from the former to the latter, but invested also with an agency and dispositions of their own. They were very long-lived, but not immortal, and subject to the passions and propensities of men, so that there were among them beneficent and maleficent dæmons with every shade of intermediate difference.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The distinction between Θεοὶ and Δαίμονες is especially set forth in the treatise of Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum*, capp. 10, 12, 13, 15, etc. He seems to suppose it traceable to the doctrine of Zoroaster or the Orphic mysteries, and he represents it as relieving the philosopher from great perplexities: for it was difficult to know where to draw the line in admitting or rejecting divine Providence: errors were committed sometimes in affirming God to be the cause of everything, at other times in supposing him to be the cause of nothing. Ἐπεὶ τὸ διορίσαι πῶς χρηστέον καὶ μέχρι τινῶν τῇ προνοίᾳ, χαλεπὸν, οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς τὸν θεὸν, οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ τι πάντων αἰτίον ποιοῦντες, ἄστοχοῦσι τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πρέποντος. Εἰ μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι Πλάτων τὸ ταῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον ἐξευρὼν, ὃ νῦν ἔλην καὶ φύσιν καλοῦσιν, πολλῶν ἀπῆλλαξε καὶ μεγάλων ἀποριῶν τοὺς φιλοσόφους· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λύσαι καὶ μείζονας ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τρόπον τινα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συναγον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συναπτον, ἐξευρόντες (c. 10). Ἡ δαιμόνων φύσις ἔχουσα καὶ πάθος θνητοῦ καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν (c. 13).

Εἰσὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διάφορα, καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἁμαρτὸν ἐτι λείψανον, ὅσπερ περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ οὐκατάσβεστον ἐνεστί, ὧν ἰχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχόθι θύσται καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιδεσπαρμένα (ib.): compare Plutarch. *de Isid. et Osir.* 25. p. 360.

Καὶ μὴν ὥσας ἐν τε μύθοις καὶ ὕμνοις λέγουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, τοῦτο μὲν ἀρπαγὰς, τοῦτο δὲ πλάνας θεῶν, κρύψεις τε καὶ φηγάς καὶ λατρείας, οὐ θεῶν εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων παθήματα, etc. (c. 15): also c. 23; also *De Isid. et Osir.* c. 25. p. 366.

Human sacrifices and other objectionable rites are excused, as necessary for the purpose of averting the anger of bad dæmons (c. 14-15).

Empedoklés is represented as the first author of the doctrine which imputed vicious and abominable dispositions to many of the dæmons (c. 15, 16, 17, 20), τοὺς εἰσαγομένους ὑπὸ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονας; expelled from heaven by the gods, θεήλατοι καὶ οὐρανοπετεῖς (Plutarch, *De Vitand. Aër. Alien.* p. 830); followed by Plato, Xenokratēs, and Chrysippus, c. 17: compare Plato (*Apolog. Socrat.* p. 27; *Politic.* p. 271; *Symposion*, c. 28. p. 203), though he seems to treat the δαίμονες as defective and mutable beings, rather than actively maleficent. Xenokratēs represents some of them both as wicked and powerful in a high degree:—*Ξενοκράτης καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀπο-*

It had been the mistake (according to these philosophers) of the old mythes to ascribe to the gods proceedings, really belonging to the dæmons, who were always the immediate communicants with mortal nature, inspiring prophetic power to the priestesses of the oracles, sending dreams and omens, and perpetually interfering either for good or for evil. The wicked and violent dæmons, having committed many enormities, had thus sometimes incurred punishment from the gods: besides which, their bad dispositions had imposed upon men the necessity of appeasing them by religious ceremonies of a kind acceptable to such beings: hence, the human sacrifices, the violent, cruel, and obscene exhibitions, the wailings and fastings, the tearing and eating of raw flesh, which it had become customary to practise on various consecrated occasions, and especially in the Dionysiac solemnities. Moreover, the discreditable actions imputed to the gods, — the terrific combats, the Typhonic and Titanic convulsions, the rapes, abductions, flight, servitude, and concealment, — all these were really the doings and sufferings of bad dæmons, placed far below the sovereign agency — equable, undisturbed, and unpolluted — of the immortal gods. The action of such dæmons upon mankind was fitful and intermittent: they sometimes perished or changed their local abode, so that oracles which had once been inspired became after a time forsaken and disfranchized.<sup>1</sup>

This distinction between gods and dæmons appeared to save in a great degree both the truth of the old legends and the dig-

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φράδας, καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν ὅσαι πληγὴς τινὰς ἢ κοπετοὺς, ἢ νηστείας, ἢ δυσφημίας, ἢ ἀσχυρολογίαν ἔχουσιν, ὅτε θεῶν τιμαῖς ὅτε δαιμόνων οἰεται προσήκειν χρηστῶν, ἀλλ' εἶναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι μεγάλας μὲν καὶ ἰσχυράς, δυστρόπους δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπάς, αἱ χαίρουσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, καὶ τυγχάνουσιν πρὸς οὐθ' ἐν ἄλλο χειρὸν τρέπονται (Plutarch, De Isid. ut Osir. c. 26. p. 361; Quæstion. Rom. p. 283): compare Stobæus, Eclog. Phys. i. p. 62.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, De Defect. Orac. c. 15. p. 418. Chrysippus admitted, among the various conceivable causes to account for the existence of evil, the supposition of some negligent and reckless dæmons, δαιμόνια φανλὰ ἐν οἷς τῷ ὄντι γίνονται καὶ ἐγκλητέαι ἁμέλειαι (Plutarch, De Stoicor. Repignant. p. 1051). A distinction, which I do not fully understand, between θεοὶ and δαίμονες, was also adopted among the Locrians at Opus: δαίμων with them seems to have been equivalent to ἥρωες (Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. c. 6. p. 292): see the note above, pp. 350–351.

nity of the gods: it obviated the necessity of pronouncing either that the gods were unworthy, or the legends untrue. Yet although devised for the purpose of satisfying a more scrupulous religious sensibility, it was found inconvenient afterwards, when assailants arose against paganism generally. For while it abandoned as indefensible a large portion of what had once been genuine faith, it still retained the same word *dæmons* with an entirely altered signification. The Christian writers in their controversies found ample warrant among the *earlier* pagan authors<sup>1</sup> for treating all the gods as dæmons — and not less ample warrant among the *later* pagans for denouncing the dæmons generally as evil beings.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the different modes in which the ancient mythes were treated, during the literary life of Greece, by the four classes above named — poets, logographers, historians, and philosophers.

Literal acceptance, and unconscious, uninquiring faith, such as they had obtained from the original auditors to whom they were addressed, they now found only among the multitude — alike retentive of traditional feeling<sup>3</sup> and fearful of criticizing the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Tatian. *adv. Græcos*, c. 20; Clemens Alexandria. *Admonit. ad Gentes*, pp. 26–29, Sylb.; Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* c. 26. “Isti igitur impuri spiritus, ut ostensum a Magis, a philosophis, a Platone, sub statutis et imaginibus consecrati delitescunt, et afflatu suo quasi auctoritatem præsentis numinis consequuntur,” etc. This, like so many other of the aggressive arguments of the Christians against paganism, was taken from the pagan philosophers themselves.

Lactantius, *De Verâ Philosophiâ*, iv. 28. “Ergo iidem sunt Dæmones, iis fatentur execrandos esse: iidem Dii, quibus supplicant. Si nobis credendum esse non putant, credant Homero; qui summum illum Jovem Dæmonibus aggregavit,” etc.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter II. p. 70, the remarks on the Hesiodic Theogony.

<sup>3</sup> A destructive inundation took place at Pheneus in Arcadia, seemingly in the time of Plutarch: the subterranean outlet (*βάραθρον*) of the river had become blocked up, and the inhabitants ascribed the stoppage to the anger of Apollo, who had been provoked by the stealing of the Pythian tripod by Hēraklēs: the latter had carried the tripod to Pheneus and deposited it there. ‘Ἀρ’ οὖν οὐκ ἀποπώτερος τούτων ὁ Ἀπόλλων, εἰ Φενεάτας ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον, καὶ κατακλύσας τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸ χιλίων ἔτων, ὡς φασιν, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνασπάσας τὸν τρίποδα τὸν μαντικὸν εἰς Φενεὸν ἀπήνεγκε; (Plutarch. *de Serâ Numin. Vindictâ*, p. 577; compare Pausan. viii. 14, 1.) The expression of Plutarch, that the abstraction of the tripod by Hēraklēs had taken place 1000 years

ceedings of the gods.<sup>1</sup> But with instructed men they became rather subjects of respectful and curious analysis — all agreeing that the Word as tendered to them was inadmissible, yet all equally convinced that it contained important meaning, though hidden yet not undiscoverable. A very large proportion of the force of Grecian intellect was engaged in searching after this unknown base, by guesses, in which sometimes the principle of semi-historical interpretation was assumed, sometimes that of allegorical, without any collateral evidence in either case, and without possibility of verification. Out of the one assumption grew a string of allegorized phænomenal truths, out of the other a long series of seeming historical events and chronological persons, — both elicited from the transformed mythes and from nothing else.<sup>2</sup>

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before, is that of the critic, who thinks it needful to historicize and chronologize the genuine legend; which, to an inhabitant of Pheneus, at the time of the inundation, was doubtless as little questioned as if the theft of Hēraklēs had been laid in the preceding generation.

Agathoclēs of Syracuse committed depredations on the coasts of Ithaca and Korkyra: the excuse which he offered was, that Odysseus had come to Sicily and blinded Polyphēmus, and that on his return he had been kindly received by the Phæakians (Plutarch, *ib.*).

This is doubtless a jest, either made by Agathoclēs, or more probably invented for him; but it is founded upon a popular belief.

<sup>1</sup> "Sanctiusque et reverentius visum, de actis Deorum credere quam scire." (Tacit. German. c. 34.)

Aristidēs, however, represents the Homeric theology (whether he would have included the Hesiodic we do not know) as believed quite literally among the multitude in his time, the second century after Christianity (Aristid. Orat. iii. p. 25). Ἀπορῶ, ὅπη πότε χρό με διαθέσθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν, πότερα ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ δὲ συνδοκεῖ, θεῶν παθήματα συμπεισθῆναι καὶ ἡμᾶς, οἷον Ἀρέος δέσμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος θητείας καὶ Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις εἰς θύλασσαν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἰννοῦς ἀχρ καὶ φηγὺς τινας. Compare Lucian, Ζεὺς Τραγῶδος, c. 20, and De Luctu, c. 2; Dionys. Halicar. A. R. ii. p. 90, Sylb.

Kallimachus (Hymn. ad Jov. 9) distinctly denied the statement of the Kretans that they possessed in Krête the tomb of Zeus, and treated it as an instance of Kretan mendacity; while Celsus did not deny it, but explained it in some figurative manner — αἰνεττόμενος τροπικὰς ὑπονοίας (Origen. cont. Celsum, iii. p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> There is here a change as compared with my first edition; I had inserted here some remarks on the allegorical theory of interpretation, as compared with the semi-historical. An able article on my work (in the Edirburgh



The utmost which we accomplish by means of the semi-historical theory, even in its most successful applications, is, that after leaving out from the mythical narrative all that is miraculous or high-colored or extravagant, we arrive at a series of credible incidents — incidents which *may, perhaps*, have really occurred, and against which no intrinsic presumption can be raised. This is exactly the character of a well-written modern novel (as, for example, several among the compositions of Defoe), the whole story of which is such as may well have occurred in real life: it is plausible fiction, and nothing beyond. To raise plausible fiction up to the superior dignity of truth, some positive testimony or positive ground of inference must be shown; even the highest measure of intrinsic probability is not alone sufficient. A man who tells us that, on the day of the battle of Plataea, rain fell on the spot of ground where the city of New York now stands, will neither deserve nor obtain credit, because he can have had no means of positive knowledge; though the statement is not in the slightest degree improbable. On the other hand, statements in themselves very improbable may well deserve belief, provided they be supported by sufficient positive evidence; thus the canal dug by order of Xerxês across the promontory of Mount Athos, and the sailing of the Persian fleet through it, is a fact which I believe, because it is well-attested — notwithstanding its remarkable improbability, which so far misled Juvenal as to induce him to single out the narrative as a glaring example of Grecian mendacity.<sup>1</sup> Again, many critics have observed that the general tale of the Trojan war (apart from the superhuman agencies) is not more improbable than that of the Crusades, which every one admits to be an historical fact. But (even if we grant this position, which is only true to a small extent), it is not sufficient to show an analogy between the two cases in respect to negative presumptions alone; the analogy ought to be shown to hold between them

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Review, October 1846), pointed out that those remarks required modification, and that the idea of allegory in reference to the construction of the myths was altogether inadmissible.

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, Sat. x. 174: —

“Creditor olim

Velificatus Athos, et quantum Græcia mendax

Audet in historiâ,” etc.

in respect to positive certificate also. The Crusades are a curious phenomenon in history, but we accept them, nevertheless, as an unquestionable fact, because the antecedent improbability is surmounted by adequate contemporary testimony. When the like testimony, both in amount and kind, is produced to establish the historical reality of a Trojan war, we shall not hesitate to deal with the two events on the same footing.

In applying the semi-historical theory to Grecian mythical narrative, it has been often forgotten that a certain strength of testimony, or positive ground of belief, must first be tendered, before we can be called upon to discuss the antecedent probability or improbability of the incidents alleged. The belief of the Greeks themselves, without the smallest aid of special or contemporary witnesses, has been tacitly assumed as sufficient to support the case, provided only sufficient deduction be made from the mythical narratives to remove all antecedent improbabilities. It has been taken for granted that the faith of the people must have rested originally upon some particular historical event, involving the identical persons, things, and places which the original mythes exhibit, or at least the most prominent among them. But when we examine the psychagogic influences predominant in the society among whom this belief originally grew up, we shall see that their belief is of little or no evidentiary value, and that the growth and diffusion of it may be satisfactorily explained without supposing any special basis of matters of fact. The popular faith, so far as it counts for anything, testifies in favor of the entire and literal mythes, which are now universally rejected as incredible.<sup>1</sup> We have thus the very minimum of positive proof,

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Sleeman observes, respecting the Hindoo historical mind — "History to this people is all a fairy tale." (Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, vol. i. ch. ix. p. 70.) And again, "The popular poem of the Ramayen describes the abduction of the heroine by the monster king of Ceylon, Rawun; and her recovery by means of the monkey general, Hunnooman. Every word of this poem, the people assured me was written, if not by the hand of the Deity himself, at least by his inspiration, which was the same thing — and it must consequently be true. Ninety-nine out of a hundred, among the Hindoos, implicitly believe, not only every word of the poem, but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanscrit. If you ask a man whether he really believes any very egregious absurdity quoted from these books, he replies, with the greatest *no vote* in the world, Is

and the maximum of negative presumption: we may diminish the latter by conjectural omissions and interpolations, but we cannot by any artifice increase the former: the narrative ceases to be incredible, but it still remains uncertified, — a mere commonplace possibility. Nor is fiction always, or essentially, extravagant and incredible. It is often not only plausible and coherent, but even more like truth (if a paradoxical phrase may be allowed) than truth itself. Nor can we, in the absence of any extrinsic test, reckon upon any intrinsic mark to discriminate the one from the other.<sup>1</sup>

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it not written in the book; and how should it be there written, if not true? The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, — that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties, which we are accustomed to make occasionally, while engaged at the theatre, or in the perusal of works of fiction. We allow the scenes, characters, and incidents, to pass before our mind's eye, and move our feelings — without stopping a moment to ask whether they are real or true. There is only this difference — that with people of education among us, even in such short intervals of illusion or *abandon*, any extravagance in the acting, or flagrant improbability in the fiction, destroys the charm, breaks the spell by which we have been so mysteriously bound, and restores us to reason and the realities of ordinary life. With the Hindoos, on the contrary, the greater the improbability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction — the greater is the charm it has over their minds; and the greater their learning in the Sanscrit, the more are they under the influence of this charm. Believing all to be written by the Deity, or under his inspirations, and the men and things of former days to have been very different from men and things of the present day, and the heroes of these fables to have been demigods, or people endowed with powers far superior to those of the ordinary men of their own day — the analogies of nature are never for a moment considered; nor do questions of probability, or possibility, according to those analogies, ever obtrude to dispel the charm with which they are so pleasingly bound. They go on through life reading and talking of these monstrous fictions, which shock the taste and understanding of other nations, without ever questioning the truth of one single incident, or hearing it questioned. There was a time, and that not far distant, when it was the same in England, and in every other European nation; and there are, I am afraid, some parts of Europe where it is so still. But the Hindoo faith, so far as religious questions are concerned, is not more capacious or absurd than that of the Greeks or Romans in the days of Socrates or Cicero: the only difference is, that among the Hindoos a greater number of the questions which interest mankind are brought under the head of religion." (Sleeman, *Rambles*, etc., vol. i. ch. xxvi. p. 227: compare vol. ii. ch. v. p. 51; viii. p. 97.)

<sup>1</sup> Lord Lytton, in commenting on the tales of the Irish bards, in his

In the semi-historical theory respecting Grecian mythical narrative, the critic unconsciously transports into the Homeric age those habits of classification and distinction, and that standard of acceptance or rejection, which he finds current in his own. Amongst us, the distinction between historical fact and fiction is highly valued as well as familiarly understood: we have a long history of the past, deduced from a study of contemporary evidences; and we have a body of fictitious literature, stamped with its own mark and interesting in its own way. Speaking generally, no man could now hope to succeed permanently in transferring any striking incident from the latter category into the former, nor could any man deliberately attempt it without incurring well-merited obloquy. But this *historical sense*, now so deeply rooted in the modern mind that we find a difficulty in conceiving any people to be without it, is the fruit of records and inquiries, first applied to the present, and then preserved and studied by subsequent generations; while in a society which has not yet formed the habit of recording its present, the real facts of the past can never be known; the difference between attested

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History of Henry II., has the following just remarks (book iv. vol. iii. p. 13, quarto): "One may reasonably suppose that in MSS. written since the Irish received the Roman letters from St. Patrick, *some* traditional truths recorded before by the bards in their unwritten poems may have been preserved to our times. Yet these cannot be so separated from many fabulous stories derived from the same sources, as to obtain a firm credit; it not being sufficient to establish the authority of suspected traditions, that they can be shown not to be so improbable or absurd as others with which they are mixed — *since there may be specious as well as senseless fictions*. Nor can a poet or bard, who lived in the sixth or seventh century after Christ, if his poem is still extant, be any voucher for facts supposed to have happened before the incarnation; though his evidence (allowing for poetical license) may be received on such matters as come within his own time, or the remembrance of old men with whom he conversed. The most judicious historians pay no regard to the Welsh or British traditions delivered by Geoffrey of Monmouth, though it is not impossible but that some of these may be true."

One definition of a mythe given by Plutarch coincides exactly with a *specious fiction*: 'Ο μῦθος εἶναι βούλεται λόγος ψευδὴς τοικῶς ἀληθινῷ (Plutarch, Bellone an pace clariores fuerunt Athenienses, p. 348).

"Der Grund-Trieb des Mythos (Creuzer justly expresses it) das Gedachte in ein Geschehenes umzusetzen." (Symbolik der Alten Welt, sect. 43. p. 99.)

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matter of fact and plausible fiction—between truth and that which is like truth—can neither be discerned nor sought for. Yet it is precisely upon the supposition that this distinction is present to men's habitual thoughts, that the semi-historical theory of the mythes is grounded.

It is perfectly true, as has often been stated, that the Grecian epic contains what are called traditions respecting the past—the larger portion of it, indeed, consists of nothing else. But what are these traditions? They are the matter of those songs and stories which have acquired hold on the public mind; they are the creations of the poets and storytellers themselves, each of whom finds some preëxisting, and adds others of his own, new and previously untold, under the impulse and authority of the inspiring Muse. Homer doubtless found many songs and stories current with respect to the siege of Troy; he received and transmitted some of these traditions, recast and transformed others, and enlarged the whole mass by new creations of his own. To the subsequent poets, such as Arktinus and Leschês, these Homeric creations formed portions of preëxisting tradition, with which they dealt in the same manner; so that the whole mass of traditions constituting the tale of Troy became larger and larger with each successive contributor. To assume a generic difference between the older and the newer strata of tradition—to treat the former as morsels of history, and the latter as appendages of fiction—is an hypothesis gratuitous at the least, not to say inadmissible. For the further we travel back into the past, the more do we recede from the clear day of positive history, and the deeper do we plunge into the unsteady twilight and gorgeous clouds of fancy and feeling. It was one of the agreeable dreams of the Grecian epic, that the man who travelled far enough northward beyond the Rhipæan mountains, would in time reach the delicious country and genial climate of the virtuous Hyperboreans—the votaries and favorites of Apollo, who dwelt in the extreme north beyond the chilling blasts of Boreas. Now the hope that we may, by carrying our researches up the stream of time, exhaust the limits of fiction, and land ultimately upon some points of solid truth, appears to me no less illusory than his northward journey in quest of the Hyperborean elysium.

The general disposition to adopt the semi-historical theory as to the genesis of Grecian myths, arises in part from reluctance in critics to impute to the mythopœic ages extreme credulity or fraud; together with the usual presumption, that where much is believed some portion of it must be true. There would be some weight in these grounds of reasoning, if the ages under discussion had been supplied with records and accustomed to critical inquiry. But amongst a people unprovided with the former and strangers to the latter, credulity is naturally at its maximum, as well in the narrator himself as in his hearers: the idea of deliberate fraud is moreover inapplicable,<sup>1</sup> for if the hearers are disposed to accept what is related to them as a revelation from the Muse, the *œstrus* of composition is quite sufficient to impart a similar persuasion to the poet whose mind is penetrated with it. The belief of that day can hardly be said to stand apart by itself as an act of reason. It becomes confounded with vivacious imagination and earnest emotion; and in every case where these mental excitabilities are powerfully acted upon, faith ensues unconsciously and as a matter of course. How active and prominent such tendencies were among the early Greeks, the extraordinary beauty and originality of their epic poetry may teach us.

It is, besides, a presumption far too largely and indiscriminately applied, even in our own advanced age, that where much is believed, something must necessarily be true—that accredited fiction is always traceable to some basis of historical truth.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In reference to the loose statements of the Highlanders, Dr. Johnson observes, "He that goes into the Highlands with a mind naturally acquiescent, and a credulity eager for wonders, may perhaps come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants, knowing the ignorance of all strangers in their language and antiquities, are perhaps not very scrupulous adherents to truth; yet I do not say that they deliberately speak studied falsehood, or have a settled purpose to deceive. They have acquired and considered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accustomed to be interrogated by others, and seem never to have thought of interrogating themselves; so that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewise do not distinctly perceive it to be false. Mr. Boswell was very diligent in his inquiries, and the result of his investigations was, that the answer to the second question was commonly such as nullified the answer to the first." (*Journey to the Western Islands*, p. 272, 1st edit., 1775).

<sup>2</sup> I considered this position more at large in an article in the "*Westminster*

influence of imagination and feeling is not confined simply to the process of retouching, transforming, or magnifying narratives originally founded on fact; it will often create new narratives of its own, without any such preliminary basis. Where there is any general body of sentiment pervading men living in society, whether it be religious or political — love, admiration, or antipathy — all incidents tending to illustrate that sentiment are eagerly welcomed, rapidly circulated and (as a general rule) easily accredited. If real incidents are not at hand, impressive fictions will be provided to satisfy the demand. The perfect harmony of such fictions with the prevalent feeling stands in the place of certifying testimony, and causes men to hear them not merely with credence, but even with delight: to call them in question and require proof, is a task which cannot be undertaken without incurring obloquy. Of such tendencies in the human mind, abundant evidence is furnished by the innumerable religious legends which have acquired currency in various parts of the world, and of which no country was more fertile than Greece — legends which derived their origin, not from special facts misreported and exaggerated, but from pious feelings pervading the society, and translated into narrative by forward and imaginative minds — legends, in which not merely the incidents, but often even the personages are unreal, yet in which the generating sentiment is conspicuously discernible, providing its own matter as well as its own form. Other sentiments also, as well as the religious, provided they be fervent and widely diffused, will find expression in current narrative, and become portions of the general public belief — every celebrated and notorious character is the source of a thousand fictions exemplifying his peculiarities. And if it be true, as I think present observation may show us, that such creative agencies are even now visible and effective, when the materials of genuine history are copious and critically studied — much more are we warranted in concluding that, in ages destitute of records, strangers to historical testimony, and fall of belief in divine inspiration both as to the future and as to the past, narratives purely fictitious will acquire ready and uninquiring credence,

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Review" for May, 1843, on Niebuhr's Greek Legends, with which article much in the present chapter will be found to coincide.

provided only they be plausible and in harmony with the preconceptions of the auditors.

The allegorical interpretation of the mythes has been by several learned investigators, especially by Creuzer, connected with the hypothesis of an ancient and highly instructed body of priests, having their origin either in Egypt or in the East, and communicating to the rude and barbarous Greeks religious, physical, and historical knowledge under the veil of symbols. At a time (we are told) when language was yet in its infancy, visible symbols were the most vivid means of acting upon the minds of ignorant hearers: the next step was to pass to symbolical language and expressions — for a plain and literal exposition, even if understood at all, would at least have been listened to with indifference, as not corresponding with any mental demand. In such allegorizing way, then, the early priests set forth their doctrines respecting God, nature, and humanity — a refined monotheism and a theological philosophy — and to this purpose the earliest mythes were turned. But another class of mythes, more popular and more captivating, grew up under the hands of the poets — mythes purely epical, and descriptive of real or supposed past events. The allegorical mythes, being taken up by the poets, insensibly became confounded in the same category with the purely narrative mythes — the matter symbolized was no longer thought of, while the symbolizing words came to be construed in their own literal meaning — and the basis of the early allegory, thus lost among the general public, was only preserved as a secret among various religious fraternities, composed of members allied together by initiation in certain mystical ceremonies, and administered by hereditary families of presiding priests. In the Orphic and Bacchic sects, in the Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries, was thus treasured up the secret doctrine of the old theological and philosophical mythes, which had once constituted the primitive legendary stock of Greece, in the hands of the original priesthood and in ages anterior to Homer. Persons who had gone through the preliminary ceremonies of initiation, were permitted at length to hear, though under strict obligation of secrecy, this ancient religious and cosmogonic doctrine, revealing the destination of man and the certainty of posthumous rewards and punish-



ments — all disengaged from the corruptions of poets, as well as from the symbols and allegories under which they still remained buried in the eyes of the vulgar. The mysteries of Greece were thus traced up to the earliest ages, and represented as the only faithful depository channels of that purer theology and physics which had originally been communicated, though under the unavoidable inconvenience of a symbolical expression, by an enlightened priesthood coming from abroad to the then rude barbarians of the country.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For this general character of the Grecian mysteries, with their concealed treasure of doctrine, see *Warburton*, *Divine Legation of Moses*, book ii. sect. 4.

*Payne Knight*, *On the Symbolical Language of ancient Art and Mythology*, sect. 6, 10, 11, 40, etc.

*Saint Croix*, *Recherches sur les Mystères du Paganisme*, sect. 3, p. 106; sect 4, p. 404, etc.

*Creuzer*, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker*, sect. 2, 3, 23, 39, 42, etc. Meiners and Heeren adopt generally the same view, though there are many divergences of opinion between these different authors, on a subject essentially obscure. Warburton maintained that the interior doctrine communicated in the mysteries was the existence of one Supreme Divinity, combined with the Euemeristic creed, that the pagan gods had been mere men.

See *Clemens Alex. Strom.* v. p. 582, Sylb.

The view taken by Hermann of the ancient Greek mythology is in many points similar to that of *Creuzer*, though with some considerable difference. He thinks that it is an aggregate of doctrine — philosophical, theological, physical, and moral — expressed under a scheme of systematic personifications, each person being called by a name significant of the function personified: this doctrine was imported from the East into Greece, where the poets, retaining or translating the names, but forgetting their meaning and connection, distorted the primitive stories, the sense of which came to be retained only in the ancient mysteries. That true sense, however, (he thinks,) may be recovered by a careful analysis of the significant names: and his two dissertations (*De Mythologiâ Græcorum Antiquissimâ*, in the *Opuscula*, vol. ii.) exhibit a specimen of this systematic expansion of etymology into narrative. The dissent from *Creuzer* is set forth in their published correspondence, especially in his concluding “*Brief an Creuzer über das Wesen und die Behandlung der Mythologie*,” Leipzig, 1819. The following citation from his Latin dissertation sets forth his general doctrine: —

Hermann, *De Mythologiâ Græcorum Antiquissimâ*, p. 4 (*Opuscula*, vol. ii. p. 171): — “*Videmus rerum divinarum humanarumque scientiam ex Asiâ per Lyciam migrantem in Europam: videmus fabulosos poëtas peregrinam doctrinam, monstruoso tumore orientis sive exutam, sive nondum*

But this theory, though advocated by several learned men, has been shown to be unsupported and erroneous. It implies a mistaken view both of the antiquity and the purport of the mysteries, which cannot be safely carried up even to the age of Hesiod, and which, though imposing and venerable as religious ceremonies, included no recondite or esoteric teaching.<sup>1</sup>

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indutam, quasi de integro Græcâ specie procreantes; videmus poëtas, illos, quorum omnium vera nomina nominibus — ab arte, quâ clarebant, petitis — oblitterata sunt, diu in Thraciâ hærentes, raroque tandem etiam cum aliis Græciæ partibus commercio junctos: qualis Pamphus, non ipse Atheniensis, Atheniensibus hymnos Deorum fecit. Videmus denique retrusam paulatim in mysteriorum secretam illam sapientum doctrinam, vitiatam religionum perturbatione, corruptam insectiâ interpretum, obscuratam levitate amœniora sectantium — adeo ut eam ne illi quidem intelligerent, qui hæreditariam a prioribus poësin colentes, quum ingenii præstantiâ omnes præstingerent, tantâ illos oblivione meruerunt, ut ipsi sint primi auctores omnis eruditionis habitî."

Hermann thinks, however, that by pursuing the suggestions of etymology, vestiges may still be discovered, and something like a history compiled, of Grecian belief as it stood anterior to Homer and Hesiod: "Est autem in hac omni ratione judicio maxime opus, quia non testibus res agitur, sed ad interpretandi solertiam omnia revocanda sunt" (p. 172). To the same general purpose the French work of M. Emélie David, *Recherches sur le Dieu Jupiter* — reviewed by O. Müller: see the *Kleine Schriften* of the latter, vol. ii. p. 82.

Mr. Bryant has also employed a profusion of learning, and numerous etymological conjectures, to resolve the Greek myths into mistakes, perversions, and mutilations, of the exploits and doctrines of oriental tribes long-lost and by-gone, — Amonians, Cuthites, Arkites, etc. "It was Noah (he thinks) who was represented under the different names of Thoth, Hermès, Menès, Osiris, Zeuth, Atlas, Phorôneus, Prométhéus, to which list a farther number of great extent might be added: the Νῶς of Anaxagoras was in reality the patriarch Noah" (*Ant. Mythol.* vol. ii. pp. 253, 272). "The Cuthites or Amonians, descendants of Noah, settled in Greece from the east, celebrated for their skill in building and the arts" (*ib.* i. p. 502; ii. p. 187). The greatest part of the Grecian theology arose from misconception and blunders, the stories concerning their gods and heroes were founded on terms misinterpreted or abused" (*ib.* i. p. 452). "The number of different actions ascribed to the various Grecian gods or heroes all relate to one people or family, and are at bottom one and the same history" (*ib.* ii. p. 57). "The fables of Prométhéus and Tityus were taken from ancient Amonian temples, from hieroglyphics misunderstood and badly explained" (i. p. 426): see especially vol. ii. p. 160.

<sup>1</sup> The *Anti-Symbolik* of Voss, and still more the *Aglaophamus* of Lobeck.

The doctrine, supposed to have been originally symbolized and subsequently overclouded, in the Greek mythes, was in reality first intruded into them by the unconscious fancies of later interpreters. It was one of the various roads which instructed men took to escape from the literal admission of the ancient mythes, and to arrive at some new form of belief, more consonant with their ideas of what the attributes and character of the gods ought to be. It was one of the ways of constituting, by help of the mysteries, a philosophical religion apart from the general public, and of connecting that distinction with the earliest periods of Grecian society. Such a distinction was both avowed and justified among the superior men of the later pagan world. Varro and Scaevola distributed theology into three distinct departments, — the mythical or fabulous, the civil, and the physical. The first had its place in the theatre, and was left without any interference to the poets; the second belonged to the city of political community as such, — it comprised the regulation of all the public worship and religious rites, and was consigned altogether to the direction of the magistrate; the third was the privilege of philosophers, but was reserved altogether for private discussion in the schools, apart from the general public.<sup>1</sup> As a member of the

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are full of instruction on the subject of this supposed interior doctrine, and on the ancient mysteries in general: the latter treatise, especially, is not less distinguished for its judicious and circumspect criticism than for its copious learning.

Mr. Halhed (Preface to the Gentoo Code of Laws, pp. xiii.-xiv.) has good observations on the vanity of all attempts to allegorize the Hindu mythology: he observes, with perfect truth, "The vulgar and illiterate have always understood the mythology of their country in its literal sense; and there was a time to every nation, when the highest rank in it was equally vulgar and illiterate with the lowest..... A Hindu esteems the astonishing miracles attributed to a Brima, or a Kishen, as facts of the most indubitable authenticity, and the relation of them as most strictly historical."

Compare also Gibbon's remarks on the allegorizing tendencies of the later Platonists (*Hist. Decl. and Fall*, vol. iv. p. 71).

<sup>1</sup> Varro, ap. Augustin. *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 27; vi. 5-6. "Dicis fabulosos Deos accommodatos esse ad theatrum, naturales ad mundum, civiles ad urbem." "Varro, de religionibus loquens, multa esse vera dixit, quæ non modo vulgo scire non sit utile, sed etiam tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat: et ideo Græcos teletas et mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse" (*ibid.* iv. 31). See Villoison, *De Triplici Theologiâ Com-*

city, the philosopher sympathized with the audience in the theatre, and took a devout share in the established ceremonies, nor was he justified in trying what he heard in the one or saw in the other by his own ethical standard. But in the private assemblies of instructed or inquisitive men, he enjoyed the fullest liberty of canvassing every received tenet, and of broaching his own theories unreservedly, respecting the existence and nature of the gods. By these discussions, the activity of the philosophical mind was maintained and truth elicited; but it was such truth as the body of the people ought not to hear, lest their faith in their own established religious worship should be overthrown. In thus distinguishing the civil theology from the fabulous, Varro was enabled to cast upon the poets all the blame of the objectionable points in the popular theology, and to avoid the necessity of pronouncing censure on the magistrates, who (he contended) had made as good a compromise with the settled prejudices of the public as the case permitted.

The same conflicting sentiments which led the philosophers to decompose the divine mythes into allegory, impelled the historians to melt down the heroic mythes into something like continuous political history, with a long series of chronology calculated upon the heroic pedigrees. The one process as well as the other was interpretative guesswork, proceeding upon unauthorized assumptions, and without any verifying test or evidence: while it frittered away the characteristic beauty of the mythes into something essentially anti-mythical, it sought to arrive both at history and philosophy by impracticable roads. That the superior men of antiquity should have striven hard to save the dignity of legends which constituted the charm of their literature as well as the substance of the popular religion, we cannot be at all surprised; but

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mentatio, p. 8; and Lactantius, *De Origin. Error.* ii. 3. The doctrine of the Stoic Chrysippus, ap. Etymologicon Magn. v. Τελευταί—Χρόσιππος δέ φησι, τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγους εἰκότως καλεῖσθαι τελετάς, χρῆναι γὰρ τοὺτους τελευταίους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδάσκεισθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐχούσης ἔρμα καὶ κεκρατημένης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμνήτους σιωπᾶν δυναμένης· μέγα γὰρ εἶναι τὸ εὖθλον ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀκοῦσαί τε ὁρᾶν, καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῶν.

The triple division of Varro is reproduced in Plutarch, *Amatorius*, p. 763. τὰ μὲν μῦθοι, τὰ δὲ νόμοι, τὰ δὲ λόγοι, πιστὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐσχέκε· τῆς δ' οὖν περὶ θεῶν δόξης καὶ παντάπασιν ἡγεμόνε, καὶ διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τι ποιηταί, καὶ οἱ νομοθέται, καὶ τρίτον, οἱ φιλόσοφοι.

it is gratifying to find Plato discussing the subject in a more philosophical spirit. The Platonic Socrætes, being asked whether he believed the current Attic fable respecting the abduction of Oreithyia (daughter of Erechtheus) by Boreas, replies, in substance, — “It would not be strange if I disbelieved it, as the clever men do; I might then show my cleverness by saying that a gust of Boreas blew her down from the rocks above while she was at play, and that, having been killed in this manner, she was reported to have been carried off by Boreas. Such speculations are amusing enough, but they belong to men ingenious and busy-minded overmuch, and not greatly to be envied, if it be only for this reason, *that, after having set right one fable, they are under the necessity of applying the same process to a host of others* — Hippocentaurs, Chimæras, Gorgons, Pegasus, and numberless other monsters and incredibilities. A man, who, disbelieving these stories, shall try to find a probable basis for each of them, will display an ill-placed acuteness and take upon himself an endless burden, for which I at least have no leisure: accordingly, I forego such researches, and believe in the current version of the stories.”<sup>1</sup>

These remarks of Plato are valuable, not simply because they point out the uselessness of digging for a supposed basis of truth in the myths, but because they at the same time suggest the true reason for mistrusting all such tentatives. The myths form

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Phædr. c. 7. p. 329: —

PHÆDRUS. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, σὺ τοῦτο τὸ μυθολόγημα πείθει ἄληθές εἶναι;

SOCRATES. Ἄλλ’ εἰ ἀπιστοίην, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοί, οὐκ ἂν ἄτοπος εἴην, εἴτα σοφισζόμενος φαίην αὐτὴν πνεῦμα Βορέου κατὰ τῶν πλῆσιον πετρῶν σὺν φαρμακείᾳ καίλουσαν ὤσαι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ τελευτήσασαν λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ Βορέου ἀναρπαστὸν γεγονέναι. . . . . Ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Φαῖδρε, ἄλλως μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαρίεντα ἡγοῦμαι, λίαν δὲ δεινὸν καὶ ἐπιπόνον καὶ οὐ πᾶν εὐτυχὸς ἀνδρὸς κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὅτι δ’ αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν Ἱπποκενταύρων εἶδος ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, καὶ αὖτις τὸ τῆς Χιμαίρας. Καὶ ἐπιβρεῖ δὲ ὄχλος τοις τῶν Γοργόνων καὶ Πηγάσων, καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυγχανῶν πλήθῃ τε καὶ ἀτόπιαι τε τολῶν τινῶν φύσεων· αἷς εἰ τις ἀπιστῶν προσβιβᾷ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἕκαστον ἡγορίσκῃ τινα σοφία χρώμενος, πολλῆς αὐτῷ σχολῆς δεήσει. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἐστι σχολή. . . . . Ὅθεν δὴ χαίρειν ἔσας τὸν πευθόμενον δὲ τῷ νομιζομένῳ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον, σκοπῶ αὐτὰ ἐμὰντὸν, etc.

a class apart, abundant as well as peculiar: to remove any individual mythe from its own class into that of history or philosophy, by simple conjecture, and without any collateral evidence, is of no advantage, unless you can perform a similar process on the remainder. If the process be trustworthy, it ought to be applied to all; and *e converso*, if it be not applicable to all, it is not trustworthy as applied to any one specially; always assuming no special evidence to be accessible. To detach any individual mythe from the class to which it belongs, is to present it in an erroneous point of view; we have no choice except to admit them as they stand, by putting ourselves approximatively into the frame of mind of those for whom they were destined and to whom they appeared worthy of credit.

If Plato thus discountenances all attempts to transform the mythes by interpretation into history or philosophy, indirectly recognizing the generic difference between them — we find substantially the same view pervading the elaborate precepts in his treatise on the Republic. He there regards the mythes, not as embodying either matter-of-fact or philosophical principle, but as portions of religious and patriotic faith, and instruments of ethical tuition. Instead of allowing the poets to frame them according to the impulses of their own genius, and with a view to immediate popularity, he directs the legislator to provide types of his own for the characters of the gods and heroes, and to suppress all such divine and heroic legends as are not in harmony with these preëstablished canons. In the Platonic system, the mythes are not to be matters of history, nor yet of spontaneous or casual fiction, but of prescribed faith: he supposes that the people will believe, as a thing of course, what the poets circulate, and he therefore directs that the latter shall circulate nothing which does not tend to ennoble and improve the feelings. He conceives the mythes as stories composed to illustrate the general sentiments of the poets and the community, respecting the character and attributes of the gods and heroes, or respecting the social relations, and ethical duties as well as motives of mankind: hence the obligation upon the legislator to prescribe beforehand the types of character which shall be illustrated, and to restrain the poets from following out any opposing fancies. “Let us neither believe ourselves (he exclaims), nor permit any one to circulate, that The

seus son of Poseidōn and Peirithōus son of Zeus, or hero or son of a god, could ever have brought them to commit abductions or other enormities such as are now ascribed to them. We must compel the poets to say, that such persons were not the sons of gods, or that they were perpetrators of such misdeeds.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the mythes which the youth hear and repeat (ing to Plato) are false, but some of them are true: the prominent mythes which appear in Homer and Hesiod are fictions than the rest. But fiction constitutes one of the indispensable instruments of mental training as well as that the legislator must take care that the fiction so employed be beneficent and not mischievous.<sup>2</sup> As the mischievous (he says) take their rise from wrong preconceptions of the character of the gods and heroes, so the way to correct them is to enforce, by authorized compositions, the adoption of a correct standard.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Repub.* iii. 5. p. 391. The perfect ignorance of all men of the gods, rendered the task of fiction easy (Plato, *Kritias*, p. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Repub.* ii. 16. p. 377. Δόγων δὲ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἁπλῶς δ' ἕτερον; Ναί. Παιδευτέον δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, πρότερον δ' ἐν τῷ μὲν. . . . . Οὐ μανθάνεις, ὅτι πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθους λέγουσιν ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ψεῦδος, ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. . . . . Πρῶτον ταυτὸν τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς, καὶ ὃν μὲν ἐν καλῶν μύθων ποιήσωμεν, ὃν δ' ἐν κακῶν, ἀποκριτέον. . . . . ὣν δὲ νῦν λέγουσι, τοὺς πολλοὺς. . . . . οὓς Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὅμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιῶντες γὰρ πονοῦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδεῖς συντιθέντες ἑλεγόντες. . . . . ἢ δ' ὅς, καὶ τί αὐτῶν μεμφομένοισι λέγεις; "Ὅπερ, ἦν πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα μέμφοσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐάν τις καλῶς τοῦτο; "Ὅταν τις εἰκαζῇ κακῶς τῷ λόγῳ περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, ὥστε γραφεὶς μὴδὲν εὐκότα γράφῃ οἷς ἐν δημοῖα βούληται γράφειν.

The same train of thought, and the precepts founded upon it, run through chaps. 17, 18, and 19; compare *De Legg.* xii. p. 941.

Instead of recognizing the popular or dramatic theology distinct from the civil (as Varro did), Plato suppresses the former department and merges it in the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Repub.* ii. c. 21. p. 382. Τὸ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ψεῦδος καὶ ἀσέβεια, ὥστε μὴ ἄξιον εἶναι μισθῶν; "Αἶ, οὐ πρὸς τε τοὺς πολλοὺς καλομένους φίλων, ὅταν διὰ μανίαν ἢ τινα ἀνομίαν κακὸν τι ἐπιτείνῃ, τότε ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα ὡς φάρμακον χρησίμους γίνονται νῦν δὲ ἐλέγομεν ταῖς μυθολογίαις, διὰ τὸ μὴ τὰ ληθῆς ἔχει περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀφομοιοῦντες εἰς τὸ ψεῦδος, ὅτι μάλιστα, οὕτω χρησίμους ποιοῦμεν;

The comments which Plato has delivered with so much force in his Republic, and the enactments which he deduces from them, are in the main an expansion of that sentiment of condemnation, which he shared with so many other philosophers, towards a large portion of the Homeric and Hesiodic stories.<sup>1</sup> But the manner in which he has set forth this opinion, unfolds to us more clearly the real character of the mythical narratives. They are creations of the productive minds in the community, deduced from the supposed attributes of the gods and heroes: so Plato views them, and in such character he proposes to amend them. The legislator would cause to be prepared a better and truer picture of the foretime, because he would start from truer (that is to say, more creditable) conceptions of the gods and heroes. For Plato rejects the mythes respecting Zeus and Hêrê, or Thêseus and Peirithôus, not from any want of evidence, but because they are unworthy of gods and heroes: he proposes to call forth new mythes, which, though he admits them at the outset to be fiction, he knows will soon be received as true, and supply more valuable lessons of conduct.

We may consider, then, that Plato disapproves of the attempt to identify the old mythes either with exaggerated history or with disguised philosophy. He shares in the current faith, without any suspicion or criticism, as to Orpheus, Palamêdês, Dædalus, Amphiôn, Thêseus, Achilles, Cheirôn, and other mythical personages;<sup>2</sup> but what chiefly fills his mind is, the inherited sentiment of deep reverence for these superhuman characters and for the age to which they belonged, — a sentiment sufficiently strong to render him not only an unbeliever in such legends as conflict with it, but also a deliberate creator of new legends for the purpose of expanding and gratifying it. The more we examine this sentiment, both in the mind of Plato as well as in

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<sup>1</sup> The censure which Xenophanês pronounced upon the Homeric legends has already been noticed: Herakleitus (Diogen. Laërt. ix. 1) and Metrodôrus, the companion and follower of Epicurus, were not less profuse in their invectives, *ἐν γραμμαῖσι τοσούτοις τῷ ποιητῇ λελοιδόρηται* (Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, p. 1086). He even advised persons not to be ashamed to confess their utter ignorance of Homer, to the extent of not knowing whether Hectôr was a Greek or a Trojan (Plut. *ib.* p. 1094).

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Republic. iii. 4-5. p. 391; De Legg. iii. 1. p. 677.



that of the Greeks generally, the more shall we be convinced that it formed essentially and inseparably a portion of Hellenic religious faith. The mythe both presupposes, and springs out of, a settled basis, and a strong expansive force of religious, social, and patriotic feeling, operating upon a past which is little better than a blank as to positive knowledge. It resembles history, in so far as its form is narrative; it resembles philosophy, in so far as it is occasionally illustrative; but in its essence and substance, in the mental tendencies by which it is created as well as in those by which it is judged and upheld, it is a popularized expression of the divine and heroic faith of the people.

Grecian antiquity cannot be at all understood except in connection with Grecian religion. It begins with gods and it ends with historical men, the former being recognized not simply as gods, but as primitive ancestors, and connected with the latter by a long mythical genealogy, partly heroic and partly human. Now the whole value of such genealogies arises from their being taken entire; the god or hero at the top is in point of fact the most important member of the whole;<sup>1</sup> for the length and continuity of the series arises from anxiety on the part of historical men to join themselves by a thread of descent with the being whom they worshipped in their gentile sacrifices. Without the ancestral god, the whole pedigree would have become not only acephalous, but worthless and uninteresting. The pride of the Herakleids, Asklepiads, Æakids, Neleids, Dædalids, etc. was attached to the primitive eponymous hero and to the god from whom they sprung, not to the line of names, generally long and barren, through which the divine or heroic dignity gradually dwindled down into common manhood. Indeed, the length of the genealogy (as I have before remarked) was an evidence of the humility of the historical man, which led him to place himself at a respectful distance from the gods or heroes; for Hekataeus of Milætus, who ranked himself as the fifteenth descendant of a god, might per-

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of similar tendencies in the Asiatic religions, see Mövers, *Die Phönizier*, ch. v. p. 153 (Bonn, 1841): he points out the same phenomena as in the Greek, — coalescence between the ideas of ancestry and worship, — confusion between gods and men in the past, — increasing tendency to Eumerize (pp. 156-157).

haps have accounted it an overweening impiety in any living man to claim a god for his immediate father.

The whole chronology of Greece, anterior to 776 B. C., consists of calculations founded upon these mythical genealogies, especially upon that of the Spartan kings and their descent from Hêraklês, — thirty years being commonly taken as the equivalent of a generation, or about three generations to a century. This process of computation was altogether illusory, as applying historical and chronological conditions to a case on which they had no bearing. Though the domain of history was seemingly enlarged, the religious element was tacitly set aside: when the heroes and gods were chronologized, they became insensibly approximated to the limits of humanity, and the process indirectly gave encouragement to the theory of Euêmerus. Personages originally legendary and poetical were erected into definite landmarks for measuring the duration of the foretime, thus gaining in respect to historical distinctness, but not without loss on the score of religious association. Both Euêmerus and the subsequent Christian writers, who denied the original and inherent divinity of the pagan gods, had a great advantage in carrying their chronological researches strictly and consistently upwards — for all chronology fails as soon as we suppose a race superior to common humanity.

Moreover, it is to be remarked that the pedigree of the Spartan kings, which Apollodôrus and Eratosthenês selected as the basis of their estimate of time, is nowise superior in credibility and trustworthiness to the thousand other gentile and family pedigrees with which Greece abounded; it is rather indeed to be numbered among the most incredible of all, seeing that Hêraklês as a progenitor is placed at the head of perhaps more pedigrees than any other Grecian god or hero.<sup>1</sup> The descent of the Spartan king Leonidas from Hêraklês rests upon no better evidence than that of Aristotle or Hippocratês from Asklês,<sup>2</sup> — of Evagoras or

<sup>1</sup> According to that which Aristotle seems to recognize (*Histor. Animal.* vii. 6), Hêraklês was father of seventy-two sons, but of only one daughter — he was essentially ἀρρενόγονος, illustrating one of the physical peculiarities noticed by Aristotle. Euripidês, however, mentions daughters of Hêraklês in the plural number (*Euripid. Herakleid.* 45).

<sup>2</sup> Hippocratês was twentieth in descent from Hêraklês, and nineteenth

Thucydides from Æakus,— of Socrates from Dædalus Spartan heraldic family from Talthybius,— of the Iamid family in Elis from Iamus,— of the root-ga Pélion from Cheirôn,— and of Hekateus and his some god in the sixteenth ascending line of the series is little exaggeration in saying, indeed, that no permutation of men in Greece, religious, social, or profane without a similar pedigree; all arising out of the same of the feelings and imagination, to personify as well as the bond of union among the members. Every one of the *gentes* began with a religious and ended with an historical. At some point or other in the upward series, entities were exchanged for entities of religion; but where this was to be found we are unable to say, nor had the wisest of the ancient Greeks any means of determining. Thus much we know, that the series taken as a whole, though decisive to the believing Greek, possesses no value as clear evidence to the historian.

When Hekateus visited Thêbes in Egypt, he mentioned Egyptian priests, doubtless with a feeling of satisfaction, the imposing pedigree of the gens to which he belonged with fifteen ancestors in ascending line, and a god as progenitor. But he found himself immeasurably overtopped by priests "who genealogized against him."<sup>1</sup> They showed three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues, representing the succession of chief priests in the temple in an upward series from father to son, through a space of 11,300 years to the commencement of this long period (they said) dwelling along with men, had exercised sway in Egypt.

from Asklêpius (Vita Hippocr. by Soranus, ap. Westerm. Biographic. viii. 1); about Aristotle, see Diogen. Laërt. v. 1. physician of the emperor Claudius, was also an Asklepiad (ibid. 61).

- In Rhodes, the neighboring island to Kôs, was the gens 'A of Hêlios, specially distinguished from the Ἀλιασταί of the worshippers of Hêlios, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀλιαδῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀλιασταῶν. Inscription in Boeckh's Collection, No. 2525, with Boeckh's comment.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 144. Ἐκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐωῦτδεν, ἔκκαυδέκατον θιόν, ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, οὐκ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ θεοῦ γένεσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὡς

repudiated altogether the idea of men begotten by gods or of heroes.<sup>1</sup>

But these counter-genealogies, are, in respect to trustworthiness and evidence, on the same footing. Each represents partly the religious faith, partly the retrospective imagination, of the persons from whom it emanated; in each, the lower members of the series (to what extent we cannot tell) are real, the upper members fabulous; but in each also the series derived all its interest and all its imposing effect from being conceived unbroken and entire. Herodotus is much perplexed by the capital discrepancy between the Grecian and Egyptian chronologies, and vainly employs his ingenuity in reconciling them. There is no standard of objective evidence by which either the one or the other of them can be tried: each has its own subjective value, in conjunction with the faith and feelings of Egyptians and Greeks, and each presupposes in the believer certain mental prepossessions which are not to be found beyond its own local limits. Nor is the greater or less extent of duration at all important, when we once pass the limits of evidence and verifiable reality. One century of recorded time, adequately studded with authentic and orderly events, presents a greater mass and a greater difficulty of transition to the imagination than a hundred centuries of barren genealogy. Herodotus, in discussing the age of Homer and Hesiod, treats an anterior point of 400 years as if it were only yesterday; the reign of Henry VI. is separated from us by an equal interval, and the reader will not require to be reminded how long that interval now appears.

The mythical age was peopled with a mingled aggregate of gods, heroes, and men, so confounded together that it was often impossible to distinguish to which class any individual name belonged. In regard to the Thracian god Zalmoxis, the Hellenistic Greeks interpreted his character and attributes according to the scheme of Euëmerism. They affirmed that he had been a man, the slave of the philosopher Pythagoras at Samos, and that he had by abilities and artifice established a religious ascendancy over the minds of the Thracians, and obtained from them

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 143-145. *Καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλγύπτιοι ἀπρεκέως φασὶν ἐπίστυσθαι, αἷα τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη.*

divine honors. Herodotus cannot bring himself to be story, but he frankly avows his inability to determine Zalmoxis was a god or a man,<sup>1</sup> nor can he extricate him a similar embarrassment in respect to Dionysus and Pan. the confusion of the Homeric fight, the goddess Athên upon Diomêdês the miraculous favor of dispelling the 1 his eyes, so as to enable him to discriminate gods from 1 nothing less than a similar miracle could enable a critic of the mythical narratives to draw an ascertained bond between the two.<sup>2</sup> But the original hearers of the m neither surprise nor displeasure from this confusion of 1 with the human individual. They looked at the past v

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iv. 94-96. After having related the Euemeristic ve by the Hellespontic Greeks, he concludes with his characteristi and simplicity — 'Εγὼ δὲ, περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίον οἰκί ἀπιστεύω, οὔτε ὃν πιστεύω τι λήν. δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔρεσι πρότερ μοξιν τούτων γενέσθαι Πνθαγόρεω. Εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Ζάλμοξι εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαίρετω. So Plut c. 19) will not undertake to determine whether Janus was a goi εἴτε δαίμων, εἴτε βασιλεὺς γεγόμενος, etc.

Herakleitus the philosopher said that men were θεοὶ θνητοί, a were ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι (Lucian, Vitar. Auctio. c. 13. vol. i. p. 3 compare the same author, Dialog. Mortuor. iii. vol. i. p. 182, ed.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, v. 127 : —

'Αχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλιν, ἣ πρὶν ἔπην.  
'Ὀφρ' εὖ γινώσκης ἡμὲν θεὸν, ἦδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

Of this undistinguishable confusion between gods and men, s trations are to be found both in the third book of Cicero de Natu (16-21), and in the long disquisition of Strabo (x. pp. 467-474 the Kabeiri, the Korybantes, the Dactyls of Ida; the more so, as statements of Pherekydês, Akusilaus, Dêmêtrius of Skêpsis, Under the Roman empire, the lands in Greece belonging to 1 gods were exempted from tribute. The Roman tax-collector recognize as immortal gods any persons who had once been m rule could not be clearly applied (Cicero, Nat. Deor. iii. 20). marks of Pausanias (ii. 26, 7) about Asklepîus: Galen, too, is dc Asklepîus and Dionysus — 'Ασκληπιός γέ τοι καὶ Διώνυσος, εἰ πρότερον ἦσθην, εἴτε καὶ ἀρχῇθεν θεοί (Galen in Protreptic. 9. ed. Kuhn). Xenophôn (De Venat. c. i), considers Cheirôn as tl Zeus.

The ridicule of Lucian (Decrum Concilium, t. iii. p. 527- brings out still more forcibly the confusion here indicated.

of faith over their eyes — neither knowing the value, nor desiring the attainment, of an unclouded vision. The intimate companionship, and the occasional mistake of identity between gods and men, were in full harmony with their reverential retrospect. And we, accordingly, see the poet Ovid in his *Fasti*, when he undertakes the task of unfolding the legendary antiquities of early Rome, reacquiring, by the inspiration of Juno, the power of seeing gods and men in immediate vicinity and conjunct action, such as it existed before the development of the critical and historical sense.<sup>1</sup>

To resume, in brief; what has been laid down in this and the preceding chapters respecting the Grecian mythes: —

1. They are a special product of the imagination and feelings, radically distinct both from history and philosophy: they cannot be broken down and decomposed into the one, nor allegorized into the other. There are indeed some particular and even assignable mythes, which raise intrinsic presumption of an allegorizing tendency; and there are doubtless some others, though not specially assignable, which contain portions of matter of fact, or names of real persons, embodied in them. But such matter of fact cannot be verified by any intrinsic mark, nor we are entitled to presume its existence in any given case unless some collateral evidence can be produced.

2. We are not warranted in applying to the mythical world the rules either of historical credibility or chronological sequence. Its personages are gods, heroes, and men, in constant juxtaposition and reciprocal sympathy; men, too, of whom we know a large proportion to be fictitious, and of whom we can never ascertain how many may have been real. No series of such personages can serve as materials for chronological calculation.

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<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 6-20: —

“Fas mihi præcipue vultus vidisse Deorum,  
Vel quia sum vates, vel quia sacra cano .....  
... Ecce Deas vidi .....  
Horrueram, tacitoque animum pallore fatebar:  
Cum Dea, quos fecit, sustulit ipsa metus.  
Namque ait — O vates, Romani conditor anni,  
Ause per exiguos magna referre modos;  
Jus tibi fecisti numen celeste videndi,  
Cum placuit numeris condere festa tuis.”

3. The mythes were originally produced in an age which had no records, no philosophy, no criticism, no canon of belief, and scarcely any tincture either of astronomy or geography — but which, on the other hand, was full of religious faith, distinguished for quick and susceptible imagination, seeing personal agents where we look only for objects and connecting laws; — an age, moreover, eager for new narrative, accepting with the unconscious impressibility of children (the question of truth or falsehood being never formally raised) all which ran in harmony with its pre-existing feelings, and penetrable by inspired prophets and poets in the same proportion that it was indifferent to positive evidence. To such hearers did the primitive poet or story-teller address himself: it was the glory of his productive genius to provide suitable narrative expression for the faith and emotions which he shared in common with them, and the rich stock of Grecian mythies attests how admirably he performed his task. As the gods and the heroes formed the conspicuous object of national reverence, so the mythes were partly divine, partly heroic, partly both in one.<sup>1</sup> The adventures of Achilles, Helen, and Diomédès, of Œdipus and Adrastus, of Meleager and Athæa, of Jasôn and the Argô, were recounted by the same tongues, and accepted with the same unsuspecting confidence, as those of Apollo and Artemis, of Arès and Aphroditê, of Poseidôn and Hēraklês.

4. The time however came, when this plausibility ceased to be complete. The Grecian mind made an important advance, socially, ethically, and intellectually. Philosophy and history were constituted, prose writing and chronological records became familiar; a canon of belief more or less critical came to be tacitly recognized. Moreover, superior men profited more largely by the stimulus, and contracted habits of judging different from the

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<sup>1</sup> The fourth Eclogue of Virgil, under the form of a prophecy, gives a faithful picture of the heroic and divine past, to which the legends of Troy and the Argonauts belonged: —

"Ille Dædum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit  
Permixtos heroes," etc.

"Alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quæ vehat Argo  
Delectos heroes: erunt etiam altera bella,  
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles."

vulgar: the god Elenchus<sup>1</sup> (to use a personification of Menander), the giver and prover of truth, descended into their minds. Into the new intellectual medium, thus altered in its elements, and no longer uniform in its quality, the mythes descended by inheritance; but they were found, to a certain extent, out of harmony even with the feelings of the people, and altogether dissonant with those of instructed men. But the most superior Greek was still a Greek, and cherished the common reverential sentiment towards the foretime of his country. Though he could neither believe nor respect the mythes as they stood, he was under an imperious mental necessity to transform them into a state worthy of his belief and respect. Whilst the literal mythes still continued to float among the poets and the people, critical men interpreted, altered, decomposed, and added, until they found something which satisfied their minds as a supposed real basis. They manufactured some dogmas of supposed original philosophy, and a long series of fancied history and chronology, retaining the mythical names and generations even when they were obliged to discard or recast the mythical events. The interpreted mythes was thus promoted into a reality, while the literal mythes was degraded into a fiction.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, Pseudol. c. 4. Παρακλητέος ἡμῖν τῶν Μενάνδρου προλόγων εἷς, ὁ Ἐλεγχος, φίλος ἀληθείᾳ καὶ παῖρησίᾳ θεός, οὗς ὁ ἀσημότατος τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκῆπτρον ἀναβαινόντων. (See Meineke ad Menandr. p. 284.)

<sup>2</sup> The following passage from Dr. Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society (part ii. sect. i. p. 126) bears well on the subject before us:—

"If conjectures and opinions formed at a distance have not a sufficient authority in the history of mankind, the domestic antiquities of every nation must for this very reason be received with caution. They are, for the most part, the mere conjectures or the fictions of subsequent ages; and even where at first they contained some resemblance of truth, they still vary with the imagination of those by whom they were transmitted, and in every generation receive a different form. They are made to bear the stamp of the times through which they have passed in the form of tradition, not of the ages to which their pretended descriptions relate. . . . . . When traditionary fables are rehearsed by the vulgar, they bear the marks of a national character, and though mixed with absurdities, often raise the imagination and move the heart: when made the materials of poetry, and adorned by the skill and the eloquence of an ardent and superior mind, they instruct the understanding as well as engage the passions. It is only in the management of mere antiquaries, or strip of the ornaments which the laws of history forbid them



The habit of distinguishing the interpreted from the mythe has passed from the literary men of antiquity to the modern world, who have for the most part constituted divine mythes as allegorized philosophy, and the heroic as exaggerated, adorned, and over-colored history. The ages of Greece have thus been peopled with quasi-historical persons and quasi-historical events, all extracted from the after making certain allowances for poetical ornament. must not treat this extracted product as if it were the substance; we cannot properly understand it except by it in connection with the literal mythes out of which it is sustained, in their primitive age and appropriate medium, but superior minds had yet outgrown the common faith in personified Nature, and learned to restrict the divine freedom by the supposition of invariable physical laws. It is in this view that the mythes are important for any one who correctly appreciate the general tone of Grecian thought and feeling; for they were the universal mental stock of the world—common to men and women, rich and poor, ignorant and ignorant; they were in every one's memory and one's mouth,<sup>1</sup> while science and history were confined

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to wear, that *they become unfit even to amuse the fancy or to serve whatever.*

"It were absurd to quote the fable of the Iliad or the Odyssey, the legend of Hercules, Theseus, and Œdipus, as authorities in matters relating to the history of mankind; but they may, with great justice, to ascertain what were the conceptions and sentiments of the ages in which they were composed, or to characterize the genius of that people in whose imaginations they were blended, and by whom they were fondly and admired. In this manner, fiction may be admitted to reveal the genius of nations, while history has nothing to offer worthy of credit."

To the same purpose, M. Paulin Paris (in his *Lettre à M. Imbert*, prefixed to the *Roman de Berte aux Grans Piés*, Paris, 1837) speaking of the "romans" of the Middle Ages: "Pour bien connaître le moyen âge, non pas celle des faits, mais celle des mœurs, les faits vraisemblables, il faut l'avoir étudiée dans les romans, pourquoy l'Histoire de France n'est pas encore faite." (p. xxi.)

<sup>1</sup> A curious evidence of the undiminished popularity of the Grecian mythes to the exclusion even of recent history, is preserved by Vopiscus in his *Life of Aurelian*.

The præfect of the city of Rome, Junius Tiberianus, took V

paratively few. We know from Thucydides how erroneously and carelessly the Athenian public of his day retained the history of Peisistratus, only one century past;<sup>1</sup> but the adventures of the gods and heroes, the numberless explanatory legends attached to visible objects and periodical ceremonies, were the theme of general talk, and any man unacquainted with them would have found himself partially excluded from the sympathy of his neighbors. The theatrical representations, exhibited to the entire city population, and listened to with enthusiastic interest, both presupposed and perpetuated acquaintance with the great lines of heroic fable: indeed, in later times even the pantomimic dancers embraced in their representations the whole field of mythological incident, and their immense success proves at once how popular and how well known such subjects were. The names and attributes of the heroes were incessantly alluded to in the way of illustration, to point out a consoling, admonitory, or repressive moral: the simple mention of any of them sufficed to call up in every one's mind the principal events of his life, and the poet or rhapsode could thus calculate on touching chords not less familiar than susceptible.<sup>2</sup>

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his carriage on the festival-day of the Hilaria; he was connected by the ties of relationship with Aurelian, who had died about a generation before—and as the carriage passed by the splendid Temple of the Sun, which Aurelian had consecrated, he asked Vopiscus, what author had written the life of that emperor? To which Vopiscus replied, that he had read some Greek works which touched upon Aurelian, but nothing in Latin. Whereat the venerable præfect was profoundly grieved: “*Dolorem gemitus sui vir sanctus per hæc verba profudit: Ergo Thersitem, Sinonem, cæteraque illa prodigia vetustatis, et nos bene scimus, et posteri frequentabunt: divum Aurelianum, clarissimum principem, severissimum Imperatorem, per quem totus Romano nomini orbis est restitutus, posteri nescient? Deus avertat hanc amentiam! Et tamen, si bene memini, ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus,*” etc. (*Historiæ August. Scriptt.* p. 209, ed. Salmas.)

This impressive remonstrance produced the Life of Aurelian by Vopiscus. The materials seem to have been ample and authentic; it is to be regretted that they did not fall into the hands of an author qualified to turn them to better account.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. vi. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 3, 3. *Λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνήκους οὐσι, καὶ ὅποσα ἤκουον εἰθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις,* etc. The treatise of Lucian, *De Saltatione*, is

A similar effect was produced by the multiplied religious and processions, as well as by the oracles and p

a curious proof how much these mythes were in every one's mind how large the range of knowledge of them was which a good d sessed (see particularly c. 76-79. t. ii. p. 308-310, Hamst).

Antiphanês ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 223 :—

Μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγῳδία  
ποιήμα κατὰ πάντ', εἰ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι.  
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρίσμενοι  
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥς ὑπομνήσαι μόνον  
δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν. Οἰδίπουν γὰρ ἂν γε φῶ,  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα παντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Δαῖος.  
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες·  
τί πείσεθ' οὐδας, τι πεποίηκεν. Ἄν πάντων  
εἴη τις Ἀλκμαίωνα, καὶ τὰ παῖδιά  
πάντ' εὐθὺς εἰρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονε  
τὴν μήτηρ· ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἀδραστος εὐθέως  
ἤξει, πάλιν δ' ὑπείσιν, etc.

The first pages of the eleventh Oration of Dio Chrysostom contain striking passages both as to the universal acquaintance with the mythes as to their extreme popularity (Or. xi. p. 307-312, Reisk). See the commencement of Heraklidês, De Allegoriâ Homericâ (ap. Schæfer, ed. Gale, p. 408), about the familiarity with Homer.

The Lydê of the poet Antimachus was composed for his own consolation under sorrow, by enumerating the *ἡρωϊκὰς συμφοράς* (Plutarch ad Apollôn. c. 9. p. 106: compare Æschines cont. Ktesiph. c. 48). The choral inscription in Thêra, on the untimely death of Admêtus, a heroic gens Ægidæ, makes a touching allusion to his ancestors Phérês (Boeckh, C. I. t. ii. p. 1087).

A curious passage of Aristotle is preserved by Dêmêtrius Phalarius (Ἑρμηνείας, c. 144).—Ὅσω γὰρ ἀντίτης καὶ μονώτης εἰμι, φίλοι γέγονα (compare the passage in the Nikomachean Ethics, i. 9, ἀτεκνος). Stahr refers this to a letter of Aristotle written in his old age, the mythes being the consolation of his solitude (Aristotelia, i. p. 20).

For the employment of the mythical names and incidents in the most pleasing and familiar comparison, see Menander, Περὶ Ἐπίδου, capp. 9 and 11, ap. Walz. Coll. Rhett. t. ix. pp. 283-294. The mythes which they passed into the ordinary songs of women is illustrated by a touching epigram contained among the Chian Inscriptions in Boeckh's Collection (No. 2236):—

Βιττω καὶ Φαινὶς, φίλη ἡμέρη (?), αἱ συνέριπτοι,  
Αἱ πενιχραὶ, γραιαί, τῇδ' ἐκλίθημεν ὁμοῦ.  
Ἀμφότεραι Κῶαι, πρῶται γένος—ὦ γλυκὲς ὄρεθρον  
Πρὸς λύχνον ὃ μύθους ἤδομεν ἡμιθέων.

These two poor women were not afraid to boast of their familiarity with the mythes.

which circulated in every city. The annual departure of the Theoric ship from Athens to the sacred island of Dêlos, kept alive, in the minds of Athenians generally, the legend of Thêseus and his adventurous enterprise in Krete;<sup>1</sup> and in like manner most of the other public rites and ceremonies were of a commemorative character, deduced from some mythical person or incident familiarly known to natives, and forming to strangers a portion of the curiosities of the place.<sup>2</sup> During the period of Grecian subjection under the Romans, these curiosities, together with their works of art and their legends, were especially clung to as a set-off against present degradation. The Thêban citizen who found himself restrained from the liberty enjoyed by all other Greeks, of consulting Amphiaraus as a prophet, though the sanctuary and chapel of the hero stood in his own-city—

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they probably belonged to some noble gens which traced its origin to a god or a hero. About the songs of women, see also Agathias, i. 7. p. 29, ed. Bonn.

In the family of the wealthy Athenian Dêmocratês was a legend, that his primitive ancestor (son of Zeus by the daughter of the Archêgetês of the dême Aixôneis, to which he belonged) had received Heraklêdês at his table: this legend was so rife that the old women sung it,—*ἄπερ αἱ γραιαὶ ᾄδουσι* (Plato, *Lysis*, p. 205). Compare also a legend of the dême 'Αναγυροῦς, mentioned in Suidas *ad voc.*

"Who is this virgin?" asks Orestês from Pyladês in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripidês (662), respecting his sister Iphigenia, whom he does not know as priestess of Artemis in a foreign land:—

Τίς ἐστιν ἡ νεῦνις; ὥς 'Ελληνικῶς  
 'Ανήρεθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τ' ἐν 'Ιλίῳ πόνοιν  
 Νόστον τ' 'Αχαιῶν, τὸν τ' ἐν οἰωνοῖς σοφὸν  
 Κάλχαντ', 'Αχιλλέως τ' οὐνομ', etc.  
 ..... ἐστὶν ἡ ξένη γένος  
 'Εκεῖθεν. 'Αργεῖα τις, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phædo*, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Philopseudes of Lucian (t. iii. p. 31, Hemst. cap. 2, 3, 4) shows not only the pride which the general public of Athens and Thêbes took in their old mythes (Triptolemus, Boreas, and Oreithyia, the Sparti, etc.), but the way in which they treated every man who called the stories in question as a fool or as an atheist. He remarks, that if the guides who showed the antiquities had been restrained to tell nothing but what was true, they would have died of hunger; for the visiting strangers would not care to hear plain truth, even if they could have got it for nothing (*μηδὲ ἀμισθὶ τῶν ξένων ἀληθεὺς ἀκούειν ἐθελήσαντων*).

could not be satisfied without a knowledge of the story which explained the origin of such prohibition,<sup>1</sup> and which brought him back to the originally hostile relations between Argos and Thêbes. Nor can we suppose among the citizens anything less than a perfect and reverential conception of the legend of Thêbes, when we read the account given by Herodotus of the conduct of the despot Kleisthenês in regard to the bones of and Melanippus.<sup>2</sup> The Troezenian youths and maidens, universally, when on the eve of marriage, consecrated a lock of their hair at the Herôon of Hippolytus, maintaining a recollection of the legend of that unhappy recusant who had been so cruelly punished. Abundant relics preserved in Grecian cities and temples, served both as mementoes and attestations of other legendary events; and the tombs of heroes were counted among the most powerful stimulants of mythological superstition. The sceptre of Pelops and Agamemnôn, still preserved in the days of Pausanias at Chæroneia in Bœôtia, was supposed to be of the god Hêphæstos. While many other alleged relics of the same divine hand were preserved in different parts of Greece, this is the only one which Pausanias himself declares to be genuine: it had been carried by Elektra, daughter of Agamemnôn to Phôkis, and received divine honors from the people of Chæroneia.<sup>4</sup> The spears of Mériônês and Odysseus were preserved up at Engyium in Sicily, that of Achilles at Patara; the sword of Memnôn adorned the temple of Asklêpius at Epidaure; and Pausanias, with unsuspecting confidence, takes the two latter as proofs that the arms of the heroes were preserved in brass.<sup>5</sup> The hide of the Kalydônian boar was guarded by the Tegeates as a precious possession; the shield of Menelaus was in like manner suspended in the temple of Athena near Milêtus, as well as in the temple of Hêrê in Argos.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot.

<sup>3</sup> Euripid. Hippolyt. 1424; Pausan. ii. 32, 1; Lucian, De Saltibus, 60. vol. iv. p. 287, Tauch.

It is curious to see in the account of Pausanias how all the objects of the objects around became connected with explanatory legends. Compare Pausan. i. 22, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. ix. 40, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, Marcell. c. 20; Pausan. iii. 3, 6.

relics of Epeius and Philoktêtês were not wanting, while Strabo raises his voice with indignation against the numerous Palladia which were shown in different cities, each pretending to be the genuine image from Troy.<sup>1</sup> It would be impossible to specify the number of chapels, sanctuaries, solemnities, foundations of one sort or another, said to have been first commenced by heroic or mythical personages, — by Hêraklês, Jasôn, Mêdea, Alkmaôn, Diomêdês, Odysseus, Danaus, and his daughters,<sup>2</sup> etc. Perhaps in some of these cases particular critics might raise objections, but the great bulk of the people entertained a firm and undoubted belief in the current legend.

If we analyze the intellectual acquisitions of a common Grecian townsman, from the rude communities of Arcadia or Phôkis even up to the enlightened Athens, we shall find that, over and above the rules of art or capacities requisite for his daily wants, it consisted chiefly of the various mythes connected with his gens, his city, his religious festivals, and the mysteries in which he might have chosen to initiate himself, as well as with the works of art and the more striking natural objects which he might see around him, — the whole set off and decorated by some knowledge of the epic and dramatic poets. Such was the intellectual and imaginative reach of an ordinary Greek, considered apart from the instructed few: it was an aggregate of religion, of social and patriotic retrospect, and of romantic fancy, blended into one indivisible faith. And thus the subjective value of the mythes, looking at them purely as elements of Grecian thought and feeling, will appear indisputably great, however little there may be of objective reality, either historical or philosophical, discoverable under them.

Nor must we omit the incalculable importance of the mythes as stimulants to the imagination of the Grecian artist in sculpture, in painting, in carving, and in architecture. From the divine and heroic legends and personages were borrowed those

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 46, 1; Diogen. Laër. viii. 5; Strabo, vi. p. 263; Appian, Bell. Mithridat. c. 77; Æschyl. Eumen. 380.

Wachsmuth has collected the numerous citations out of Pausanias on this subject (Hellenische Alterthumskunde, part ii. sect. 115. p. 111).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. ii. 182; Plutarch, Pyrrh. c. 32; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1217. Diodôr. iv. 56.

paintings, statues, and reliefs, which rendered the temples, and public buildings, at Athens and elsewhere, surpassing admiration; and such visible reproduction again to fix the types of the gods and heroes familiarly on the public mind.<sup>1</sup> The figures delineated on vases, as well as on the walls of private houses, were drawn from the same source — the mythes being the basis of artistic scenes and composition.

To enlarge on the characteristic excellence of Greek art would here be out of place: I regard it only in so far as it originally drawn its materials from the mythes, it rests on the mythical faith and imagination — the reaction of art on the strength to the former as well as distinctness to the latter. One who saw constantly before him representations of the exploits of Perseus and Bellerophon, of the exploits of the Centaurs or the Amazons,<sup>2</sup> of the exploits of Perseus and Bellerophon, of the incidents composing the war of the Trojans or the Kalydonian boar-hunt — the process of familiarization in the more fantastic of these conceptions, became proportioned as the conception was familiarized. And if Æakus had been slow to believe in the efficacy of the prayer of Æakus, whereby that devout hero once obtained special favour from Zeus, at a moment when Greece was perishing with continued sterility, his doubts would probably vanish when he saw the statues of the very envoys who had come on the behalf of the distressed Greeks to solicit that Æakus would pray for them at the Grecian temple<sup>4</sup> was not simply a place of worship, but the actual dwelling-place of a god, who was believed to be present by the solemn dedicatory ceremony, and whom the people identified in the most intimate manner.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἡμισθεῶν ἀπειράς*, the subjects of the works of Polygnotus (Melanthius ap. Plutarch. Cimôn. c. 4): compare Theocrit. x.

<sup>2</sup> The Centauromachia and the Amazonomachia are constantly together in the ancient Grecian reliefs (see the Expedition to Morée, t. ii. p. 16, in the explanation of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia).

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 29, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ernst Curtius, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, Berlin, 1844, p. 127. Gentes, vi. p. 203, ed. Elmenhorst.

statue. The presence or removal of the statue was conceived as identical with that of the being represented, — and while the statue was solemnly washed, dressed, and tended with all the respectful solicitude which would have been bestowed upon a real person,<sup>1</sup> miraculous tales were often rife respecting the manifestation of real internal feeling in the wood and the marble. At perilous or critical moments, the statue was affirmed to have sweated, to have wept, to have closed its eyes, or brandished the spear in its hands, in token of sympathy or indignation.<sup>2</sup> Such legends, springing up usually in times of suffering and danger, and finding few men bold enough openly to contradict them, ran in complete harmony with the general mythical faith, and tended

<sup>1</sup> See the case of the Æginetans lending the Æakids for a time to the Thebans (Herodot. v. 80), who soon, however, returned them: likewise sending the Æakids to the battle of Salamis (viii. 64–80). The Spartans, when they decreed that only one of their two kings should be out on military service, decreed at the same time that only one of the Tyndarids should go out with them (v. 75): they once lent the Tyndarids as aids to the envoys of Epizephyrian Locri, who prepared for them a couch on board their ship (Diodôr. Excerpt. xvi. p. 15, Dindorf). The Thebans grant their hero Melanippus to Kleisthenês of Sikyôn (v. 68). What was sent, must probably have been a consecrated copy of the genuine statue.

Respecting the solemnities practised towards the statues, see Plutarch, Alkibiad. 34; Kallimach. Hymn. ad Lavacr. Palladis, init. with the note of Spanheim; K. O. Müller, Archæologie der Kunst, § 69; compare Plutarch, Quæstion. Romaic. § 61. p. 279; and Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 40; Diodor. xvii. 49.

The manner in which the real presence of a hero was identified with his statue (*τὸν δίκαιον δεῖ θεὸς οἰκοῖ μένειν σώζοντα τοὺς ἰδρυμένους*. — Menander, Fragm. *Ἡνίοχος*, p. 71, Meineke), consecrated ground, and oracle, is nowhere more powerfully attested than in the Herolca of Philostratus (capp. 2–20. pp. 674–692; also De Vit. Apollôn. Tyan. iv. 11), respecting Prôtesilaus at Elæus, Ajax at the Aiantium, and Hectôr at Ilium: Prôtesilaus appeared exactly in the equipment of his statue, — *χλαμύδα ἐνῆπται, ἔνε, τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦτο* (p. 674). The presence and sympathy of the hero Lykus is essential to the satisfaction of the Athenian dikasts (Aristophan. Vesp. 389–820): the fragment of Lucilius, quoted by Lactantius, De Falsâ Religione (i. 22), is curious. — *Τοῖς ἥρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδρυμένοις* (Lycurgus cont. Leocrat. c. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 12; Strabo, vi. p. 264. Theophrastus treats the perspiration as a natural phenomenon in the statues made of cedar-wood (Histor. Plant. v. 10). Plutarch discusses the credibility of this sort of miracles in his Life of Coriolanus, c. 37–38.



to strengthen it in all its various ramifications. The activity of the god or hero both brought to mind and the preëxisting mythes connected with his name. When during the invasion of Greece by Xerxês, and in with the fervent prayers of the Athenians, had sent for dental storm, to the irreparable damage of the Persia the sceptical minority (alluded to by Plato), who d mythe of Boreas and Oreithyia, and his close connecti quired with Erechtheus, and the Erechtheids general the time have been reduced to absolute silence.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE GRECIAN MYTHICAL VEIN COMPARED WITH MODERN EUROPE.

I HAVE already remarked that the existence of narrative talk, which the Germans express by the word *Sage* or *Volks-Sage*, in a greater or less degree or development, is a phænomenon common to almost all of society and to almost all quarters of the globe. The natural effusion of the unlettered, imaginative, and bold, and its maximum of influence belongs to an early human mind; for the multiplication of recorded fiction, the rise of positive science, and the formation of a critical belief, tend to discredit its dignity and to repress

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 189. Compare the gratitude of the Macedonians to Boreas for having preserved them from the attack of the Lacædæmonians (Pausan. viii. 27, 4. — viii. 36, 4). When the Ten Thousand were on their retreat through the cold mountains of Armenia in their faces, " parching and freezing intolerably." One recommended that a sacrifice should be offered to him, " and the painful effect of the wind appeared to every one for the first time in a marked manner;" (καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι πνεύματος. — Xenoph. Anab. iv. 5, 3.)

abundant flow. It supplies to the poet both materials to recombine and adorn, and a basis as well as a stimulus for further inventions of his own; and this at a time when the poet is religious teacher, historian, and philosopher, all in one,—not, as he becomes at a more advanced period, the mere purveyor of avowed, though interesting, fiction.

Such popular stories, and such historical songs (meaning by historical, simply that which is accepted as history) are found in most quarters of the globe, and especially among the Teutonic and Celtic populations of early Europe. The old Gothic songs were cast into a continuous history by the historian Ablavius;<sup>1</sup> and the poems of the Germans respecting Tuisto the earth-born god, his son Mannus, and his descendants the eponyms of the various German tribes,<sup>2</sup> as they are briefly described by Tacitus, remind us of Hesiod, or Eumêlus, or the Homeric Hymns. Jacob Grimm, in his learned and valuable *Deutsche Mythologie*, has exhibited copious evidence of the great fundamental analogy, along with many special differences, between the German, Scandinavian, and Grecian mythical world; and the Dissertation of Mr. Price (prefixed to his edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*) sustains and illustrates Grimm's view. The same personifying imagination—the same ever-present conception of the will, sympathies, and antipathies of the gods as the producing causes of phenomena, and as distinguished from a course of nature with its invariable sequence—the same relations between gods, heroes, and men, with the like difficulty of discriminating the one from the other in many individual names—a similar wholesale transfer of human attributes to the gods, with the absence of human limits and liabilities—a like belief in Nymphs, Giants, and other beings, neither gods nor men—the same coalescence of the religious with the patriotic feeling and faith—these are positive features common to the early Greeks with the early Germans: and the negative conditions of the two

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<sup>1</sup> Jornandes, *De Reb. Geticis*, capp. 4–6.

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. *Mor. German.* c. 2. “*Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud eos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuistonem Deum terræ editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Quidam licentiâ vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Sævos, Vandaliosque affirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina.*”

are not less analogous—the absence of prose writings, records, and scientific culture. The preliminary encouragements for the mythopœic faculty were thus similar.

But though the prolific forces were the same in kind, the results were very different in degree, and the developmental stances were more different still.

First, the abundance, the beauty, and the long continuance of early Grecian poetry, in the purely poetical age, is a phenomenon which has no parallel elsewhere.

Secondly, the transition of the Greek mind from its comparatively positive state was self-operated, and was effected by its own inherent and expansive force—aided in no means either impressed or provoked, from without. The poetry of Homer, to the history of Thucydides and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, was a prodigious step, but the native growth of the Hellenic youth into an Hellenic culture. What is of still greater moment, it was brought about without breaking the thread either of religious or patriotic feelings. The legendary world, though the ethical and rational criticisms of superior men had outgrown it, still held upon their feelings as an object of affection and sentimental retrospect.

Far different from this was the development of the Germans. We know little about their early poetry, but there is no risk of error in affirming that they had nothing to do with either Iliad or Odyssey. Whether, if left to themselves, they would have possessed sufficient progressive power to take a step similar to that of the Greeks, is a question which cannot answer. Their condition, mental as well as physical, was violently changed by a foreign action from without. The influence of the Roman empire introduced artificial new institutions, new opinions, habits, and luxuries. All, a new religion; the Romanized Germans became successively the instruments of this revolution to such of their brethren as still remained heathen. The revolution often brought about by penal and coercive

old gods Thor and Woden were formally deposed and renounced, their images were crumbled into dust, and the sacred oaks of worship and prophecy hewn down. But even where conversion was the fruit of preaching and persuasion, it did not the less break up all the associations of a German with respect to that mythical world which he called his past, and of which the ancient gods constituted both the charm and the sanctity: he had now only the alternative of treating them either as men or as demons.<sup>1</sup> That mixed religious and patriotic retrospect, formed by the coalescence of piety with ancestral feeling, which constituted the appropriate sentiment both of Greeks and of Germans towards their unrecorded antiquity, was among the latter banished by Christianity: and while the root of the old mythes was thus cankered, the commemorative ceremonies and customs with which they were connected, either lost their consecrated character or disappeared altogether. Moreover, new influences of great importance were at the same time brought to bear. The Latin language, together with some tinge of Latin literature — the habit of writing and of recording present events — the idea of a systematic law and pacific adjudication of disputes, — all these formed a part of the general working of Roman civilization, even after the decline of the Roman empire, upon the Teutonic and Celtic

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<sup>1</sup> On the hostile influence exercised by the change of religion on the old Scandinavian poetry, see an interesting article of Jacob Grimm in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Feb. 1830, pp. 268–273; a review of Olaf Trygvesson's *Saga*. The article *Helden*, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, is also full of instruction on the same subject: see also the *Einleitung* to the book, p. 11, 2nd edition.

A similar observation has been made with respect to the old mythes of the pagan Russians by Eichhoff: “L'établissement du Christianisme, ce gage du bonheur des nations, fut vivement apprécié par les Russes, qui dans leur juste reconnaissance, le personnifièrent dans un héros. Vladimir le Grand, ami des arts, protecteur de la religion qu'il protégea, et dont les fruits firent oublier les fautes, devint l'Arthur et le Charlemagne de la Russie, et ses hauts faits furent un mythe national qui domina tous ceux du paganisme. Autour de lui se groupèrent ces guerriers aux formes athlétiques, au cœur généreux, dont la poésie aime à entourer le berceau mystérieux des peuples: et les exploits du vaillant Dobrinia, de Rogdai, d'Ilia, de Curilo, animèrent les ballades nationales, et vivent encore dans de naïfs récits.” (Eichhoff, *Histoire de la Langue et Littérature des Slaves*, Paris, 1839, part iii. ch. 2. p. 190.)

tribes. A class of specially-educated men was formed upon a Latin basis and upon Christian principles, consisting entirely of priests, who were opposed, as well by motive as by religious feeling, to the ancient bards and to the community: the "lettered men"<sup>1</sup> were constituted "the men of story," and Latin literature contributed to religion to sink the mythes of untaught heathenism; indeed, at the same time that he employed aggressive violent proceedings to introduce Christianity among the heathen, he also took special care to commit to writing and preserve heathen songs. But there can be little doubt that the suggestion of a large and enlightened understanding came to himself. The disposition general among lettered men of that age is more accurately represented by his Debonnaire, who, having learned these songs as a child, abhors them when he arrived at mature years, and is induced either to repeat or tolerate them.<sup>2</sup>

According to the old heathen faith, the pedigree of the Anglian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish kings, — those of the German and Scandinavian kings generally, — traced to Odin, or to some of his immediate companions.<sup>3</sup> I have already observed that the value of

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<sup>1</sup> This distinction is curiously brought to view by Saxo, where he says of an Englishman named Lucas, that he was tenuiter instructus, sed historiarum scientiâ apprime eruditus (Dahlmann's Historische Forschungen, vol. i. p. 176).

<sup>2</sup> "Barbara et antiquissima carmina (says Eginhart, in his *De regibus*), quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, cum Theganus says of Louis le Debonnaire, "Poetica carmina in juventute didicerat, respuit, nec legere, nec audire, nec (De Gestis Ludovici Imperatoris ap. Pithœum, p. 304, c. xi.)

<sup>3</sup> See Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, art. *Helden*, p. 356. The first and second were first in descent from Odin (Venera, p. 15). Thiodolf, the Scald of Harold Haarfager king of Norway, traced the pedigree of his sovereign through thirty generations to Yngve of Niord, companion of Odin at Upsal; the kings of Upsal traced their pedigree to Yngve, and the song of Thiodolf, Ynglingatal (Dahlmann, *H. i.* p. 379). Eyvind, another Scald, a century afterwards, traced the pedigree of Jarl Hacon from Saming, son of Yngwifrey (p. 3). The Icelandic historian, carried up his own genealogy through thirty generations to Yngwe; a genealogy which Torfæus accepted.

gies consisted not so much in their length, as in the reverence attached to the name serving as primitive source. After the worship attached to Odin had been extinguished, the genealogical line was lengthened up to Japhet or Noah, — and Odin, no longer accounted worthy to stand at the top, was degraded into one of the simple human members of it.<sup>1</sup> And we find this alteration of the original mythical genealogies to have taken place even among the Scandinavians, although the introduction of Christianity was in those parts both longer deferred, so as to

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opposing it to the line of kings given by Saxo Grammaticus (p. 352). Torfæus makes Harold Haarfager a descendant from Odin through twenty-seven generations; Alfred of England through twenty-three generations; Offa of Mercia through fifteen (p. 362). See also the translation by Lange of P. A. Müller's *Saga Bibliothek*, Introd. p. xxviii. and the genealogical tables prefixed to Snorro Sturleson's *Edda*.

Mr. Sharon Turner conceives the human existence of Odin to be distinctly proved, seemingly upon the same evidence as Euëmerus believed in the human existence of Zeus (*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Appendix to b. ii. ch. 3. p. 219, 5th edit.).

<sup>1</sup> Dahlmann, *Hist. Forsch.* t. i. p. 390. There is a valuable article on this subject in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichts Wissenschaft* (Berlin, vol. i. pp. 237–282) by Stühr, “Über einige Hauptfragen des Nördischen Alterthums,” wherein the writer illustrates both the strong motive and the effective tendency, on the part of the Christian clergy who had to deal with these newly-converted Teutonic pagans, to Euëmerize the old gods, and to represent a genealogy, which they were unable to efface from men's minds, as if it consisted only of mere men.

Mr. John Kemble (*Über die Stammtafel der Westsachsen*, ap. Stühr, p. 254) remarks, that “nobilitas,” among that people, consisted in descent from Odin and the other gods.

Colonel Sleeman also deals in the same manner with the religious legends of the Hindoos, — so natural is the proceeding of Euëmerus, towards any religion in which a critic does not believe: —

“They (the Hindoos) of course think that the incarnation of their three great divinities were beings infinitely superior to prophets, being in all their attributes and prerogatives equal to the divinities themselves. *But we are disposed to think that these incarnations were nothing more than great men whom their flatterers and poets have exalted into gods, — this was the way in which men made their gods in ancient Greece and Egypt.* — All that the poets have sung of the actions of these men is now received as revelation from heaven: though nothing can be more monstrous than the actions ascribed to the best incarnation, Krishna, of the best of the gods, Vishnoo.” (*Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i. ch. viii. 61.)

leave time for a more ample development of the heat vein — and seems to have created a less decided feeling (especially in Iceland) towards the extinct fictions and poems and tales composing the Edda, though first of writing after the period of Christianity, do not present gods in a point of view intentionally odious or degraded.

The transposition above alluded to, of the genealogy from Odin to Noah, is the more worthy of notice, as it shows the genuine character of these genealogies, and shows them sprung, not from any erroneous historical data, but from the religious feeling; also that their true value lies from their being taken entire, as connecting the existing men with a divine original. If we could imagine that paganism had been superseded by Christianity in the B.C., the great and venerated gentile genealogies of the Greeks have undergone the like modification; the Herakleids, Æakids, Asklepiads, &c., would have been merged in an aggregate branching out from the archæology of the new religion. The old heroic legends connected with the names would either have been forgotten, or so transformed to suit the new vein of thought; for the altered worships, and customs would have been altogether at variance with them, and the mythical feeling would have ceased in those to whom prayers were no longer offered. The Dodona had been cut down, or the Theoric ship had been sent from Athens to Délos, the mythes of Theseus and the black doves would have lost their pertinence, and disappeared; it was, the change from Homer to Thucydides and Plato place internally, gradually, and imperceptibly. Pagan history were superinduced in the minds of the superstitious; the feelings of the general public continued unshaken; the sacred objects remained the same both to the eye and

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<sup>1</sup> See P. E. Müller, *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der Historiographie*, p. 63.

In the *Leitfaden zur Nördischen Alterthumskunde*, pp. 4 (1837), is an instructive summary of the different schemes applied to the northern mythes: 1, the historical; 2, the astronomical; 4, the physical; 5, the allegorical.

— and the worship of the ancient gods was even adorned by new architects and sculptors who greatly strengthened its imposing effect.

While then in Greece the mythopoeic stream continued in the same course, only with abated current and influence, in modern Europe its ancient bed was blocked up, and it was turned into new and divided channels. The old religion — though as an ascendent faith, unanimously and publicly manifested, it became extinct — still continued in detached scraps and fragments, and under various alterations of name and form. The heathen gods and goddesses, deprived as they were of divinity, did not pass out of the recollection and fears of their former worshippers, but were sometimes represented (on principles like those of Euëmerus) as having been eminent and glorious men — sometimes degraded into dæmons, magicians, elfs, fairies, and other supernatural agents, of an inferior grade and generally mischievous cast. Christian writers, such as Saxo Grammaticus and Snorro Sturleson, committed to writing the ancient oral songs of the Scandivian Scalds, and digested the events contained in them into continuous narrative — performing in this respect a task similar to that of the Grecian logographers Pherekydês and Hellanikus, in reference to Hesiod and the Cyclic poets. But while Pherekydês and Hellanikus compiled under the influence of feelings substantially the same as those of the poets on whom they bestowed their care, the Christian logographers felt it their duty to point out the Odin and Thor of the old Scalds as evil dæmons, or cunning enchanters, who had fascinated the minds of men into a false belief in their divinity.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, the heathen recitals and ideas

<sup>1</sup> *Interea tamen homines Christiani in numina non credant ethnica, nec aliter fidem narrationibus hisce adstruere vel adhibere debent, quam in libri hujus procemio monitum est de causis et occasionibus cur et quomodo genus humanum a verâ fide aberraverit.*” (Extract from the Prose Edda, p. 75, in the *Lexicon Mythologicum ad calcem Eddæ Sæmund.* vol. iii. p. 357, Copenhagen. edit.)

A similar warning is to be found in another passage cited by P. E. Müller *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der Isländischen Historiographie*, p. 138 Copenhagen, 1813; compare the Prologue to the Prose Edda, p. 6, and Mallet, *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, ch. vii. pp. 114–132.

Saxo Grammaticus represents Odin sometimes as a magician, sometimes as an evil dæmon, sometimes as a high priest or pontiff of heathenism, who



were modified so as to suit Christian feeling. But without such a change, they exhibited themselves as were designated by their compilers, as at variance with religious belief of the people, and as associated either with good or with evil spirits.

A new vein of sentiment had arisen in Europe, and added to the old mythes, yet leaving still in force the mythical narrative generally. And this demand was speaking generally, by two classes of narratives,—of the Catholic Saints and the Romances of Chivalry, corresponding to two types of character, both perfectly adapted to the feelings of the time,—the saintly ideal and the heroic ideal.

Both these two classes of narrative correspond, in as well as in general purpose, to the Grecian mythes and fables accepted as realities, from their full conformity with the dispositions and deep-seated faith of an uncritical people, prepared beforehand by their authors, not with an

imposed so powerfully upon the people around him as to require. Thor also is treated as having been an evil dæmon. (Mythologic. ut supra, pp. 567, 915.)

Respecting the function of Snorro as logographer, see Præf. ut supra, p. xi. He is much more faithful, and less unfriendly, than the other logographers of the ancient Scandinavia. (Faden der Nördischen Alterthümer, p. 14, by the Antiquary, Copenhagen, 1837.)

By a singular transformation, dependent upon the same taste, the authors of the French Chansons de Geste, in the twelfth century, transformed Apollo into an evil dæmon, patron of the Mussulmans (see Garin le Loherain, par M. Paulin Paris, 1833, p. 31): "Car que ne fait Apollis." M. Paris observes, "Cet ancien Dieu est l'un des démons le plus souvent désignés dans nos poèmes des Musulmans."

The prophet Mahomet, too, anathematized the old Persian religion. "C'est à l'occasion de Naser Ibn al-Hareth, que Persè l'Histoire de Rustem et d'Isfendiar, et la faisait réécouter dans les assemblées des Koreischites, que Mahomet suivait (of the Koran): Il y a des hommes qui achètent pour détourner par-là les hommes de la voie de Dieu, d'un côté et pour la livrer à la risée: mais leur punition les convaincra." (Mohl, Préface au Livre des Rois de Ferdousi, p. xiii.)

the conditions of historical proof, but for the purpose of calling forth sympathy, emotion, or reverence. The type of the saintly character belongs to Christianity, being the history of Jesus Christ as described in the gospels, and that of the prophets in the Old Testament; whilst the lives of holy men, who acquired a religious reputation from the fourth to the fourteenth century of the Christian æra, were invested with attributes, and illustrated with ample details, tending to assimilate them to this revered model. The numerous miracles, the cure of diseases, the expulsion of dæmons, the temptations and sufferings, the teachings and commands, with which the biography of Catholic saints abounds, grew chiefly out of this pious feeling, common to the writer and to his readers. Many of the other incidents, recounted in the same performances, take their rise from misinterpreted allegories, from ceremonies and customs of which it was pleasing to find a consecrated origin, or from the disposition to convert the etymology of a name into matter of history: many have also been suggested by local peculiarities, and by the desire of stimulating or justifying the devotional emotions of pilgrims who visited some consecrated chapel or image. The dove was connected, in the faith of the age, with the Holy Ghost, the serpent with Satan; lions, wolves, stags, unicorns, etc. were the subjects of other emblematic associations; and such modes of belief found expression for themselves in many narratives which brought the saints into conflict or conjoint action with these various animals. Legends of this kind, so indefinitely multiplied and so preëminently popular and affecting, in the Middle Ages, are not exaggerations of particular matters of fact, but emanations in detail of some current faith or feeling, which they served to satisfy, and by which they were in turn amply sustained and accredited.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The legends of the Saints have been touched upon by M. Guizot (*Cours d'Histoire Moderne*, leçon xvii.) and by M. Ampère (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. ii. cap. 14, 15, 16); but a far more copious and elaborate account of them, coupled with much just criticism, is to be found in the valuable *Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age*, par L. F. Alfred Maury, Paris, 1843.

M. Guizot scarcely adverts at all to the more or less of matter of fact contained in these biographies: he regards them altogether as they grew out of and answered to the predominant emotions and mental exigences of the age: "Au milieu d'un déluge de fables absurdes, la morale éclate avec un grand

Every reader of Pausanias will recognize the great general analogy between the stories recounted to him at the temples which he visited, and these legends of the Middle Ages. Though the type of character which the latter illustrate is indeed materially different, yet the source as well as the circulation, the generating as well as the sustaining forces, were in both cases the same. Such legends were the natural growth of a religious faith,

empire" (p. 159, ed. 1829). "Les légendes ont été pour les Chrétiens de ce temps (qu'on me permette cette comparaison purement littéraire) ce que sont pour les Orientaux ces longs récits, ces histoires si brillantes et si variées, dont les Mille et une Nuits nous donnent un échantillon. C'était là que l'imagination populaire errait librement dans un monde inconnu, merveilleux, plein de mouvement et de poésie" (p. 175, *ibid*).

M. Guizot takes his comparison with the tales of the Arabian Nights, as heard by an Oriental with uninquiring and unsuspecting credence. Viewed with reference to an instructed European, who reads these narratives as pleasing but recognized fiction, the comparison would not be just; for no one in that age dreamed of questioning the truth of the biographies. All the remarks of M. Guizot assume this implicit faith in them as literal histories: perhaps, in estimating the feelings to which they owed their extraordinary popularity, he allows too little predominance to the religious feeling, and too much influence to other mental exigences which then went along with it; more especially as he remarks, in the preceding lecture (p. 116), "Le caractère général de l'époque est la concentration du développement intellectuel dans la sphère religieuse."

How this absorbing religious sentiment operated in generating and accrediting new matter of narrative, is shown with great fulness of detail in the work of M. Maury: "Tous les écrits du moyen âge nous apportent la preuve de cette préoccupation exclusive des esprits vers l'Histoire Sainte et les prodiges qui avaient signalé l'avènement du Christianisme. Tous nous montrent la pensée de Dieu et du Ciel, dominant les moindres œuvres de cette époque de naïve et de crédule simplicité. D'ailleurs, n'étaite-ce pas le moine, le clerc, qui constituaient alors les seuls écrivains? Qu'y a-t-il d'étonnant que le sujet habituel de leurs méditations, de leurs études, se reflétât sans cesse dans leurs ouvrages? Partout reparaissait à l'imagination Jésus et ses Saints: cette image, l'esprit l'accueillait avec soumission et obéissance: il n'osait pas encore envisager ces célestes pensées avec l'œil de la critique, armé de défiance et de doute; au contraire, l'intelligence les acceptait toutes indistinctement et s'en nourrissait avec avidité. Ainsi s'accréditaient tous les jours de nouvelles fables. Une foi vive veut sans cesse de nouveaux faits qu'elle puisse croire, comme la charité veut de nouveaux bienfaits pour s'exercer" (p. 43). The remarks on the History of St. Christopher, whose personality was allegorized by Luther and Melancthon, are curious (p. 57).

earnest, unexamining, and interwoven with the feelings at a time when the reason does not need to be cheated. The lives of the Saints bring us even back to the simple and ever-operative theology of the Homeric age; so constantly is the hand of God exhibited even in the minutest details, for the succor of a favored individual, — so completely is the scientific point of view, respecting the phenomena of nature, absorbed into the religious.<sup>1</sup> During the intellectual vigor of Greece and Rome, a sense of the invariable course of nature and of the scientific explanation of phenomena had been created among the superior minds, and through them indirectly among the remaining community; thus limiting to a certain extent the ground open to be occupied by a religious legend. With the decline of the pagan literature and philosophy, before the sixth century of the Christian æra, this scientific conception gradually passed out of sight, and left the mind free to a religious interpretation of nature not less simple and naïf than that which had prevailed under the Homeric paganism.<sup>2</sup> The great religious movement of the Reformation, and

<sup>1</sup> "Dans les prodiges que l'on admettait avoir dû nécessairement s'opérer au tombeau du saint nouvellement canonisé, l'expression, 'Cæci visum, claudi gressum, muti loquelam, surdi auditum, paralytici debitum membrorum officium, recuperabant,' était devenue plutôt une formule d'usage que la relation littérale du fait." (Maury, *Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age*, p. 5.)

To the same purpose M. Ampère, ch. 14. p. 361: "Il y a un certain nombre de faits que l'agiographie reproduit constamment, quelque soit son héros: ordinairement ce personnage a eu dans sa jeunesse une vision qui lui a révélé son avenir: ou bien, une prophétie lui a annoncé ce qu'il serait un jour. Plus tard, il opère un certain nombre de miracles, toujours les mêmes; il exorcise des possédés, ressuscite des morts, il est averti de sa fin par un songe. Puis sur son tombeau s'accomplissent d'autres merveilles à-peu-près semblables."

<sup>2</sup> A few words from M. Ampère to illustrate this: "C'est donc au sixième siècle que la légende se constitue: c'est alors qu'elle prend complètement le caractère naïf qui lui appartient: qu'elle est elle-même, qu'elle se sépare de toute influence étrangère. En même temps, l'ignorance devient de plus en plus grossière, et par suite la crédulité s'accroît: les calamités du temps sont plus lourdes, et l'on a un plus grand besoin de remède et de consolation. . . . . Les récits miraculeux se substituent aux argumens de la théologie. Les miracles sont devenus la meilleure démonstration du Christianisme: c'est la seule que puissent comprendre les esprits grossiers des barbares" (c. 15. p. 373).

Again, c. 17. p. 401: "Un des caractères de la légende est de mêler con-

the gradual formation of critical and philosophical habits in the modern mind, have caused these legends of the Saints, — once

stamment le pueril au grand : il faut l'avouer, elle défigure parfois un peu ces hommes d'une trempe si forte, en mettant sur leur compte des anecdotes dont le caractère n'est pas toujours sérieux ; elle en a usé ainsi pour St. Columban, dont nous verrons tout à l'heure le rôle vis-à-vis de Brunehaut et des chefs Mérovingiens. La légende auroit pu se dispenser de nous apprendre, comment un jour, il se fit rapporter par un corbeau les gants qu'il avait perdus : comment, un autre jour, il empêcha la bière de couler d'un tonneau percé, et diverses merveilles, certainement indignes de sa mémoire."

The miracle by which St. Columban employed the raven to fetch back his lost gloves, is exactly in the character of the Homeric and Hesiodic age : the earnest faith, as well as the reverential sympathy, between the Homeric man and Zeus or Athênê, is indicated by the invocation of their aid for his own sufferings of detail, and in his own need and danger. The criticism of M. Ampère, on the other hand, is analogous to that of the later pagans, after the conception of a course of nature had become established in men's minds, so far as that exceptional interference by the gods was understood to be, comparatively speaking, rare, and only supposable upon what were called great emergencies.

In the old Hesiodic legend (see above, ch. ix. p. 245), Apollo is apprized by a raven of the infidelity of the nymph Korônís to him — τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἔγγε-  
λος ἦλθε κόραξ, etc. (the raven appears elsewhere as companion of Apollo, Plutarch de Isid. et Os. p. 379, Herod. iv. 15.) Pindar, in his version of the legend, eliminated the raven, without specifying how Apollo got his knowledge of the circumstance. The Scholiasts praise Pindar much for having rejected the puerile version of the story — ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὃ Ἀρτέμῳ  
ὅτι παρακρουσάμενος τὴν περὶ τὸν κόρακα ἱστορίαν, αὐτὸν δι' ἐαυτοῦ ἐγνωκέ-  
ναι φησὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω . . . . . χαίρειν οὖν ἔσας τῷ τοιούτῳ μῦθῳ τέλει  
δντι ληρωδεῖ, etc. — compare also the criticisms of the Schol. ad Soph. Œdip. Kol. 1378, on the old epic Thebais ; and the remarks of Arrian (Exp. Al. iii. 4) on the divine interference by which Alexander and his army were enabled to find their way across the sand of the desert to the temple of Ammon.

In the eyes of M. Ampère, the recital of the biographer of St. Columban appears puerile (οὕτω ἴδον ὡς θεοὺς ἀνάπαντα φιλεῦντας, Odyss. iii. 221) ; in the eyes of that biographer, the criticism of M. Ampère would have appeared impious. When it is once conceded that phænomena are distributable under two denominations, the natural and the miraculous, it must be left to the feelings of each individual to determine what is and what is not, a suitable occasion for a miracle. Diodorus and Pausanias differed in opinion (as stated in a previous chapter) about the death of Actæôn by his own hounds, — the former maintaining that the case was one fit for the special intervention of the goddess Artemis ; the latter, that it was not so. Th

the charm and cherished creed of a numerous public,<sup>1</sup> to pass altogether out of credit, without even being regarded, among Protestants at least, as worthy of a formal scrutiny into the evidence, — a proof of the transitory value of public belief, however sincere and fervent, as a certificate of historical truth, if it be blended with religious predispositions.

question is one determinable only by the religious feelings and conscience of the two dissentients: no common standard of judgment can be imposed upon them; for no reasonings derived from science or philosophy are available, inasmuch as in this case the very point in dispute is, whether the scientific point of view be admissible. Those who are disposed to adopt the supernatural belief, will find in every case the language open to them wherewith Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in recounting a miracle wrought by Vesta, in the early times of Roman history, for the purpose of rescuing an unjustly accused virgin) reproves the sceptics of his time: "It is well worth while (he observes) to recount the special manifestation (*ἐπιφάνειαν*) which the goddess showed to these unjustly accused virgins. For these circumstances, extraordinary as they are, have been held worthy of belief by the Romans, and historians have talked much about them. Those persons, indeed, who adopt the atheistical schemes of philosophy (if, indeed, we must call them *philosophy*), pulling in pieces as they do *all* the special manifestations (*ἀπάσας διασπώντες τὰς ἐπιφάνειας τῶν θεῶν*) of the gods which have taken place among Greeks or barbarians, will of course turn *these* stories also into ridicule, ascribing them to the vain talk of men, as if none of the gods cared at all for mankind. But those who, having pushed their researches farther, believe the gods not to be indifferent to human affairs, but favorable to good men and hostile to bad — will not treat *these* special manifestations as *more* incredible than others." (Dionys. Halic. ii. 68–69.) Plutarch, after noticing the great number of miraculous statements in circulation, expresses his anxiety to draw a line between the true and the false, but cannot find where: "excess, both of credulity and of incredulity (he tells us) in such matters is dangerous; caution, and nothing too much, is the best course." (Camillus, c. 6.) Polybius is for granting permission to historians to recount a sufficient number of miracles to keep up a feeling of piety in the multitude, but not more: to measure out the proper quantity (he observes) is difficult, but not impossible (*δυσπαράγραφός ἐστιν ἡ ποσότης, σὺ μὲν ἀπαράγραφός γε*, xvi. 12).

<sup>1</sup> The great Bollandist collection of the Lives of the Saints, intended to comprise the whole year, did not extend beyond the nine months from January to October, which occupy fifty-three large volumes. The month of April fills three of those volumes, and exhibits the lives of 1472 saints. Had the collection run over the entire year, the total number of such biographies could hardly have been less than 25,000, and might have been even greater (see Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, leçon xvii. p. 157).

The same mythopœic vein, and the same susceptibility and facility of belief, which had created both supply and demand for the legends of the Saints, also provided the abundant stock of romantic narrative poetry, in amplification and illustration of the chivalrous ideal. What the legends of Troy, of Thêbes, of the Kalydônian boar, of Œdipus, Thêseus, etc. were to an early Greek, the tales of Arthur, of Charlemagne, of the Niebelungen, were to an Englishman, or Frenchman, or German, of the twelfth or thirteenth century. They were neither recognized fiction nor authenticated history: they were history, as it is felt and welcomed by minds unaccustomed to investigate evidence, and unconscious of the necessity of doing so. That the Chronicle of Turpin, a mere compilation of poetical legends respecting Charlemagne, was accepted as genuine history, and even pronounced to be such by papal authority, is well known; and the authors of the Romances announce themselves, not less than those of the old Grecian epic, as being about to recount real matter of fact.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that Charlemagne is a great historical name, and it

<sup>1</sup> See Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. dissert. i. p. xvii. Again, in sect. iii. p. 140: "Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis IX. of France (about 1260), and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes Archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cæsar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the Middle Ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his contemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices and to characterize their credulity." About the full belief in Arthur and the Tales of the Round Table during the fourteenth century, and about the strange historical mistakes of the poet Gower in the fifteenth, see the same work, sect. 7. vol. ii. p. 33; sect. 19. vol. ii. p. 239.

"L'auteur de la Chronique de Turpin (says M. Sismondi, *Littérature du Midi*, vol. i. ch. 7. p. 289) n'avait point l'intention de briller aux yeux du public par une invention heureuse, ni d'amuser les oisifs par des contes merveilleux qu'ils reconnoitroient pour tels: il présentait aux Français tous ces faits étranges comme de l'histoire, et la lecture des légendes fabuleuses avait accoutumé à croire à de plus grandes merveilles encore; aussi plusieurs de ces fables furent elles reproduites dans la Chronique de St. Denis."

Again, *ib.* p. 290: "Souvent les anciens romanciers, lorsqu'ils entreprennent un récit de la cour de Charlemagne, prennent un ton plus élevé: ce ne sont point des fables qu'ils vont coûter, c'est de l'histoire nationale, — c'est la

is possible, though not certain, that the name of Arthur may be historical also. But the Charlemagne of history, and the Charlemagne of romance, have little except the name in common; nor could we ever determine, except by independent evidence (which in this case we happen to possess), whether Charlemagne was a real or a fictitious person.<sup>1</sup> That illustrious name, as well as the more problematical Arthur, is taken up by the romancers, not with a view to celebrate realities previously verified, but for the purpose of setting forth or amplifying an ideal of their own, in such manner as both to rouse the feelings and captivate the faith of their hearers.

To inquire which of the personages of the Carlovingian epic were real and which were fictitious, — to examine whether the expedition ascribed to Charlemagne against Jerusalem had ever taken place or not, — to separate truth from exaggeration in the exploits of the Knights of the Round Table, — these were prob-

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gloire de leurs ancêtres qu'ils veulent célébrer, et ils ont droit alors à demander qu'on les écoute avec respect."

The Chronicle of Turpin was inserted, even so late as the year 1566, in the collection printed by Scardius at Frankfort of early German historians (Ginguené, *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. iv. part ii. ch. 3. p. 157).

To the same point — that these romances were listened to as real stories — see Sir Walter Scott's Preface to *Sir Tristram*, p. lxxvii. The authors of the Legends of the Saints are not less explicit in their assertions that everything which they recount is true and well-attested (Ampère, c. 14. p. 358).

<sup>1</sup> The series of articles by M. Fauriel, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. xiii. are full of instruction respecting the origin, tenor, and influence of the Romances of Chivalry. Though the name of Charlemagne appears, the romancers are really unable to distinguish him from Charles Martel or from Charles the Bald (pp. 537-539). They ascribe to him an expedition to the Holy Land, in which he conquered Jerusalem from the Saracens, obtained possession of the relics of the passion of Christ, the crown of thorns, etc. These precious relics he carried to Rome, from whence they were taken to Spain by a Saracen emir, named Balan, at the head of an army. The expedition of Charlemagne against the Saracens in Spain was undertaken for the purpose of recovering the relics: "Ces divers romans peuvent être regardés comme la suite, comme le développement, de la fiction de la conquête de Jérusalem par Charlemagne."

Respecting the Romance of Rinaldo of Montauban (describing the struggles of a feudal lord against the emperor) M. Fauriel observes, "Il n'y a, je crois, aucun fondement historique: c'est selon toute apparence, la pure expression poétique du fait général," etc. (p. 542.)



items which an audience of that day had neither disposition to undertake nor means to resolve. They accepted the narrative as they heard it, without suspicion or reserve; the incidents related, as well as the connecting links between them, were in full harmony with their feelings, and gratifying as well to their sympathies as to their curiosity: nor was anything farther wanting to induce them to believe it, though the historical basis might be ever so slight or even non-existent.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Among the "formules consacrées" (observes M. Fauriel) of the romancers of the Carlovingian epic, are asseverations of their own veracity, and of the accuracy of what they are about to relate—specification of witnesses whom they have consulted—appeals to pretended chronicles: "Que ces citations, ces indications, soient parfois sérieuses et sincères, cela peut être; mais c'est une exception et une exception rare. De telles allégations de la part des romanciers, sont en général un pur et simple mensonge, mais non toutefois un mensonge gratuit. C'est un mensonge qui a sa raison et sa convenance: il tient au désir et au besoin de satisfaire une opinion accoutumée à supposer et à chercher du vrai dans les fictions du genre de celles où l'on allègue ces prétendues autorités. La manière dont les auteurs de ces fictions les qualifient souvent eux-mêmes, est une conséquence naturelle de leur prétention d'y avoir suivi des documens vénérables. Ils les qualifient de chansons de *vieille histoire*, de *haute histoire*, de *bonne geste*, de *grande baronnies*: et ce n'est pas pour se vanter qu'ils parlent ainsi: la vanité d'auteur n'est rien chez eux, en comparaison du besoin qu'ils ont d'être crus, de passer pour de simples traducteurs, de simples répéteurs de légendes ou d'histoire consacrée. Ces protestations de véracité, qui, plus ou moins expresses, sont de rigueur dans les romans Carlovingiens, y sont aussi fréquemment accompagnées de protestations accessoires contre les romanciers, qui, ayant déjà traité un sujet donné, sont accusés d'y avoir faussé la vérité." (Fauriel, Orig. d l'Epopée Chevaleresque, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. xiii. p. 554.)

About the Cycle of the Round Table, see the same series of articles (Rev. D. M. t. xiv. pp. 170–184). The Chevaliers of the Saint Graal were a sort of *idéal* of the Knights Templars: "Une race de princes héroïques, originaires de l'Asie, fut prédestinée par le ciel même à la garde du Saint Graal. Perille fut le premier de cette race, qui s'étant converti au Christianisme, passa en Europe sous l'Empereur Vespasien," etc.; then follows a string of fabulous incidents: the epical agency is similar to that of Homer — Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

M. Paulin Paris, in his Prefaces to the Romans des Douze Pairs de France, has controverted many of the positions of M. Fauriel, and with success, so far as regards the Provençal origin of the Chansons de Geste, asserted by the latter. In regard to the Romances of the Round Table, he

The romances of chivalry represented, to those who heard them, real deeds of the foretime — “glories of the foregone men,” to use the Hesiodic expression<sup>1</sup> — at the same time that they embodied and filled up the details of an heroic ideal, such as that age could conceive and admire — a fervent piety, combined with strength, bravery, and the love of adventurous aggression, directed sometimes against infidels, sometimes against enchanters or monsters, sometimes in defence of the fair sex. Such characteristics were naturally popular, in a century of feudal struggles and uni-

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agrees substantially with M. Fauriel; but he tries to assign a greater historical value to the poems of the Carolingian epic, — very unsuccessfully, in my opinion. But his own analysis of the old poem of *Garin de Loherain* bears out the very opinion which he is confuting: “Nous sommes au règne de Charles Martel, et nous reconnaissons sous d'autres noms les détails exacts de la fameuse défaite d'Attila dans les champs Catalauniques. Saint Loup et Saint Nicaise, glorieux prélats du quatrième siècle, reviennent figurer autour du père de Pépin le Bref: enfin pour compléter la confusion, Charles Martel meurt sur le champ de bataille, à la place du roi des Visigoths, Théodoric. . . . . *Toutes les parties de la narration sont vraies: seulement toutes s'y trouvent déplacées.* En général, les peuples n'entendent rien à la chronologie: les évènements restent: les individus, les lieux et les époques, ne laissent aucune trace: c'est pour ainsi dire, une décoration scénique que l'on applique indifféremment à des récits souvent contraires.” (Preface to the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*, pp. xvi.-xx.: Paris, 1833.) Compare also his *Lettre à M. Monmerqué*, prefixed to the *Roman de Berthe aux Grans Piés*, Paris, 1836.

To say that *all* the parts of the narrative are true, is contrary to M. Paris's own showing: *some* parts may be true, separately taken, but these fragments of truth are melted down with a large mass of fiction, and cannot be discriminated unless we possess some independent test. The poet who picks out one incident from the fourth century, another from the fifteenth, and a few more from the eighth, and then blends them all into a continuous tale along with many additions of his own, shows that he takes the items of fact because they suit the purposes of his narrative, not because they happen to be attested by historical evidence. His hearers are not critical: they desire to have their imaginations and feelings affected, and they are content to accept without question whatever accomplishes this end.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Theogon. 100 — κλέα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων. Puttenham talks of the remnant of bards existing in his time (1589): “Blind Harpers, or such like Taverne Minstrels, whose matters are for the most part *stories of old time*, as the Tale of Sir Topaze, the Reportes of Bevis of Southampton, Adam Bell, Clymme of the Clough, and such other old Romances or *Historical Rhymes.*” (*Arte of English Poesie*, book ii. cap. 9.)

versal insecurity, when the grand subjects of common respect and interest were the Church and the Crusades, and when the latter especially were embraced with an enthusiasm truly astonishing.

The long German poem of the *Nibelungen Lied*, as well as the *Volsunga Saga* and a portion of the songs of the *Edda*, relate to a common fund of mythical, superhuman personages, and of fabulous adventure, identified with the earliest antiquity of the Teutonic and Scandinavian race, and representing their primitive sentiment towards ancestors of divine origin. Sigurd, Brynhilde, Gudrun, and Atle, are mythical characters celebrated as well by the Scandinavian Scalds as by the German epic poets, but with many varieties and separate additions to distinguish the one from the other. The German epic, later and more elaborated, includes various persons not known to the songs in the *Edda*, in particular the prominent name of Dieterich of Bern — presenting, moreover, the principal characters and circumstances as Christian, while in the *Edda* there is no trace of anything but heathenism. There is, indeed, in this the old and heathen version, a remarkable analogy with many points of Grecian mythical narrative. As in the case of the short life of Achilles, and of the miserable Labdakids of Thêbes — so in the family of the Volsungs, though sprung from and protected by the gods — a curse of destiny hangs upon them and brings on their ruin, in spite of preëminent personal qualities.<sup>1</sup> The more thoroughly this old Teutonic story has been traced and compared, in its various transformations and accompaniments, the less can any well-established connection be made out for it with authentic historical names or events. We must acquiesce in its personages as distinct in original conception from common humanity, and as belonging to the subjective mythical world of the race by whom they were sung.

Such were the compositions which not only interested the

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the *Volsunga Saga* and the *Nibelungen Lied*, the work of Lange — *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte und das Verhältniss der Nordischen und Deutschen Heldensage* — is a valuable translation from the *Danish Saga-Bibliothek* of P. E. Müller.

P. E. Müller maintains, indeed, the historical basis of the tales respecting the Volsunga (see pp. 102–107) — upon arguments very unsatisfactory; though the genuine Scandinavian origin of the tale is perfectly made out. The chapter added by Lange himself, at the close (see p. 432, etc.), contains

emotions, but also satisfied the undistinguishing historical curiosity, of the ordinary public in the middle ages. The exploits of many of these romantic heroes resemble in several points those of the Grecian: the adventures of Perseus, Achilles, Odysseus, Atalanta, Bellerophôn, Jasôn, and the Trojan war, or Argonautic expedition generally, would have fitted in perfectly to the Carolingian or other epics of the period.<sup>1</sup> That of the middle ages,

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juster views as to the character of the primitive mythology, though he too advances some positions respecting a something "reinsymbolisches" in the background, which I find it difficult to follow (see p. 477, etc). — There are very ancient epical ballads still sung by the people in the Faro Islands, many of them relating to Sigurd and his adventures (p. 412).

Jacob Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, maintains the purely mythical character, as opposed to the historical, of Siegfried and Dieterich (*Art. Helden*, pp. 344–346).

So, too, in the great Persian epic of Ferdousi, the principal characters are religious and mythical. M. Mohl observes, — "Les caractères des personnages principaux de l'ancienne histoire de Perse se retrouvent dans le livre des Rois (de Ferdousi) tels que les indiquent les parties des livres de Zoroaster que nous possédons encore. Kaïoumors, Djemschid, Feridoun, Gushasp, Isfendiar, etc. jouent dans le poème épique le même rôle que dans les Livres sacrés: à cela près, que dans les derniers ils nous apparaissent à travers une atmosphère mythologique qui grandit tous leurs traits: mais cette différence est précisément celle qu'on devait s'attendre à trouver entre la tradition religieuse et la tradition épique." (Mohl, *Livre des Rois* par Ferdousi, Préface, p. 1.)

The Persian historians subsequent to Ferdousi have all taken his poem as the basis of their histories, and have even copied him faithfully and literally (Mohl, p. 53). Many of his heroes became the subjects of long epical biographies, written and recited without any art or grace, often by writers whose names are unknown (*ib.* pp. 54–70). Mr. Morier tells us that "the Shah Nameh is still believed by the present Persians to contain their ancient history" (*Adventures of Hadgi Baba*, c. 32). As the Christian romancers transformed Apollo into the patron of Mussulmans, so Ferdousi makes Alexander the Great a Christian: "La critique historique (observe M. Mohl) était du temps de Ferdousi chose presque inconnue." (*ib.* p. xlviii.) About the absence not only of all historiography, but also of all idea of it, or taste for it, among the early Indians, Persians, Arabians, etc., see the learned book of Nork, *Die Götter Syriens*, Preface, p. viii. *seqq.* (Stuttgart, 1842.)

<sup>1</sup> Several of the heroes of the ancient world were indeed themselves popular subjects with the romancers of the middle ages, Thésens, Jasôn, etc.; Alexander the Great, more so than any of them.

Dr. Warton observes, respecting the Argonautic expedition, "Few stories

like the Grecian, was eminently expansive in its nature: new stories were successively attached to the names and companions of Charlemagne and Arthur, just as the legend of Troy was enlarged by Arktinus, Leschês, and Stesichôrus, — that of Thêbes, by fresh miseries entailed on the fated head of Œdipus, — and that of the Kalydônian boar, by the addition of Atalanta. Altogether, the state of mind of the hearers seems in both cases to have been much the same, — eager for emotion and sympathy, and receiving any narrative attuned to their feelings, not merely with hearty welcome, but also with unsuspecting belief.

Nevertheless, there were distinctions deserving of notice, which render the foregoing proposition more absolutely exact with regard to Greece than with regard to the middle ages. The tales of the epic, and the mythes in their most popular and extended signification, were the only intellectual nourishment with which the Grecian public was supplied, until the sixth century before the Christian æra: there was no prose writing, no history, no philosophy. But such was not exactly the case at the time when the epic of the middle ages appeared. At that time, a portion of society possessed the Latin language, the habit of writing, and some tinge both of history and philosophy: there were a series of chronicles, scanty, indeed, and imperfect, but referring to con-

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of antiquity have more the cast of one of the old romances than this of Jâson. An expedition of a new kind is made into a strange and distant country, attended with infinite dangers and difficulties. The king's daughter of the new country is an enchantress; she falls in love with the young prince, who is the chief adventurer. The prize which he seeks is guarded by brazen-footed bulls, who breathe fire, and by a hideous dragon, who never sleeps. The princess lends him the assistance of her charms and incantations to conquer these obstacles; she gives him possession of the prize, leaves her father's court, and follows him into his native country." (Warton, *Observations on Spenser*, vol. i. p. 178.)

To the same purpose M. Ginguené: "Le premier modèle des Fées n'est-il pas dans Circé, dans Calypso, dans Médée? Celui des géans, dans Polyphème, dans Cacus, et dans les géans, ou les Titans, cette race ennemie de Jupiter? Les serpens et les dragons des romans ne sont-ils pas des successeurs du dragon des Hesperides et de celui de la Toison d'or? Les Magiciens! la Thessalie en étoit pleine. Les armes enchantées impénétrables! elles sont de la même trempe, et l'on peut les croire forgées au même fourneau que celles d'Achille et d'Enée." (Ginguené, *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. iv. part ii. ch. 3, p. 151.)

temporary events and preventing the real history of the past from passing into oblivion: there were even individual scholars, in the twelfth century, whose acquaintance with Latin literature was sufficiently considerable to enlarge their minds and to improve their judgments. Moreover, the epic of the middle ages, though deeply imbued with religious ideas, was not directly amalgamated with the religion of the people, and did not always find favor with the clergy; while the heroes of the Grecian epic were not only linked in a thousand ways with existing worship, practices, and sacred localities, but Homer and Hesiod pass with Herodotus for the constructors of Grecian theology. We thus see that the ancient epic was both exempt from certain distracting influences by which that of the middle ages was surrounded, and more closely identified with the veins of thought and feeling prevalent in the Grecian public. Yet these counteracting influences did not prevent Pope Calixtus II. from declaring the Chronicle of Turpin to be a genuine history.

If we take the history of our own country as it was conceived and written from the twelfth to the seventeenth century by Hardyng, Fabyan, Grafton, Hollinshed, and others, we shall find that it was supposed to begin with Brute the Trojan, and was carried down from thence, for many ages and through a long succession of kings, to the times of Julius Cæsar. A similar belief of descent from Troy, arising seemingly from a reverential imitation of the Romans and of their Trojan origin, was cherished in the fancy of other European nations. With regard to the English, the chief circulator of it was Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it passed with little resistance or dispute into the national faith—the kings from Brute downward being enrolled in regular chronological series with their respective dates annexed. In a dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I. (A. D. 1301) between England and Scotland, the descent of the kings of England from Brute the Trojan was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, as an argument bearing on the case then in discussion: and it passed without attack from the opposing party,<sup>1</sup>—an incident which

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<sup>1</sup> See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, sect. iii. p. 131; note. "No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Franks derived

reminds us of the appeal made by Æschinês, in the contention between the Athenians and Philip of Macedôn, respecting Amphipolis, to the primitive dotal rights of Akamâs son of Thêseus — and also of the defence urged by the Athenians to sustain their conquest of Sigeium, against the reclamations of the Mityleneans, wherein the former alleged that they had as much right to the place as any of the other Greeks who had formed part of the victorious armament of Agamemnôn.<sup>1</sup>

The tenacity with which this early series of British kings was defended, is no less remarkable than the facility with which it was admitted. The chroniclers at the beginning of the seventeenth century warmly protested against the intrusive scepticism which would cashier so many venerable sovereigns and efface so many noble deeds. They appealed to the patriotic feelings of their hearers, represented the enormity of thus setting up a presumptuous criticism against the belief of ages, and insisted on the danger of the precedent as regarded history generally.<sup>2</sup> How this controversy stood, at the time and in the view of the illus-

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their origin from Francus son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus." (*Ibid.* p. 140.)

According to the Prologue of the prose Edda, Odin was the supreme king of Troy in Asia, "in eâ terrâ quam nos Turciam appellamus . . . . Hinc omnes Borealis plagæ magnates vel primores genealogias suas referunt, atque principes illius urbis inter numina locant: sed in primis ipsum Priamum pro Odeno ponunt," etc. They also identified *Tros* with *Thor*. (See *Lexicon Mythologicum ad calcem Eddæ Sæmund*, p. 552. vol. iii.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. xv. p. 458; also Æschinês, *De Falsâ Legatione*, c. 14; Herodot. v. 94. The Herakleids pretended a right to the territory in Sicily near Mount Eryx, in consequence of the victory gained by their progenitor Héraklês over Eryx, the eponymous hero of the place. (Herodot. v. 43.)

<sup>2</sup> The remarks in Speed's Chronicle (book v. c. 3. sect. 11-12), and the preface to Howes's Continuation of Stow's Chronicle, published in 1631, are curious as illustrating this earnest feeling. The Chancellor Fortescue, in impressing upon his royal pupil, the son of Henry VI., the limited character of English monarchy, deduces it from Brute the Trojan: "Concerning the different powers which kings claim over their subjects, I am firmly of opinion that it arises solely from the different nature of their original institution. So the kingdom of England had its original from Brute and the Trojans, who attended him from Italy and Greece, and became a mixed kind of government, compounded of the regal and the political." (Hallam, *Hist. Mid. Ages*, ch. viii. P. 3, page 230.)

trious author of *Paradise Lost*, I shall give in his own words, as they appear in the second page of his *History of England*. After having briefly touched upon the stories of Samothres son of Japhet, Albion son of Neptune, etc., he proceeds:—

“But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharged: descents of ancestry long continued, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression: *defended by many, denied utterly by few*. For what though Brutus and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up, seeing they, who first devised to bring us some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the Consul, till better invention, though not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan tales, in affectation to make the Briton of one original with the Roman, pitched there: *Yet those old and inborn kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict incredulity*. For these, and those causes above mentioned, that which hath received approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow: *so far as keeps aloof from impossible or absurd*, attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of story.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet in spite of the general belief of so many centuries—in spite of the concurrent persuasion of historians and poets—in spite of the declaration of Milton, extorted from his feelings rather than from his reason, that this long line of quasi-historical kings and exploits could not be *all* unworthy of belief—in spite of so large a body of authority and precedent, the historians of the nineteenth century begin the history of England with Julius Cæsar. They do not attempt either to settle the date of king Bladud’s accession, or to determine what may be the basis of truth in the affecting narrative of Lear.<sup>2</sup> The standard of his-

<sup>1</sup> “*Antiquitas enim recepit fabulas fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite: hæc ætas autem jam exulta, præsertim eludens omne quod fieri non potest, respuit*,” etc. (Cicero, *De Republicâ*, ii. 10, p. 147, ed. Mail.)

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Zachary Grey has the following observations in his *Notes on Shake-*



torical credibility, especially with regard to modern events, has indeed been greatly and sensibly raised within the last hundred years.

But in regard to ancient Grecian history, the rules of evidence still continue relaxed. The dictum of Milton, regarding the ante-Cæsarian history of England, still represents pretty exactly the feeling now prevalent respecting the mythical history of Greece "Yet those old and inborn kings (Agamemnôn, Achilles, Odysseus, Jasôn, Adrastus, Amphiaräus, Meleager, etc.), never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict incredulity." Amidst much fiction (we are still told), there must be some truth: but how is such truth to be singled out? Milton does not even attempt to make the severance: he contents himself with "keeping aloof from the impossible and the absurd," and ends in a narrative which has indeed the merit of being sober-colored, but which he never for a moment thinks of recommending to his readers as true. So in regard to the legends of Greece, — Troy, Thêbes, the Argonauts, the Boar of Kalydôn, Hêraklês, Thêseus, CEdipus, — the conviction still holds in men's minds, that there must be something true at the bottom; and many readers of this work may be displeased, I fear, not to see conjured up before them the Eidôlon of an authentic history, even though the vital spark of evidence be altogether wanting.<sup>1</sup>

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peare (London, 1754, vol. i. p. 112). In commenting on the passage in *King Lear*, *Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness*, he says, "This is one of Shakspeare's most remarkable *anachronisms*. King Lear succeeded his father Bladud anno mundi 3105; and Nero, anno mundi 4017, was sixteen years old, when he married Octavia, Cæsar's daughter. See *Funcii Chronologia*, p. 94."

Such a supposed chronological discrepancy would hardly be pointed out in any commentary now written.

The introduction prefixed by Mr. Giles, to his recent translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth (1842), gives a just view both of the use which our old poets made of his tales, and of the general credence so long and so unsuspectingly accorded to them. The list of old British kings given by Mr. Giles also deserves attention, as a parallel to the Grecian genealogies anterior to the Olympiads.

<sup>1</sup> The following passage, from the Preface of Mr. Price to Warton's *History of English Poetry*, is alike just and forcibly characterized; the whole

I presume to think that our great poet has proceeded upon mistaken views with respect to the old British fables, not less in

Preface is, indeed, full of philosophical reflection on popular fables generally. Mr. Price observes (p. 79):—

“The great evil with which this long-contested question appears to be threatened at the present day, is an extreme equally dangerous with the incredulity of Mr. Ritson,—a disposition to receive as authentic history, under a slightly fabulous coloring, every incident recorded in the British Chronicle. An allegorical interpretation is now inflicted upon all the marvellous circumstances; a forced construction imposed upon the less glaring deviations from probability; and the usual subterfuge of baffled research,—erroneous readings and etymological sophistry,—is made to reduce every stubborn and intractable text to something like the consistency required. It might have been expected that the notorious failures of Dionysius and Plutarch, in Roman history, would have prevented the repetition of an error, which neither learning nor ingenuity can render palatable; and that the havoc and deadly ruin effected by these ancient writers (in other respects so valuable) in one of the most beautiful and interesting monuments of traditional story, would have acted as sufficient corrective on all future aspirants. The favorers of this system might at least have been instructed by the philosophic example of Livy,—if it be lawful to ascribe to philosophy a line of conduct which perhaps was prompted by a powerful sense of poetic beauty,—that traditional record can only gain in the hands of the future historian by one attractive aid,—the grandeur and lofty graces of that incomparable style in which the first decade is written; and that the best duty towards antiquity, and the most agreeable one towards posterity, is to transmit the narrative received as an unsophisticated tradition, in all the plenitude of its marvels and the awful dignity of its supernatural agency. For, however largely we may concede that real events have supplied the substance of any traditive story, yet the amount of absolute facts, and the manner of those facts, the period of their occurrence, the names of the agents, and the locality given to the scene, are all combined upon principles so wholly beyond our knowledge, that it becomes impossible to fix with certainty upon any single point better authenticated than its fellow. Probability in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow; for, independently of the acknowledged historical axiom, that ‘*le vrai n’est pas toujours le vraisemblable*,’ innumerable instances might be adduced, where tradition has had recourse to this very probability to confer a plausible sanction upon her most fictitious and romantic incidents. It will be a much more useful labor, wherever it can be effected, to trace the progress of this traditional story in the country where it has become located, by a reference to those natural or artificial monuments which are the unvarying sources of fictitious events; and, by a strict comparison of its details with the analogous memorials of other nations, to separate those elements which are obviously of a native growth, from the occurrences bearing the impress of a foreign origin

that which he leaves out than in that which he retains. To omit the miraculous and the fantastic, (it is that which he really means by "the impossible and the absurd,") is to suck the lifeblood out of these once popular narratives, — to divest them at once both of their genuine distinguishing mark, and the charm by which they acted on the feelings of believers. Still less ought we to consent to break up and disenchant in a similar manner the mythes of ancient Greece, — partly because they possess the mythical beauties and characteristics in far higher perfection, partly because they sank deeper into the mind of a Greek, and pervaded both the public and private sentiment of the country to a much greater degree than the British fables in England.

Two courses, and two only, are open; either to pass over the mythes altogether, which is the way in which modern historians treat the old British fables, or else to give an account of them as mythes; to recognize and respect their specific nature, and to abstain from confounding them with ordinary and certifiable history. There are good reasons for pursuing this second method in reference to the Grecian mythes; and when so considered, they constitute an important chapter in the history of the Grecian mind; and indeed in that of the human race generally. The historical faith of the Greeks, as well as that of other people, in reference to early and unrecorded times, is as much subjective and peculiar to themselves as their religious faith: among the Greeks, especially, the two are confounded with an intimacy which nothing less than great violence can disjoin. Gods, heroes, and men — religion and patriotism — matters divine, heroic, and human — were all woven together by the Greeks into one indivisible web, in which the threads of truth and reality, whatever they might originally have been, were neither intended to be,

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*We shall gain little, perhaps, by such a course for the history of human events; but it will be an important accession to our stock of knowledge on the history of the human mind. It will infallibly display, as in the analysis of every similar record, the operations of that refining principle which is ever obliterating the monotonous deeds of violence that fill the chronicle of a nation's early career, and exhibit the brightest attribute in the catalogue of man's intellectual endowments, — a glowing and vigorous imagination, — bestowing upon all the impulses of the mind a splendor and virtuous dignity, which, however fallacious historically considered, are never without a powerfully redeeming good, the ethical tendency of all their lessons"*

nor were actually, distinguishable. Composed of such materials, and animated by the electric spark of genius, the mythical antiquities of Greece formed a whole at once trustworthy and captivating to the faith and feelings of the people; but neither trustworthy nor captivating, when we sever it from these subjective conditions, and expose its naked elements to the scrutiny of an objective criticism. Moreover, the separate portions of Grecian mythical foretime ought to be considered with reference to that aggregate of which they form a part: to detach the divine from the heroic legends, or some one of the heroic legends from the remainder, as if there were an essential and generic difference between them, is to present the whole under an erroneous point of view. The mythes of Troy and Thêbes are no more to be handled objectively, with a view to detect an historical base, than those of Zeus in Krête, of Apollo and Artemis in Dêlos, of Hermês, or of Promêtheus. To single out the Siege of Troy from the other mythes, as if it were entitled to preëminence as an ascertained historical and chronological event, is a proceeding which destroys the true character and coherence of the mythical world: we only transfer the story (as has been remarked in the preceding chapter) from a class with which it is connected by every tie both of common origin and fraternal affinity, to another with which it has no relationship, except such as violent and gratuitous criticism may enforce.

By drawing this marked distinction between the mythical and the historical world, — between matter appropriate only for subjective history, and matter in which objective evidence is attainable, — we shall only carry out to its proper length the just and well-known position long ago laid down by Varro. That learned man recognized three distinguishable periods in the time preceding his own age; “First, the time from the beginning of mankind down to the first deluge; a time wholly unknown. Secondly, the period from the first deluge down to the first Olympiad, which is called *the mythical period*, because many fabulous things are recounted in it. Thirdly, the time from the first Olympiad down to ourselves, which is called *the historical period*, because the things done in it are comprised in true histories.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Varro ap. Censorin. de Die Natali; Varronis Fragm. p. 219, ed. Scaliger, 1623. “Varro tria discrimina temporum esse tradit. Primum ab hom-

Taking the commencement of true or objective history at the point indicated by Varro, I still consider the mythical and historical periods to be separated by a wider gap than he would have admitted. To select any one year as an absolute point of commencement, is of course not to be understood literally: but in point of fact, this is of very little importance in reference to the present question, seeing that the great mythical events — the sieges of Thêbes and Troy, the Argonautic expedition, the Kalydônian boar-hunt, the Return of the Hêracleids, etc. — are all placed long anterior to the first Olympiad, by those who have applied chronological boundaries to the mythical narratives. The period immediately preceding the first Olympiad is one exceedingly barren of events; the received chronology recognizes four hundred years, and Herodotus admitted five hundred years, from that date back to the Trojan war.

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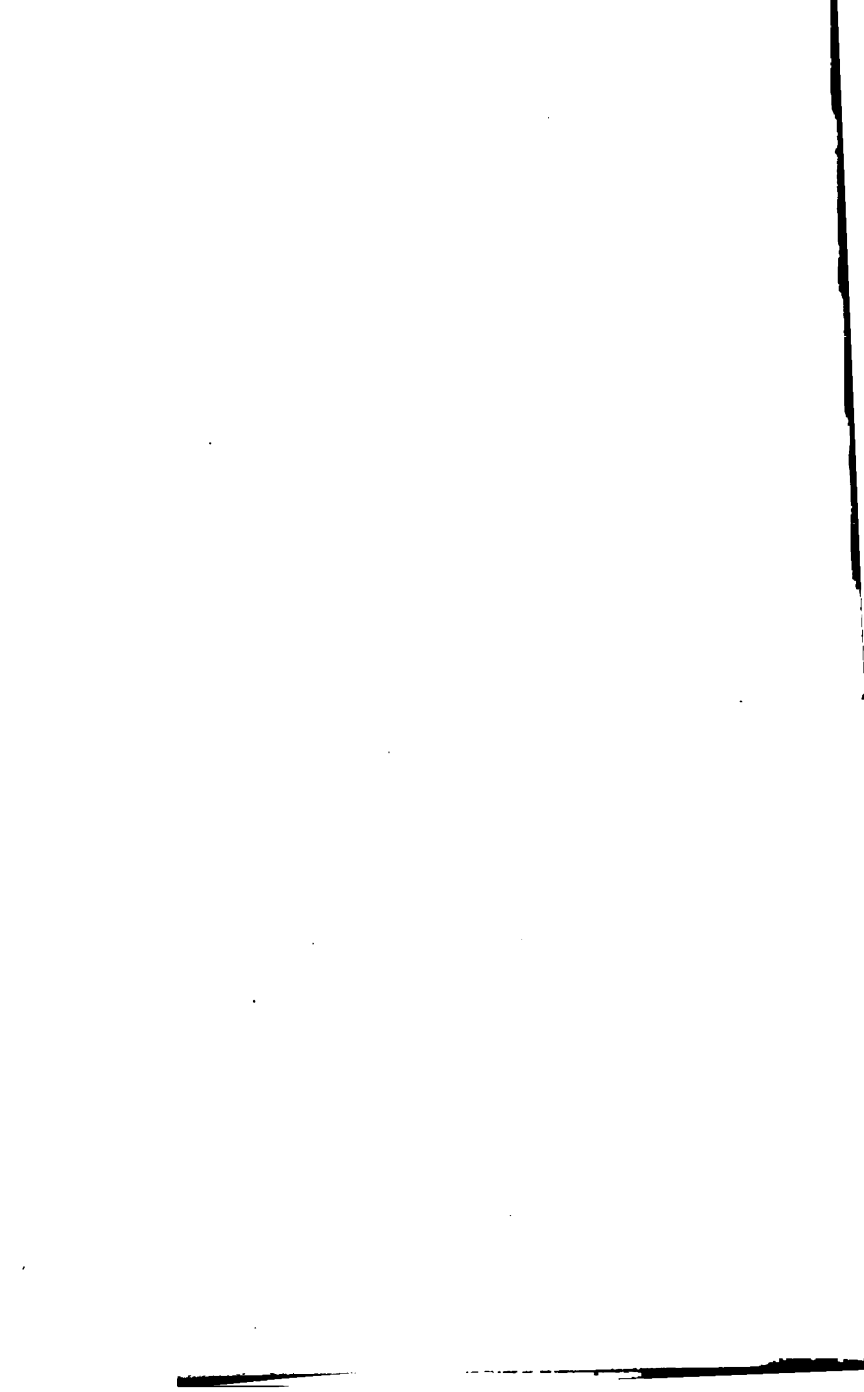
inum principio usque ad cataclysmum priorem, quod propter ignorantiam vocatur ἀδηλον. Secundum, a cataclysmo priore ad Olympiadem primam, quod quia in eo multa fabulosa referuntur, *Mythicon* nominatur. Tertium a primâ Olympiade ad nos; quod dicitur *Historicon*, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur."

To the same purpose Africanus, ap. Eusebium, *Præp. Ev.* xx. p. 487: Μέχρι μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων, οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς ἱστορήται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων συγκεχυμένων, καὶ κατὰ μῆδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸ τοῦ συμφωνούντων, etc.

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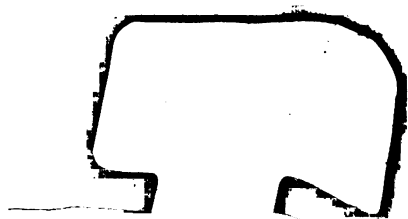


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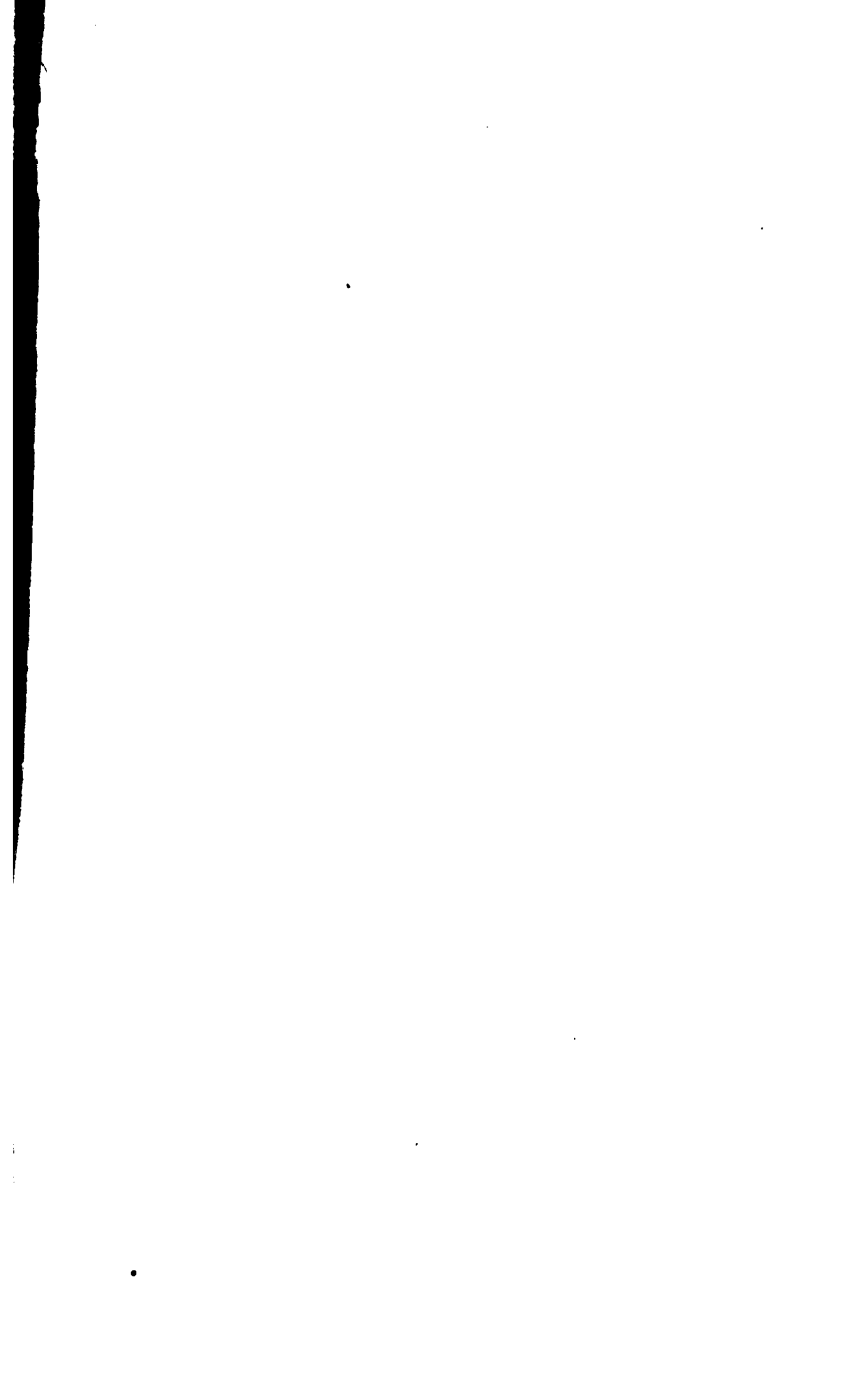
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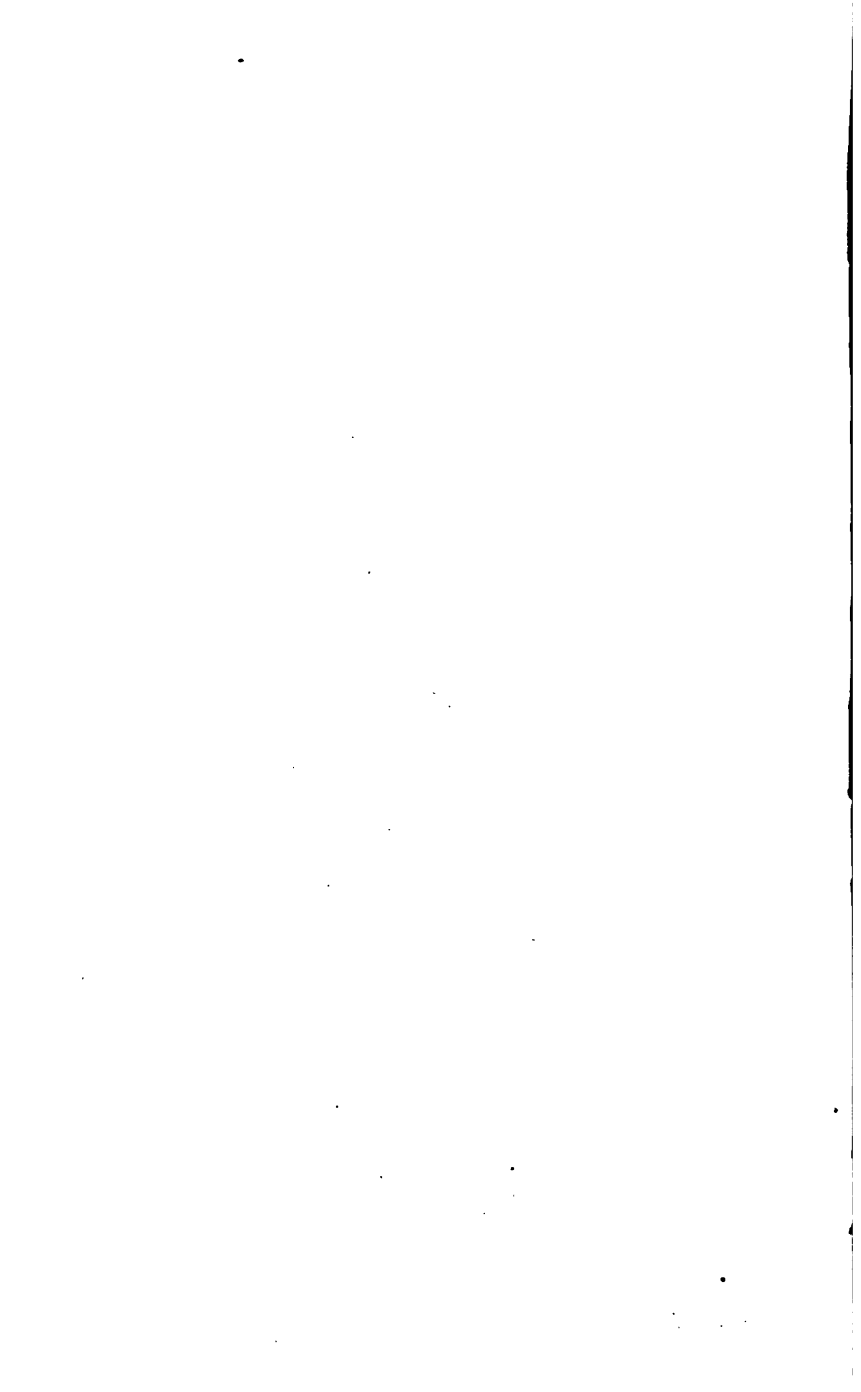




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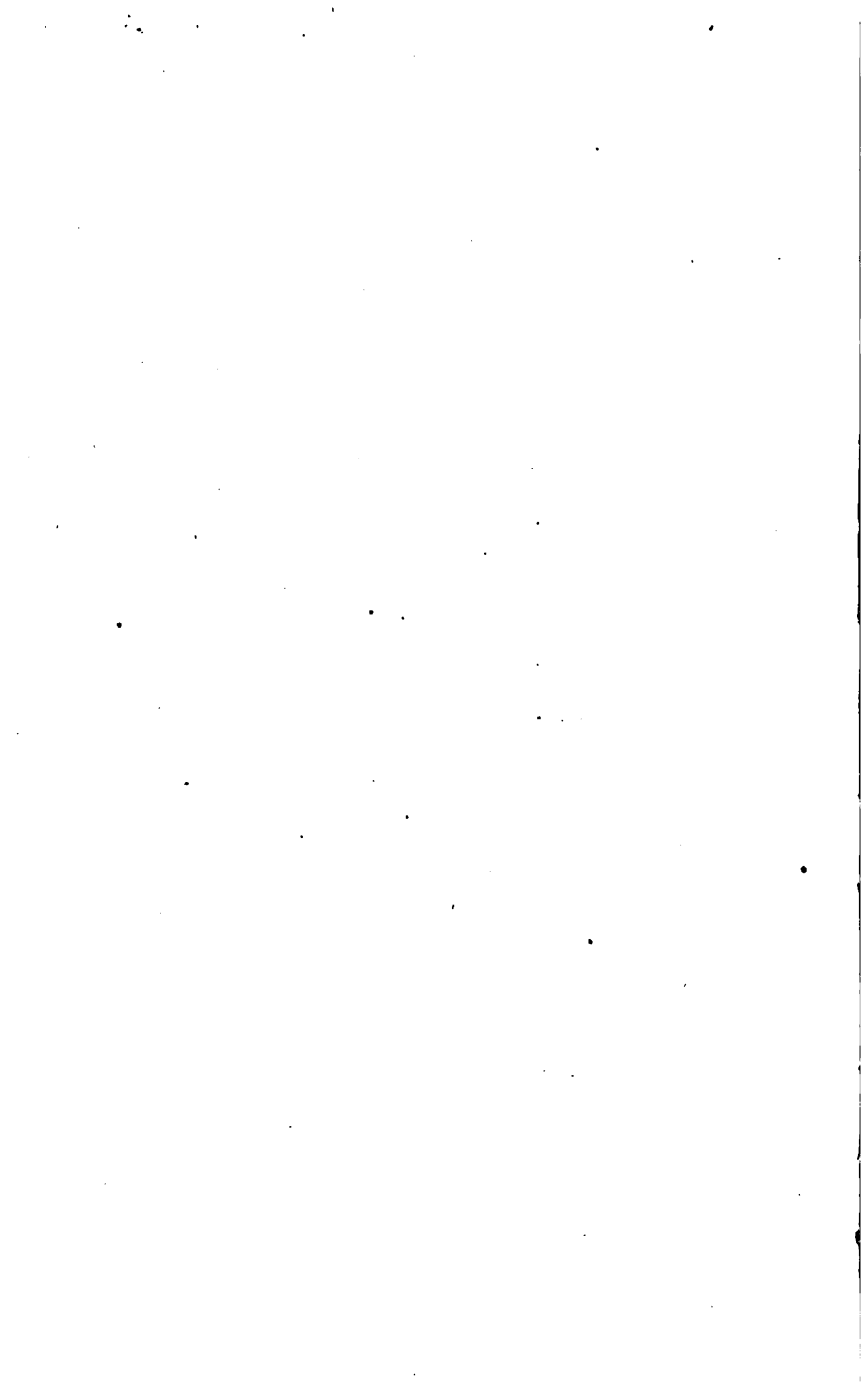




JUN 3 1911 ★ Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild

C. S. Fairchild

(C. S. Fairchild)  
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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

I. *Legendary Greece.*

II. *Grecian History to the Reign of  
Peisistratus at Athens.*

BY

GEORGE GROTE, Esq.

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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

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## PART I.

### CONTINUATION OF LEGENDARY GREECE.

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#### CHAPTER XVIII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF LEGENDARY GREECE.—PERIOD OF INTERMEDIATE DARKNESS, BEFORE THE DAWN OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

##### SECTION I.—RETURN OF THE HERAKLEIDS INTO PELOPONNESUS.

IN one of the preceding chapters, we have traced the descending series of the two most distinguished mythical families in Pelopon-nêsus, — the Perseids and the Pelopids: we have followed the former down to Hêraklês and his son Hyllus, and the latter down to Orestês son of Agamemnôn, who is left in possession of that ascendancy in the peninsula which had procured for his father the chief command in the Trojan war. The Herakleids, or sons of Hêraklês, on the other hand, are expelled fugitives, dependent upon foreign aid or protection: Hyllus had perished in single combat with Echemus of Tegea, (connected with the Pelopids by marriage with Timandra sister of Klytæmnêstra,<sup>1</sup>) and a solemn compact had been made, as the preliminary condition of this duel, that no similar attempt at an invasion of the peninsula should be undertaken by his family for the space of one hundred years. At the end of the stipulated period the attempt was renewed, and with complete success; but its success was owing, not so much to

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Eoiai, Frâgm. 58, p. 43, ed. Düntzer.

the valor of the invaders as to a powerful body of new allies. The Herakleids reappear as leaders and companions of the Dorians, — a northerly section of the Greek name, who now first come into importance, — poor, indeed, in mythical renown, since they are never noticed in the *Iliad*, and only once casually mentioned in the *Odyssey*, as a fraction among the many-tongued inhabitants of Krête, — but destined to form one of the grand and predominant elements throughout all the career of historical Hellas.

The son of Hyllus — Kleodæus — as well as his grandson Aristomachus, were now dead, and the lineage of Hêraklês was represented by the three sons of the latter, — Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, and under their conduct the Dorians penetrated into the peninsula. The mythical account traced back this intimate union between the Herakleids and the Dorians to a prior war, in which Hêraklês himself had rendered inestimable aid to the Dorian king Ægimius, when the latter was hard pressed in a contest with the Lapithæ. Hêraklês defeated the Lapithæ, and slew their king Korônus; in return for which Ægimius assigned to his deliverer one third part of his whole territory, and adopted Hyllus as his son. Hêraklês desired that the territory thus made over might be held in reserve until a time should come when his descendants might stand in need of it; and that time did come, after the death of Hyllus, (see Chap. V.) Some of the Herakleids then found shelter at Trikorythus in Attica, but the remainder, turning their steps towards Ægimius, solicited from him the allotment of land which had been promised to their valiant progenitor. Ægimius received them according to his engagement, and assigned to them the stipulated third portion of his territory:<sup>1</sup> and from this moment the Herakleids and Dorians

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<sup>1</sup> Diodôr. iv. 37–60; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 7; Ephorus ap Steph. Byz. *Δυμῶν*, *Fragm.* 10, ed. Marx.

The Doric institutions are called by Pindar *τεθμοὶ Ἀλγυμίων Δωρικοί* (*Pyth.* i. 124).

There existed an ancient epic poem, now lost, but cited on some few occasions by authors still preserved, under the title *Ἀλγίμος*; the authorship being sometimes ascribed to Hesiod, sometimes to Kerkops (*Athenæ.* xi. p. 503). The few fragments which remain do not enable us to make out the scheme of it, inasmuch as they embrace different mythical incidents lying very wide of each other, — Iô, the Argonauts, Pêleus, and Thetis, etc. But the name



became intimately united together into one social communion. Pamphylus and Dymas, sons of Ægimius, accompanied Têmenus and his two brothers in their invasion of Peloponnêsus.

Such is the mythical incident which professes to explain the origin of those three tribes into which all the Dorian communities were usually divided,—the Hyllêis, the Phamphyli, and the Dymanes,—the first of the three including certain particular families, such as that of the kings of Sparta, who bore the special name of Herakleids. Hyllus, Pamphylus, and Dymas are the eponymous heroes of the three Dorian tribes.

Têmenus and his two brothers resolved to attack Peloponnêsus, not by a land-march along the Isthmus, such as that in which Hyllus had been previously slain, but by sea, across the narrow inlet between the promontories of Rhium and Antirrhium, with which the Gulf of Corinth commences. According to one story, indeed,—which, however, does not seem to have been known to Herodotus,—they are said to have selected this line of march by the express direction of the Delphian god, who vouchsafed to expound to them an oracle which had been delivered to Hyllus in the ordinary equivocal phraseology. Both the Ozolian Lokrians, and the Ætolians, inhabitants of the northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth, were favorable to the enterprise, and the former granted to them a port for building their ships, from which memorable circumstance the port ever afterwards bore the name of Naupaktus. Aristodêmus was here struck with lightning and died, leaving twin sons, Eurysthenês and Proklês; but his remaining brothers continued to press the expedition with alacrity.

At this juncture, an Akarnanian prophet named Karnus presented himself in the camp<sup>1</sup> under the inspiration of Apollo, and

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which it bears seems to imply that the war of Ægimius against the Lapithæ, and the aid given to him by Hêraklês, was one of its chief topics. Both O. Müller (*History of the Dorians*, vol. i. b. 1, c. 8) and Welcker (*Der Epische Kyklus*, p. 263) appear to me to go beyond the very scanty evidence which we possess, in their determination of this last poem; compare Marktscheffel, *Præfat. Hesiod. Fragm.* cap. 5, p. 159.

<sup>1</sup> Respecting this prophet, compare *Œnomaus* ap. Eusebium, *Præparat. Evangel.* v. p. 211. According to that statement, both Kleodæus (here called *Aridæus*) son of Hyllus, and Aristomachus son of Kleodæus, had made separate and successive attempts at the head of the Herakleids to penetrate into Peloponnêsus through the Isthmus: both had failed and perished, having

uttered various predictions: he was, however, so much suspected of treacherous collusion with the Peloponnesians, that Hippotês, great-grandson of Hêraklês through Phylas and Antiochus, slew him. His death drew upon the army the wrath of Apollo, who destroyed their vessels and punished them with famine. Têmenus, in his distress, again applying to the Delphian god for succor and counsel, was made acquainted with the cause of so much suffering, and was directed to banish Hippotês for ten years, to offer expiatory sacrifice for the death of Karnus, and to seek as the guide of the army a man with three eyes.<sup>1</sup> On coming back to Naupaktus, he met the Ætolian Oxylus, son of Andræmôn, returning to his country, after a temporary exile in Elis, incurred for homicide: Oxylus had lost one eye, but as he was seated on a horse, the man and the horse together made up the three eyes required, and he was adopted as the guide prescribed by the oracle.<sup>2</sup> Conducted by him, they refitted their ships, landed on the opposite coast of Achaia, and marched to attack Tisamenus son of Orestês, then the great potentate of the peninsula. A decisive battle was fought, in which the latter was vanquished and slain, and in which Pamphylus and Dymas also perished. This battle made the Dorians so completely masters of the Peloponnêsus, that they proceeded to distribute the territory among themselves. The fertile land of Elis had been by previous stipulation reserved for Oxylus, as a recompense for his services as conductor: and it was agreed that the three Herakleids, — Têmenus, Kresphontês, and the infant sons of Aristodêmus, — should draw lots for Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. Argos fell to Têmenus, Sparta to the sons of Aristodêmus, and Messênê to Kresphontês; the latter having secured for himself this prize, the most fertile territory of the three, by the fraud of putting into the

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misunderstood the admonition of the Delphian oracle. CEnomaus could have known nothing of the pledge given by Hyllus, as the condition of the single combat between Hyllus and Echemus (according to Herodotus), that the Herakleids should make no fresh trial for one hundred years; if it had been understood that they had given and then violated such a pledge, such violation would probably have been adduced to account for their failure.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 8, 3: Pausan. iii. 13, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodôr. ii. 8, 3. According to the account of Pausanias, the beast upon which Oxylus rode was a mule, and had lost one eye (Paus. v. 3, 5).

vessel out of which the lots were drawn, a lump of clay instead of a stone, whereby the lots of his brothers were drawn out while his own remained inside. Solemn sacrifices were offered by each upon this partition: but as they proceeded to the ceremony, a miraculous sign was seen upon the altar of each of the brothers, — a toad corresponding to Argos, a serpent to Sparta, and a fox to Messênê. The prophets, on being consulted, delivered the import of these mysterious indications: the toad, as an animal slow and stationary, was an evidence that the possessor of Argos would not succeed in enterprises beyond the limits of his own city; the serpent denoted the aggressive and formidable future reserved to Sparta; the fox prognosticated a career of wile and deceit to the Messenian.

Such is the brief account given by Apollodôrus of the Return of the Herakleids, at which point we pass, as if touched by the wand of a magician, from mythical to historical Greece. The story bears on the face of it the stamp, not of history, but of legend, — abridged from one or more of the genealogical poets,<sup>1</sup> and presenting such an account as they thought satisfactory, of the first formation of the great Dorian establishments in Peloponnêsus, as well as of the semi-Ætolian Elis. Its incidents are so conceived as to have an explanatory bearing on Dorian institutions, — upon the triple division of tribes, characteristic of the Dorians, — upon the origin of the great festival of the Karneia at Sparta, alleged to be celebrated in expiation of the murder of Karnus, — upon the different temper and character of the Dorian states among themselves, — upon the early alliance of the Dorians with Elis, which contributed to give ascendancy and vogue to the Olympic games, — upon the reverential dependence of Dorians towards the Delphian oracle, — and, lastly, upon the etymology of the name Naupaktus. If we possessed the narrative more in detail, we should probably find many more examples of color-

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus observes, in reference to the Lacedæmonian account of their first two kings in Peloponnêsus, (Eurysthenês and Proklês, the twin sons of Aristodêmus,) that the Lacedæmonians gave a story not in harmony with any of the poets, — Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ, ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ, λέγουσιν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον . . . . . βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέταται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστόδημον παῖδας (Herodot. i. 52).

ing of the legendary past suitable to the circumstances of the historical present.

Above all, this legend makes out in favor of the Dorians and their kings a mythical title to their Peloponnesian establishments; Argos, Sparta, and Messênê are presented as rightfully belonging, and restored by just retribution, to the children of Hêraklês. It was to them that Zeus had specially given the territory of Sparta; the Dorians came in as their subjects and auxiliaries.<sup>1</sup> Plato gives a very different version of the legend, but we find that he, too, turns the story in such a manner as to embody a claim of right on the part of the conquerors. According to him, the Achæans, who returned from the capture of Troy, found among their fellow-citizens at home — the race which had grown up during their absence — an aversion to readmit them: after a fruitless endeavor to make good their rights, they were at last expelled, but not without much contest and bloodshed. A leader named Dorieus, collected all these exiles into one body, and from him they received the name of Dorians instead of Achæans; then marching back, under the conduct of the Herakleids into Peloponnêsus, they recovered by force the possessions from which they had been shut out, and constituted the three Dorian establishments under the separate Herakleid brothers, at Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. These three fraternal dynasties were founded upon a scheme of intimate union and sworn alliance one with the other, for the purpose of resisting any attack which might be made upon them from Asia,<sup>2</sup> either by the remaining Trojans or by their allies. Such is the story as Plato believed it; materially different in

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<sup>1</sup> Tyrtæus, Fragm.—

Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἵσας,  
 Ζεὺς Ἑρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν.  
 Οἶσιν ἅμα, προλιπόντες Ἑρίνεον ἡνεμόεντα,  
 Εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

In a similar manner Pindar says that Apollo had planted the sons of Hêraklês, jointly with those of Ægimius, at Sparta, Argos, and Pylus (Pyth. v. 93).

Isokratês (Or. vi. *Archidamus*, p. 120) makes out a good title by a different line of mythical reasoning. There seem to have been also stories, containing mythical reasons why the Herakleids did not acquire possession of Arcadia (Polyæn. i. 7).

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Legg.* iii. 6-7, pp. 682-686.

the incidents related, yet analogous in mythical feeling, and embodying alike the idea of a rightful reconquest. Moreover, the two accounts agree in representing both the entire conquest and the triple division of Dorian Peloponnêsus as begun and completed in one and the same enterprise,—so as to constitute one single event, which Plato would probably have called the Return of the Achæans, but which was commonly known as the Return of the Herakleids. Though this is both inadmissible and inconsistent with other statements which approach close to the historical times, yet it bears every mark of being the primitive view originally presented by the genealogical poets: the broad way in which the incidents are grouped together, was at once easy for the imagination to follow, and impressive to the feelings.

The existence of one legendary account must never be understood as excluding the probability of other accounts, current at the same time, but inconsistent with it: and many such there were as to the first establishment of the Peloponnesian Dorians. In the narrative which I have given from Apollodôrus, conceived apparently under the influence of Dorian feelings, Tisamenus is stated to have been slain in the invasion. But according to another narrative, which seems to have found favor with the historical Achæans on the north coast of Peloponnêsus, Tisamenus, though expelled by the invaders from his kingdom of Sparta or Argos, was not slain: he was allowed to retire under agreement, together with a certain portion of his subjects, and he directed his steps towards the coast of Peloponnêsus south of the Corinthian Gulf, then occupied by the Ionians. As there were relations, not only of friendship, but of kindred origin, between Ionians and Achæans, (the eponymous heroes Iôn and Achæus pass for brothers, both sons of Xuthus, (Tisamenus solicited from the Ionjans admission for himself and his fellow-fugitives into their territory. The leading Ionians declining this request, under the apprehension that Tisamenus might be chosen as sovereign over the whole, the latter accomplished his object by force. After a vehement struggle, the Ionians were vanquished and put to flight, and Tisamenus thus acquired possession of Helikê, as well as of the northern coast of the peninsula, westward from Sikyôn; which coast continued to be occupied by the Achæans, and received its name from them, throughout all the historical times.

The Ionians retired to Attica, many of them taking part in what is called the Ionic emigration to the coast of Asia Minor, which followed shortly after. Pausanias, indeed, tells us that Tisamenus, having gained a decisive victory over the Ionians, fell in the engagement,<sup>1</sup> and did not himself live to occupy the country of which his troops remained masters. But this story of the death of Tisamenus seems to arise from a desire, on the part of Pausanias, to blend together into one narrative two discrepant legends; at least the historical Achæans in later times continued to regard Tisamenus himself as having lived and reigned in their territory, and as having left a regal dynasty which lasted down to Ogygês,<sup>2</sup> after whom it was exchanged for a popular government.<sup>3</sup>

The conquest of Têmenus, the eldest of the three Herakleids, originally comprehended only Argos and its neighborhood; it was from thence that Trœzen, Epidaurus, Ægina, Sikyôn, and Phlius were successfully occupied by Dorians, the sons and son-in-law of Têmenus — Deiphontês, Phalkês, and Keisus — being the leaders under whom this was accomplished.<sup>4</sup> At Sparta, the success of the Dorians was furthered by the treason of a man named Philonomus, who received as recompense the neighboring town and territory of Amyklæ.<sup>5</sup> Messênia is said to have submitted without resistance to the dominion of the Herakleid Kresphontês, who established his residence at Stenyklarus: the Pylian Melanthus, then ruler of the country, and representative of the great mythical lineage of Nêleus and Nestôr, withdrew with

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. vii. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. ii. 45; iv. 1; Strabo, viii. pp. 383-384. This Tisamenus derives his name from the memorable act of revenge ascribed to his father Orestês. So, in the legend of the Siege of Thêbes, Thersander, as one of the Epigoni, avenged his father Polynikês: the son of Thersander was also called *Tisamenus* (Herodot. iv. 149). Compare O. Müller, Dorians, i. p. 69, note 9, Eng. Trans.

<sup>3</sup> Diodôr. iv. 1. The historian Ephorus embodied in his work a narrative in considerable detail of this grand event of Grecian legend, the Return of the Herakleids, — with which he professed to commence his consecutive history: from what sources he borrowed we do not know.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 389. Pausan. ii. 6, 2; 12, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Conôn, Nar. 36; Strabo, viii. p. 365.

his household gods and with a portion of his subjects to Attica.<sup>1</sup>

The only Dorian establishment in the peninsula not directly connected with the triple partition is Corinth, which is said to have been Dorized somewhat later and under another leader, though still a Herakleid. Hippotês—descendant of Hêraklês in the fourth generation, but not through Hyllus,—had been guilty (as already mentioned) of the murder of Karnus the prophet at the camp of Naupaktus, for which he had been banished and remained in exile for ten years; his son deriving the name of Alêtês from the long wanderings endured by the father. At the head of a body of Dorians, Alêtês attacked Corinth: he pitched his camp on the Solygeian eminence near the city, and harassed the inhabitants with constant warfare until he compelled them to surrender. Even in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians professed to identify the hill on which the camp of these assailants had been placed. The great mythical dynasty of the Sisypheids was expelled, and Alêtês became ruler and Cêkist of the Dorian city; many of the inhabitants, however, Æolic or Ionic, departed.<sup>2</sup>

The settlement of Oxylyus and his Ætoliens in Elis is said by some to have been accomplished with very little opposition; the leader professing himself to be descended from Ætolus, who had been in a previous age banished from Elis into Ætôlia, and the two people, Epeians and Ætoliens, acknowledging a kindred origin one with the other.<sup>3</sup> At first, indeed, according to Ephorus, the Epeians appeared in arms, determined to repel the intruders, but at length it was agreed on both sides to abide the issue of a single combat. Degmenus, the champion of the Epeians, confided in the long shot of his bow and arrow; but the Ætolian Pyræchmês came provided with his sling,—a weapon then unknown and recently invented by the Ætoliens,—the range of which was yet longer than that of the bow of his enemy: he

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 359; Conôn, Narr. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iv. 42. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 17; and Nem. vii. 155. Conôn, Narrat. 26. Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. p. 389.

Thucydides calls the ante-Dorian inhabitants of Corinth Ætoliens; Conôn calls them Ionians.

<sup>3</sup> Ephorus ap. Strabo, x. p. 463.

thus killed Degmenus, and secured the victory to Oxylus and his followers. According to one statement, the Epeians were expelled; according to another, they fraternized amicably with the new-comers: whatever may be the truth as to this matter, it is certain that their name is from this moment lost, and that they never reappear among the historical elements of Greece: we hear from this time forward only of Eleians, said to be of Ætolian descent.<sup>2</sup>

One most important privilege was connected with the possession of the Eleian territory by Oxylus, coupled with his claim on the gratitude of the Dorian kings. The Eleians acquired the administration of the temple at Olympia, which the Achæans are said to have possessed before them; and in consideration of this sacred function, which subsequently ripened into the celebration of the great Olympic games, their territory was solemnly pronounced to be inviolable. Such was the statement of Ephorus: we find, in this case as in so many others, that the Return of the Herakleids is made to supply a legendary basis for the historical state of things in Peloponnêsus.

It was the practice of the great Attic tragedians, with rare exceptions, to select the subjects of their composition from the heroic or legendary world, and Euripidês had composed three dramas, now lost, on the adventures of Têmenus with his daughter Hyrnethô and his son-in-law Dêiphontês, — on the family misfortunes of Kresphontês and Meropê, — and on the successful valor of Archelaus the son of Têmenus in Macedonia, where he was alleged to have first begun the dynasty of the Temenid kings. Of these subjects the first and second were eminently tragical, and the third, relating to Archelaus, appears to have been undertaken by Euripidês in compliment to his contemporary sovereign and

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 358; Pausan. v. 4, 1. One of the six towns in Triphylia mentioned by Herodotus is called *Ἐπειον* (Herodot. iv. 149).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. viii. 73; Pausan. v. 1, 2. Hekataeus affirmed that the Epeians were completely alien to the Eleians; Strabo does not seem to have been able to satisfy himself either of the affirmative or negative (Hekataeus, Fr. 348, ed. Didot; Strabo, viii. p. 341).

<sup>3</sup> Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358. The tale of the inhabitants of Pisa, the territory more immediately bordering upon Olympia, was very different from this.



patron, Archélaus king of Macedonia: we are even told that those exploits which the usual version of the legend ascribed to Têmenus, were reported in the drama of Euripidês to have been performed by Archelaus his son.<sup>1</sup> Of all the heroes, touched upon by the three Attic tragedians, these Dorian Herakleids stand lowest in the descending genealogical series, — one mark amongst others that we are approaching the ground of genuine history.

Though the name Achæans, as denoting a people, is henceforward confined to the North-Peloponnesian territory specially called Achaia, and to the inhabitants of Achæa, Phthiôtis, north of Mount Cêta, — and though the great Peloponnesian states always seem to have prided themselves on the title of Dorians, — yet we find the kings of Sparta, ever in the historical age, taking pains to appropriate to themselves the mythical glories of the Achæans, and to set themselves forth as the representatives of Agamemnôn and Orestês. The Spartan king Kleomenês even went so far as to disavow formally any Dorian parentage; for when the priestess at Athens refused to permit him to sacrifice in the temple of Athênê, on the plea that it was peremptorily closed to all Dorians, he replied: "I am no Dorian, but an Achæan."<sup>2</sup> Not only did the Spartan envoy, before Gelôn of Syracuse, connect the indefeasible title of his country to the supreme command of the Grecian military force, with the ancient name and lofty prerogatives of Agamemnôn,<sup>3</sup> — but, in farther pursuance of the same feeling, the Spartans are said to have carried to Sparta both the bones of Orestês from Tegea, and those of Tisamenus from Helikê,<sup>4</sup> at the injunction of the Delphian oracle. There is also a story that Oxylus in Elis was directed by the same oracle to invite into his country an Achæan, as Cêkist conjointly with him-

<sup>1</sup> Agatharchides ap. Photium, Sect. 250, p. 1332. Οὐδ' Εὐριπίδου κατηγορῶ, τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ περιτεθεικότος τὰς Τημένου πράξεις.

Compare the Fragments of the Τημενίδαι, Ἀρχέλαος, and Κρεσφόντης, in Dindorf's edition of Euripidês, with the illustrative remarks of Welcker, Griechische Tragödien, pp. 697, 708, 828.

The Prologue of the Archelaus seems to have gone through the whole series of the Herakleidan lineage, from Ægyptus and Danaus downwards

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. v. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. vii. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. i. 68; Pausan. vii. 1, 3.

self; and that he called in Agorius, the great-grandson of Orestês, from Helikê, with a small number of Achæans who joined him.<sup>1</sup> The Dorians themselves, being singularly poor in native legends, endeavored, not unnaturally, to decorate themselves with those legendary ornaments which the Achæans possessed in abundance.

As a consequence of the Dorian establishments in Peloponnêsus, several migrations of the preëxisting inhabitants are represented as taking place. 1. The Epeians of Elis are either expelled, or merged in the new-comers under Oxylus, and lose their separate name. 2. The Pylians, together with the great heroic family of Nêleus and his son Nestôr, who preside over them, give place to the Dorian establishment of Messênia, and retire to Athens, where their leader, Melanthus, becomes king: a large portion of them take part in the subsequent Ionic emigration. 3. A portion of the Achæans, under Penthilus and other descendants of Orestês, leave Peloponnêsus, and form what is called the Æolic emigration, to Lesbos, the Trôad, and the Gulf of Adramyttium: the name *Æolians*, unknown to Homer, and seemingly never applied to any separate tribe at all, being introduced to designate a large section of the Hellenic name, partly in Greece Proper, and partly in Asia. 4. Another portion of Achæans expel the Ionians from Achaia, properly so called, in the north of Peloponnêsus; the Ionians retiring to Attica.

The Homeric poems describe Achæans, Pylians, and Epeians, in Peloponnêsus, but take no notice of Ionians in the northern district of Achaia: on the contrary, the Catalogue in the *Iliad* distinctly includes this territory under the dominions of Agamemnon. Though the Catalogue of Homer is not to be regarded as an historical document, fit to be called as evidence for the actual state of Peloponnêsus at any prior time, it certainly seems a better authority than the statements advanced by Herodotus and others respecting the occupation of northern Peloponnêsus by the Ionians, and their expulsion from it by Tisamenus. In so far as the Catalogue is to be trusted, it negatives the idea of Ionians at Helikê, and countenances what seems in itself a more natural

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. v. 4, 2.

supposition,—that the historical Achæans in the north part of Pelopónnêsus are a small undisturbed remnant of the powerful Achæan population once distributed throughout the peninsula, until it was broken up and partially expelled by the Dorians.

The Homeric legends, unquestionably the oldest which we possess, are adapted to a population of Achæans, Danaans, and Argeians, seemingly without any special and recognized names, either aggregate or divisional, other than the name of each separate tribe or kingdom. The post-Homeric legends are adapted to a population classified quite differently,—Hellens, distributed into Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians. If we knew more of the time and circumstances in which these different legends grew up, we should probably be able to explain their discrepancy; but in our present ignorance we can only note the fact.

Whatever difficulty modern criticism may find in regard to the event called "The Return of the Herakleids," no doubt is expressed about it even by the best historians of antiquity. Thucydides accepts it as a single and literal event, having its assignable date, and carrying at one blow the acquisition of Peloponnêsus. The date of it he fixes as eighty years after the capture of Troy. Whether he was the original determiner of this epoch, or copied it from some previous author, we do not know. It must have been fixed according to some computation of generations, for there were no other means accessible,—probably by means of the lineage of the Herakleids, which, as belonging to the kings of Sparta, constituted the most public and conspicuous thread of connection between the Grecian real and mythical world, and measured the interval between the Siege of Troy itself and the first recorded Olympiad. Hêraklês himself represents the generation before the siege, and his son Tlepolemus fights in the besieging army. If we suppose the first generation after Hêraklês to commence with the beginning of the siege, the fourth generation after him will coincide with the ninetieth year after the same epoch; and therefore, deducting ten years for the duration of the struggle, it will coincide with the eightieth year after the capture of the city;<sup>1</sup> thirty years being reckoned for a generation. The

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<sup>1</sup> The date of Thucydides is calculated, *μετὰ Ἡλίου ἀλυσιν* (i. 13).

date assigned by Thucydides will thus agree with the distance in which Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, stand removed from Hêraklês. The interval of eighty years, between the capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids, appears to have been admitted by Apollodôrus and Eratosthenês, and some other professed chronologists of antiquity: but there were different reckonings which also found more or less of support.

## SECTION II. — MIGRATION OF THESSALIANS AND BŒOTIANS.

In the same passage in which Thucydides speaks of the Return of the Herakleids, he also marks out the date of another event a little antecedent, which is alleged to have powerfully affected the condition of Northern Greece. "Sixty years after the capture of Troy (he tells us) the Bœotians were driven by the Thessalians from Arnê, and migrated into the land then called Kadmêis, but now Bœotia, wherein there had previously dwelt a section of their race, who had contributed the contingent to the Trojan war."

The expulsion here mentioned, of the Bœotians from Arnê "by the Thessalians," has been construed, with probability, to allude to the immigration of the Thessalians, properly so called, from the Thesprôtid in Epirus into Thessaly. That the Thessalians had migrated into Thessaly from the Thesprôtid territory, is stated by Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> though he says nothing about time or circumstances. Antiphus and Pheidippus appear in the Homeric Catalogue as commanders of the Grecian contingent from the islands of Kôs and Karpatus, on the south-east coast of Asia Minor: they are sons of Thessalus, who is himself the son of Hêraklês. A legend ran that these two chiefs, in the dispersion which ensued after the victory, had been driven by storms into the Ionian Gulf, and cast upon the coast of Epirus, where they landed and settled at Ephyrê in the Thesprôtid.<sup>2</sup> It was Thes-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 176.

<sup>2</sup> See the Epigram ascribed to Aristotle (Antholog. Græc. t. i. p. 181, ed. Reisk; Velleius Patercul. i. 1).

The Scholia on Lycophrôn (912) give a story somewhat different. Ephyrê is given as the old legendary name of the city of Krannon in Thessaly (Kineas.

salus, grandson of Pheidippus, who was reported to have conducted the Thesprotians across the passes of Pindus into Thessaly, to have conquered the fertile central plain of that country, and to have imposed upon it his own name instead of its previous denomination *Æolis*.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever we may think of this legend as it stands, the state of Thessaly during the historical ages renders it highly probable that the Thessalians, properly so called, were a body of immigrant conquerors. They appear always as a rude, warlike, violent, and uncivilized race, distinct from their neighbors the Achæans, the Magnes, and the Perrhæbians, and holding all the three in tributary dependence: these three tribes stand to them in a relation analogous to that of the Lacedæmonian Perioeci towards Sparta, while the Penestæ, who cultivated their lands, are almost an exact parallel of the Helots. Moreover, the low level of taste and intelligence among the Thessalians, as well as certain points of their costume, assimilates them more to Macedonians or Epirots than to Hellens.<sup>2</sup> Their position in Thessaly is in many respects analogous to that of the Spartan Dorians in Peloponnêsus, and there seems good reason for concluding that the former, as well as the latter, were originally victorious invaders, though we cannot pretend to determine the time at which the invasion took place. The great family of the Aleuads,<sup>3</sup> and probably other Thessalian families besides, were descendants of Hêraklēs, like the kings of Sparta.

There are no similar historical grounds, in the case of the alleged migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly to Bœotia, to justify a belief in the main fact of the legend, nor were the different legendary stories in harmony one with the other. While the Homeric Epic recognizes the Bœotians in Bœotia, but not in

ap. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. x. 85), which creates the confusion with the Thesprotian Ephyre.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 176; Velleius Patercul. i. 2-3; Charax. ap. Stephan. Byz. v. Δῶριον; Polyæn. viii. 44.

There were several different statements, however, about the parentage of Thessalus, as well as about the name of the country (Strabo, ix. p. 443, Stephan. Byz. v. *Αἰθιοπία*).

<sup>2</sup> See K. O. Müller, *History of the Dorians*, Introduction, sect. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, Pyth. x. 2.

Thessaly, Thucydides records a statement which he had found of their migration from the latter into the former; but in order to-escape the necessity of flatly contradicting Homer, he inserts the parenthesis that there had been previously an outlying fraction of Boeotians in Boeotia at the time of the Trojan war,<sup>1</sup> from whom the troops who served with Agamemnon were drawn. Nevertheless, the discrepancy with the Iliad, though less strikingly obvious, is not removed, inasmuch as the Catalogue is unusually copious in enumerating the contingents from Thessaly, without once mentioning Boeotians. Homer distinguishes Orchomenus from Boeotia, and he does not specially notice Thêbes in the Catalogue: in other respects his enumeration of the towns coincides pretty well with the ground historically known afterwards under the name of Boeotia.

Pausanias gives us a short sketch of the events which he supposes to have intervened in this section of Greece between the Siege of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids. Peneleôs, the leader of the Boeotians at the siege, having been slain by Eurypylus the son of Telephus, Tisamenus, son of Thersander and grandson of Polynikês, acted as their commander, both during the remainder of the siege and after their return. Autesiôn, his son and successor, became subject to the wrath of the avenging Erinnyes of Laius and Oedipus: the oracle directed him to expatriate, and he joined the Dorians. In his place, Damasichthôn, son of Opheltas and grandson of Peneleôs, became king of the Boeotians: he was succeeded by Ptolemæus, who was himself followed by Xanthus. A war having broken out at that time between the Athenians and Boeotians, Xanthus engaged in single combat with Melanthus son of Andropompus, the champion of Attica, and perished by the cunning of his opponent. After the death of Xanthus, the Boeotians passed from kingship to popular government.<sup>2</sup> As Melanthus was of the lineage of the Neleids, and had migrated from Pylus to Athens in consequence of the successful establishment of the Dorians in Messênia, the duel with Xanthus must have been of course subsequent to the Return of the Herakleids.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 12. *ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἂν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν.*

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 5, 8.

Here, then, we have a summary of alleged Bœotian history between the Siege of Troy and the Return of the Herakleïda, in which no mention is made of the immigration of the mass of Bœotians from Thessaly, and seemingly no possibility left of fitting in so great and capital an incident. The legends followed by Pausanias are at variance with those adopted by Thucydides, but they harmonize much better with Homer.

So deservedly high is the authority of Thucydides, that the migration here distinctly announced by him is commonly set down as an ascertained datum, historically as well as chronologically. But on this occasion it can be shown that he only followed one amongst a variety of discrepant legends, none of which there were any means of verifying.

Pausanias recognized a migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly, in early times anterior to the Trojan war;<sup>1</sup> and the account of Ephorus, as given by Strabo, professed to record a series of changes in the occupants of the country: First, the non-Hellenic Aones and Temmikes, Leleges and Hyantes; next, the Kadmeians, who, after the second siege of Thêbes by the Epigoni, were expelled by the Thracians and Pelasgians, and retired into Thessaly, where they joined in communion with the inhabitants of Arnê,—the whole aggregate being called Bœotians. After the Trojan war, and about the time of the Æolic emigration, these Bœotians returned from Thessaly and reconquered Bœotia, driving out the Thracians and Pelasgians,—the former retiring to Parnassus, the latter to Attica. It was on this occasion (he says) that the Minyæ of Orchomenus were subdued, and forcibly incorporated with the Bœotians. Ephorus seems to have followed, in the main, the same narrative as Thucydides, about the movement of the Bœotians out of Thessaly; coupling it, however, with several details current as explanatory of proverbs and customs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. x. 8, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ephor. Fragm. 30, ed. Marx.; Strabo, ix. pp. 401–402. The story of the Bœotians at Arnê, in Polyænus (i. 12), probably comes from Ephorus.

Diodôrus (xix. 53) gives a summary of the legendary history of Thêbes from Deukalion downwards: he tells us that the Bœotians were expelled from their country, and obliged to return into Thessaly during the Trojan

The only fact which we make out, independent of these legends, is, that there existed certain homonymies and certain affinities of religious worship, between parts of Bœotia and parts of Thessaly, which appear to indicate a kindred race. A town named Arne,<sup>1</sup> similar in name to the Thessalian, was enumerated in the Bœotian Catalogue of Homer, and antiquaries identified it sometimes with the historical town Chæroneia,<sup>2</sup> sometimes with Akrephium. Moreover, there was near the Bœotian Korôneia a river named Kuarius, or Koralius, and a venerable temple dedicated to the Itonian Athênê, in the sacred ground of which the Pambœotia, or public council of the Bœotian name, was held; there was also a temple and a river of similar denomination in Thessaly, near to a town called Iton, or Itônus.<sup>3</sup> We may from these circumstances presume a certain ancient kindred between the population of these regions, and such a circumstance is sufficient to explain the generation of legends describing migrations backward and forward, whether true or not in point of fact.

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war, in consequence of the absence of so many of their brave warriors at Troy; they did not find their way back into Bœotia until the fourth generation.

<sup>1</sup> Stephen. Byz. v. Ἀρνη, makes the Thessalian Arnê an ἀποικὸς of the Bœotian.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, ii.; Strabo, ix. p. 413; Pausan. ix. 40, 3. Some of the families at Chæroneia, even during the time of the Roman dominion in Greece, traced their origin to Peripoltas the prophet, who was said to have accompanied Opheltas in his invading march out of Thessaly (Plutarch, Cimôn, c. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, ix. 411–435; Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 696; Hekataeus, Fr. 338, Didot.

The fragment from Alkæus (cited by Strabo, but briefly, and with a mutilated text,) serves only to identify the river and the town.

Itônus was said to be son of Amphiktyôn, and Bœôtus son of Itônus (Pausan. ix. 1, 1. 34, 1: compare Steph. Byz. v. Βοιωτία) by Melanippê. By another legendary genealogy (probably arising after the name *Æolic* had obtained footing as the class-name for a large section of Greeks, but as old as the poet Asius, Olympiad 30), the eponymous hero Bœôtus was fastened on to the great lineage of Æolus, through the paternity of the god Poseidôn, either with Melanippê or with Arnê, daughter of Æolus (Asius, Fr. 8; ed. Düntzer; Strabo, vi. p. 265; Diodôr. v. 67; Hellanikus ap. Schol. *Iliad*. ii. 494). Two lost plays of Euripidês were founded on the misfortunes of Melanippê, and her twin children by Poseidôn,—Bœôtus and Æolus (Hygin. Fab. 186; see the Fragments of *Μελανίππη Σοφῇ* and *Μελανίππη Δεσμώτις* in Dindorf's edition, and the instructive comments of Welcker, *Griech. Tragöd.* vol. ii. pp. 840–860).



What is most important to remark is, that the stories of Thucydides and Ephorus bring us out of the mythical into the historical Bœotia. Orchomenus is Bœotized, and we hear no more of the once-powerful Minyæ: there are no more Kadmeians at Thêbes, nor Bœotians in Thessaly. The Minyæ and the Kadmeians disappear in the Ionic emigration, which will be presently adverted to. Historical Bœotia is now constituted, apparently in its federative league, under the presidency of Thêbes, just as we find it in the time of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

### SECTION III.—EMIGRATIONS FROM GREECE TO ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE ÆGEAN.

#### 1. ÆOLIC.—2. IONIC.—3. DORIC.

To complete the transition of Greece from its mythical to its historical condition, the secession of the races belonging to the former must follow upon the introduction of those belonging to the latter. This is accomplished by means of the Æolic and Ionic migrations.

The presiding chiefs of the Æolic emigration are the representatives of the heroic lineage of the Pelopids: those of the Ionic emigration belong to the Neleids; and even in what is called the Doric emigration to Thêra, the Œkist Thêras is not a Dorian but a Kadmeian, the legitimate descendant of Œdipus and Kadmus.

The Æolic, Ionic, and Doric colonies were planted along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the coasts of the Propontis southward down to Lykia (I shall in a future chapter speak more exactly of their boundaries); the Æolic occupying the northern portion, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Doric occupying the southernmost, together with the neighboring islands of Rhodes and Kôs; and the Ionic being planted between them, comprehending Chios, Samos, and the Cycladês islands.

#### 1. ÆOLIC EMIGRATION.

The Æolic emigration was conducted by the Pelopids: the original story seems to have been, that Orestês himself was at the head of the first batch of colonists, and this version of the event

is still preserved by Pindar and by Hellanikus.<sup>1</sup> But the more current narratives represented the descendants of Orestês as chiefs of the expeditions to Æolis, — his illegitimate son Penthilus, by Erigonê daughter of Ægiasthus,<sup>2</sup> together with Echelaus and Gras, the son and grandson of Penthilus, together with Kleuês and Malaus, descendants of Agamemnôn through another lineage. According to the account given by Strabo, Orestês began the emigration, but died on his route in Arcadia; his son Penthilus, taking the guidance of the emigrants, conducted them by the long land-journey through Bœotia and Thessaly to Thrace;<sup>3</sup> from whence Archelaus, son of Penthilus, led them across the Hellespont, and settled at Daskylum on the Propontis. Gras, son of Archelaus, crossed over to Lesbos and possessed himself of the island. Kleuês and Malaus, conducting another body of Achæans, were longer on their journey, and lingered a considerable time near Mount Phrikium, in the territory of Lokris; ultimately, however, they passed over by sea to Asia and took possession of Kymê, south of the Gulf of Adramyttium, the most considerable of all the Æolic cities on the continent.<sup>4</sup> From Lesbos and Kymê, the other less considerable Æolic towns, spreading over the region of Ida as well as the Trôad, and comprehending the island of Tenedôs, are said to have derived their origin.

Though there are many differences in the details, the accounts agree in representing these Æolic settlements as formed by the

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Nem. xi. 43; Hellanic. Fragm. 114, ed. Didot. Compare Stephan. Byz. v. *Πέριπλος*.

<sup>2</sup> Kinæthon ap. Pausan. ii. 18, 5. Penthilids existed in Lesbos during the historical times (Aristot. Polit. v. 10, 2).

<sup>3</sup> It has sometimes been supposed that the country called Thrace here means the residence of the Thracians near Parnassus; but the length of the journey, and the number of years which it took up, are so specially marked, that I think Thrace in its usual and obvious sense must be intended.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 582. Hellanikus seems to have treated of this delay near Mount Phrikium (see Steph. Byz. v. *Φρίκιον*). In another account (xiii. p. 621), probably copied from the Kymæan Ephorus, Strabo connects the establishments of this colony with the sequel of the Trojan war: the Pelasgians, the occupants of the territory, who had been the allies of Priam, were weakened by the defeat which they had sustained and unable to resist the emigrants.

Achæans expatriated from Lacônia under the guidance of the dispossessed Pelopids.<sup>1</sup> We are told that in their journey through Bœotia they received considerable reinforcements, and Strabo adds that the emigrants started from Anlis, the port from whence Agamemnôn departed in the expedition against Troy.<sup>2</sup> He also informs us that they missed their course and experienced many losses from nautical ignorance, but we do not know to what particular incidents he alludes.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. IONIC EMIGRATION.

The Ionic emigration is described as emanating from and directed by the Athenians, and connects itself with the previous legendary history of Athens, which must therefore be here briefly recapitulated.

The great mythical hero Thêseus, of whose military prowess and errant exploits we have spoken in a previous chapter, was still more memorable in the eyes of the Athenians as an internal political reformer. He was supposed to have performed for them the inestimable service of transforming Attica out of many states into one. Each dême, or at least a great many out of the whole number, had before his time enjoyed political independence under its own magistrates and assemblies, acknowledging only a federal union with the rest under the presidency of Athens: by a mixture of conciliation and force, Thêseus succeeded in putting down all these separate governments, and bringing them to unite in one political system, centralized at Athens. He is said to have established a constitutional government, retaining for himself a defined power as king, or president, and distributing the people into three classes: Eupatridæ, a sort of sacerdotal noblesse; Geômori and Demiurgi, husbandmen and artisans.<sup>4</sup> Having brought these important changes into efficient working, he commemorated them for his posterity by introducing solemn and appropriate festivals. In confirmation of the dominion of Athens over the Megarid territory, he is said farther to have erected a pillar at the extremity of the latter towards the Isthmus, marking the boundary between Peloponnêsus and Iônia.

<sup>1</sup> Velleius Patercul. i. 4: compare Antikleidês ap. Athenæ. xi. c. 3; Pausanias, iii. 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 401. <sup>3</sup> Strabo, i. p. 10. <sup>4</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 24, 25, 26.

But a revolution so extensive was not consummated without creating much discontent ; and Menestheus, the rival of Thêseus, — the first specimen, as we are told, of an artful demagogue, — took advantage of this feeling to assail and undermine him. Thêseus had quitted Attica, to accompany and assist his friend Peirithôus, in his journey down to the under-world, in order to carry off the goddess Persephonê, — or (as those who were critical in legendary story preferred recounting) in a journey to the residence of Aidôneus, king of the Molossians in Epirus, to carry off his daughter. In this enterprise, Peirithôus perished, while Thêseus was cast into prison, from whence he was only liberated by the intercession of Hêraklês. It was during his temporary absence, that the Tyndarids Castôr and Pollux invaded Attica for the purpose of recovering their sister Helen, whom Thêseus had at a former period taken away from Sparta and deposited at Aphidnæ ; and the partisans of Menestheus took advantage both of the absence of Thêseus and of the calamity which his licentiousness had brought upon the country, to ruin his popularity with the people. When he returned, he found them no longer disposed to endure his dominion, or to continue to him the honors which their previous feelings of gratitude had conferred. Having, therefore, placed his sons under the protection of Elephenôr, in Eubœa, he sought an asylum with Lykomêdês, prince of Scyros, from whom, however, he received nothing but an insidious welcome and a traitorous death.<sup>1</sup>

Menestheus, succeeding to the honors of the expatriated hero, commanded the Athenian troops at the Siege of Troy. But though he survived the capture, he never returned to Athens, — different stories being related of the place where he and his companions settled. During this interval, the feelings of the Athenians having changed, they restored the sons of Thêseus, who had served at Troy under Elephenôr, and had returned unhurt, to the station and functions of their father. The Theseids Demophoôn, Oxyntas, Apeidas, and Thymœtês had successively filled this post for the space of about sixty years,<sup>2</sup> when the Dorian invaders of Peloponnêsus (as has been before related) compelled Melanthus and the Neleid family to abandon their kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 34–35.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, *Chronic. Can.* pp. 228–229, ed. Scaliger ; Pausan. ii. 18, 7.

Pylus. The refugees found shelter at Athens, where a fortunate adventure soon raised Melanthus to the throne. A war breaking out between the Athenians and Boeotians, respecting the boundary tract of Cenoë, the Boeotian king Xanthus challenged Thymœtes to single combat: the latter declining to accept it, Melanthus not only stood forward in his place, but practised a cunning stratagem with such success as to kill his adversary. He was forthwith chosen king, Thymœtês being constrained to resign.<sup>1</sup>

Melanthus and his son Kodrus reigned for nearly sixty years, during which time large bodies of fugitives, escaping from the recent invaders throughout Greece, were harbored by the Athenians: so that Attica became populous enough to excite the alarm and jealousy of the Peloponnesian Dorians. A powerful Dorian force, under the command of Alêtês from Corinth and Althæmenês from Argos, were accordingly despatched to invade the Athenian territory, in which the Delphian oracle promised them success, provided they abstained from injuring the person of Kodrus. Strict orders were given to the Dorian army that Kodrus should be preserved unhurt; but the oracle had become known among the Athenians,<sup>2</sup> and the generous prince determined to bring death upon himself as a means of salvation to his country. Assuming the disguise of a peasant, he intentionally provoked a quarrel with some of the Dorian troops, who slew him without suspecting his real character. No sooner was this event known, than the Dorian leaders, despairing of success, abandoned their

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus ap. Harpocration. v. Ἀπατούρια: Ἐφορος ἐν δευτέρῳ, ὡς διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁρίων ἀπάτην γενομένην, ὅτι πολεμούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Μελαινῶν χώρας, Μέλανθος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Βασιλεὺς ἔαυτον τὸν Θηβαίων μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. Compare Strabo, ix. p. 393.

Ephorus derives the term Ἀπατούρια from the words signifying a trick with reference to the boundaries, and assumes the name of this great Ionic festival to have been derived from the stratagem of Melanthus, described in Conon (Narrat. 39) and Polyænus (i. 19). The whole derivation is fanciful and erroneous, and the story is a curious specimen of legend growing out of etymology.

<sup>2</sup> The orator Lycurgus, in his eulogium on Kodrus, mentions a Delphian citizen named Kleomantis, who secretly communicated the oracle to the Athenians, and was rewarded by them for doing so with σίτησις ἐν Πρωταρείῳ (Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. c. 20).

enterprise and evacuated the country.<sup>1</sup> In retiring, however, they retained possession of Megara, where they established permanent settlers, and which became from this moment Dorian, — seemingly at first a dependency of Corinth, though it afterwards acquired its freedom and became an autonomous community.<sup>2</sup> This memorable act of devoted patriotism, analogous to that of the daughters of Erechtheus at Athens, and of Menœkeus at Thêbes, entitled Kodrus to be ranked among the most splendid characters in Grecian legend.

Kodrus is numbered as the last king of Athens: his descendants were styled Archons, but they held that dignity for life, — a practice which prevailed during a long course of years afterwards. Medon and Neileus, his two sons, having quarrelled about the succession, the Delphian oracle decided in favor of the former; upon which the latter, affronted at the preference, resolved upon seeking a new home.<sup>3</sup> There were at this moment many dispossessed sections of Greeks, and an adventitious population accumulated in Attica, who were anxious for settlements beyond sea. The expeditions which now set forth to cross the Ægean, chiefly under the conduct of members of the Kodrid family, composed collectively the memorable Ionic Emigration, of which the Ionians, recently expelled from Peloponnêsus, formed a part, but, as it would seem, only a small part; for we hear of many quite distinct races, some renowned in legend, who withdraw from Greece amidst this assemblage of colonists. The Kadmeians, the Minyæ of Orchomenus, the Abantês of Eubœa, the Dryopes; the Molossi, the Phokians, the Bœotians, the Arcadian Pelasgians, and even the Dorians of Epidaurus, — are represented as furnishing each a proportion of the crews of these emigrant vessels.<sup>4</sup> Nor were the results unworthy of so mighty

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<sup>1</sup> Pherekydês, *Fragm.* 110, ed. Didot; *Vell. Paterc.* i. 2; *Conôn*, *Narr.* 26; *Polyæn.* i. c. 18.

Hellanikus traced the genealogy of Kodrus, through ten generations, up to Deukaliôn (*Fragm.* 10, ed. Didot.)

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiv. p. 653.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. vii. 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. i. 146; Pausan. vii. 2, 3, 4. Isokratês extols his Athenian ancestors for having provided, by means of this emigration, settlements for so large a number of distressed and poor Greeks at the expense of Barbarians (*Or.* xii. *Panathenaic.* p. 241)

a confluence of different races. Not only the Cyclades islands in the Ægean, but the great islands of Samos and Chios, near the Asiatic coast, and ten different cities on the coast of Asia Minor, from Milêtus in the south to Phokæa in the north, were founded, and all adopted the Ionic name. Athens was the metropolis or mother city of all of them: Androklos and Neileus, the Ækists of Ephesus and Milêtus, and probably other Ækists also, started from the Prytaneium at Athens,<sup>1</sup> with those solemnities, religious and political, which usually marked the departure of a swarm of Grecian colonists.

Other mythical families, besides the heroic lineage of Nêleus and Nestôr, as represented by the sons of Kodrus, took a leading part in the expedition. Herodotus mentions Lykian chiefs, descendants from Glaukus son of Hippolochus, and Pausanias tells us of Philôtas descendant of Peneleôs, who went at the head of a body of Thebans: both Glaukus and Peneleôs are commemorated in the *Iliad*.<sup>2</sup> And it is a remarkable fact mentioned by Pausanias (though we do not know on what authority), that the inhabitants of Phokæa, — which was the northernmost city of Iônia on the borders of Æolis, and one of the last founded, — consisting mostly of Phokian colonists under the conduct of the Athenians Philogenês and Dæmôn, were not admitted into the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony until they consented to choose for themselves chiefs of the Kodrid family.<sup>3</sup> Proklês, the chief who conducted the Ionic emigrants from Epidaurus to Samos, was said to be of the lineage of Iôn, son of Xuthus.<sup>4</sup>

Of the twelve Ionic states constituting the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony — some of them among the greatest cities in Hellas — I shall say no more at present, as I have to treat of them again when I come upon historical ground.

### 3. DORIC EMIGRATIONS.

The Æolic and Ionic emigrations are thus both presented to us as direct consequences of the event called the Return of the

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 146; vii. 95; viii. 46. Vellei. Paterc. i. 4. Pherekydês, *Frag.* 111, ed. Didot.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 147; Pausan. vii. 2. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. vii. 2, 2; vii. 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. vii. 4, 3.

Herakleids: and in like manner the formation of the Dorian Hexapolis in the south-western corner of Asia Minor: Kôa, Knidus, Halikarnassus, and Rhodes, with its three separate cities, as well as the Dorian establishments in Krête, Melos, and Thêra, are all traced more or less directly to the same great revolution.

Thêra, more especially, has its root in the legendary world. Its CEkist was Thêras, a descendant of the heroic lineage of Œdipus and Kadmus, and maternal uncle of the young kings of Sparta, Eurysthenês and Proklês, during whose minority he had exercised the regency. On their coming of age, his functions were at an end: but being unable to endure a private station, he determined to put himself at the head of a body of emigrants: many came forward to join him, and the expedition was farther reinforced by a body of interlopers, belonging to the Minyæ, of whom the Lacedæmonians were anxious to get rid. These Minyæ had arrived in Laconia, not long before, from the island of Lemnos, out of which they had been expelled by the Pelasgian fugitives from Attica. They landed without asking permission, took up their abode and began to "light their fires" on Mount Taygetus. When the Lacedæmonians sent to ask who they were, and wherefore they had come, the Minyæ replied that they were sons of the Argonauts who had landed at Lemnos, and that, being expelled from their own homes, they thought themselves entitled to solicit an asylum in the territory of their fathers: they asked, withal, to be admitted to share both the lands and the honors of the state. The Lacedæmonians granted the request, chiefly on the ground of a common ancestry,—their own great heroes, the Tyndarids, having been enrolled in the crew of the Argô: the Minyæ were then introduced as citizens into the tribes, received lots of land, and began to intermarry with the preëxisting families. It was not long, however, before they became insolent: they demanded a share in the kingdom (which was the venerated privilege of the Herakleids), and so grossly misconducted themselves in other ways, that the Lacedæmonians resolved to put them to death, and began by casting them into prison. While the Minyæ were thus confined, their wives, Spartans by birth, and many of them daughters of the principal men, solicited permission to go in and see them: leave being granted, they made use of the interview to



change clothes with their husbands, who thus escaped and fled again to Mount Taygetus. The greater number of them quitted Laconia, and marched to Triphylia, in the western regions of Peloponnêsus, from whence they expelled the Paroreatæ and the Kaukones, and founded six towns of their own, of which Lepreum was the chief. A certain proportion, however, by permission of the Lacedæmonians, joined Thêras, and departed with him to the island of Kallistê, then possessed by Phœnician inhabitants, who were descended from the kinsmen and companions of Kadmus, and who had been left there by that prince, when he came forth in search of Eurôpa, eight generations preceding. Arriving thus among men of kindred lineage with himself, Thêras met with a fraternal reception, and the island derived from him the name, under which it is historically known, of Thêra.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the foundation-legend of Thêra, believed both by the Lacedæmonians and by the Theræans, and interesting as it brings before us, characteristically as well as vividly, the persons and feelings of the mythical world, — the Argonauts, with the Tyndarids as their companions and Minyæ as their children. In Lepreum, as in the other towns of Triphylia, the descent from the Minyæ of old seems to have been believed in the historical times, and the mention of the river Minyëius in those regions by Homer tended to confirm it.<sup>2</sup> But people were not unanimous as to the legend by which that descent should be made out; while some adopted the story just cited from Herodotus, others imagined that Chlôris, who had come from the Minyean town of Orchomenus as the wife of Nêleus to Pylus, had brought with her a body of her countrymen.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. iv. 145-149; Valer. Maxim. iv. c. 6; Polyæn. vii. 42, who, however, gives the narrative differently by mentioning "Tyrrenians from Lemnos aiding Sparta during the Helotic war;" another narrative in his collection (viii. 71), though imperfectly preserved, seems to approach more closely to Herodotus.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 721.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 347. M. Raoul Rochette, who treats the legends for the most part as if they were so much authentic history, is much displeased with Strabo for admitting this diversity of stories (*Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, t. iii. ch. 7, p. 54): "Après des détails si clairs et si positifs, comment est-il possible que ce même Strabon, bouleversant toute la chronologie, fasse

These Minyæ from Lemnos and Imbros appear again as portions of another narrative respecting the settlement of the colony of Mēlos. It has already been mentioned, that when the Herakleids and the Dorians invaded Lacōnia, Philonomus, an Achæan, treacherously betrayed to them the country, for which he received as his recompense the territory of Amyklæ. He is said to have peopled this territory by introducing detachments of Minyæ from Lemnos and Imbros, who, in the third generation after the return of the Herakleids, became so discontented and mutinous, that the Lacedæmonians resolved to send them out of the country as emigrants, under their chiefs Polis and Delphus. Taking the direction of Krête, they stopped in their way to land a portion of their colonists on the island of Mēlos, which remained throughout the historical times a faithful and attached colony of Lacedæmôn.<sup>1</sup> On arriving in Krête, they are said to have settled at the town of Gortyn. We find, moreover, that other Dorian establishments, either from Lacedæmôn or Argos, were formed in Krête; and Lyktos in particular, is noticed, not only as a colony of Sparta, but as distinguished for the analogy of its laws and customs.<sup>2</sup> It is even said that Krête, immediately after the Trojan war, had been visited by the wrath of the gods, and depopulated by famine and pestilence; and that, in the third generation afterwards, so great was the influx of emigrants, the entire population of the island was renewed, with the exception of the Eteokrêtes at Polichnæ and Præsus.<sup>3</sup>

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arriver les Minyens dans la Triphylie sous la conduite de Chloris, mère de Nestor ?”

The story which M. Raoul Rochette thus puts aside, is quite equal in point of credibility to that which he accepts: in fact, no measure of credibility can be applied.

<sup>1</sup> Conôn, Narrat. 36. Compare Plutarch, *Quæstion. Græc.* c. 21, where Tyrrhenians from Lemnos are mentioned, as in the passage of Polyænus, referred to in a preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, x. p. 481; Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. vii. 171 (see above, Ch. xii. vol. i. p. 226). Diodôrus (v. 80), as well as Herodotus, mentions generally large emigrations into Krête from Lacedæmôn and Argos; but even the laborious research of M. Raoul Rochette (*Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, t. iii. c. 9, pp. 60–68) fails in collecting any distinct particulars of them.

There were Dorians in Krête in the time of the *Odyssey*: Homer mentions different languages and different races of men, Eteokrêtes, Kydônes, Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians, as all coexisting in the island, which he describes to be populous, and to contain ninety cities. A legend given by Andrôn, based seemingly upon the statement of Herodotus, that Dôrus the son of Hellen had settled in Histiaïôtis, ascribed the first introduction of the three last races to Tektaphus son of Dôrus,—who had led forth from that country a colony of Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians, and had landed in Krête during the reign of the indigenous king Krês.<sup>1</sup> This story of Andrôn so exactly fits on to the Homeric Catalogue of Kretan inhabitants, that we may reasonably presume it to have been designedly arranged with reference to that Catalogue, so as to afford some plausible account, consistently with the received legendary chronology, how there came to be Dorians in Krête before the Trojan war,—the Dorian colonies after the return of the Herakleids being of course long posterior in supposed order of time. To find a leader sufficiently early for his hypothesis, Andrôn ascends to the primitive Eponymus Dôrus, to whose son Tektaphus he ascribes the introduction of a mixed colony of Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians into Krête: these are the exact three races enumerated in the *Odyssey*, and the king Krês, whom Andrôn affirms to have been then reigning in the island, represents the Eteokrêtes and Kydônes in the list of Homer. The story seems to have found favor among native Kretan historians, as it doubtless serves to obviate what

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<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz. v. Δώριον. — Περὶ ὧν ἱστορεῖ Ἀνδρῶν, Κρητὸς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντος, Τέκταφον τὸν Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, ὁρμήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος, νῦν δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιδος καλουμένης, ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωρίων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν, τῶν οὐκ ἀπαράντων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν. Compare Strabo, x. pp. 475–476, from which it is plain that the story was adduced by Andrôn with a special explanatory reference to the passage in the *Odyssey* (xv. 175.)

The age of Andrôn, one of the authors of Atthidês, is not precisely ascertainable, but he can hardly be put earlier than 300 B. C.; see the preliminary Dissertation of C. Müller to the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Didot, p. lxxxii; and the *Prolusio de Atthidum Scriptoribus*, prefixed to Lenz's edition of the *Fragments of Phanodêmus and Dêmôn*, p. xxviii. Lips. 1812.

would otherwise be a contradiction in the legendary chronology.<sup>1</sup>

Another Dorian emigration from Peloponnêsus to Krête, which extended also to Rhodes and Kôs, is farther said to have been conducted by Althæmenês, who had been one of the chiefs in the expedition against Attica, in which Krodotus perished. This prince, a Herakleid, and third in descent from Têmenus, was induced to expatriate by a family quarrel, and conducted a body of Dorian colonists from Argos first to Krête, where some of them remained; but the greater number accompanied him to Rhodes, in which island, after expelling the Karian possessors, he founded the three cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Kameirus.<sup>2</sup>

It is proper here to add, that the legend of the Rhodian archæologists respecting their ækist Althæmenês, who was worshipped in the island with heroic honors, was something totally different from the preceding. Althæmenês was a Kretan, son of the king Katreus; and grandson of Minos. An oracle predicted to him that he would one day kill his father: eager to escape so terrible a destiny, he quitted Krête, and conducted a colony to Rhodes, where the famous temple of the Atabyrian Zeus, on the lofty summit of Mount Atabyrum, was ascribed to his foundation, built so as to command a view of Krête. He had been settled on the island for some time, when his father Katreus, anxious again to embrace his only son, followed him from Krête: he landed in Rhodes during the night without being known, and a casual collision took place between his attendants and the islanders. Althæmenês hastened to the shore to assist in repelling the supposed enemies, and in the fray had the misfortune to kill his aged father.<sup>3</sup>

Either the emigrants who accompanied Althæmenês, or some

<sup>1</sup> See Diodôr, iv. 60; v. 80. From Strabo, (*l. c.*) however, we see that others rejected the story of Andrôn.

O. Müller (*History of the Dorians*, b. i. c. 1, § 9) accepts the story as substantially true, putting aside the name Dôrus, and even regards it as certain that Minos of Knôssus was a Dorian; but the evidence with which he supports this conclusion appears to me loose and fanciful.

<sup>2</sup> Conôn, *Narrat.* 47; Ephorus, *Fragm.* 62, ed. Marx.

<sup>3</sup> Diodôr. v. 59; Apollodôr. iii. 2, 2. In the Chapter next but one preceding

other Dorian colonists afterwards, are reported to have settled at Kôs, Knidus, Karpauthus, and Halikarnassus. To the last mentioned city, however, Anthês of Trœzên is assigned as the œkist: the emigrants who accompanied him were said to have belonged to the Dymnian tribe, one of the three tribes always found in a Doric state: and the city seems to have been characterized as a colony sometimes of Trœzen, sometimes of Argos.<sup>1</sup>

We thus have the Æolic, the Ionic, and the Doric colonial establishments in Asia, all springing out of the legendary age, and all set forth as consequences, direct or indirect, of what is called the Return of the Herakleids, or the Dorian conquest of Peloponnêsus. According to the received chronology, they are succeeded by a period, supposed to comprise nearly three centuries, which is almost an entire blank, before we reach authentic chronology and the first recorded Olympiad,—and they thus form the concluding events of the mythical world, out of which we now pass into historical Greece, such as it stands at the last-mentioned epoch. It is by these migrations that the parts of the Hellenic aggregate are distributed into the places which they occupy at the dawn of historical daylight,—Dorians, Arcadians, Ætolo-Eleians, and Achæans, sharing Peloponnêsus unequally among them,—Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians, settled both in the islands of the Ægean and the coast of Asia Minor. The Return of the Herakleids, as well as the three emigrations, Æolic, Ionic, and Doric, present the legendary explanation, suitable to the feelings and belief of the people, showing how

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this, Diodôrus had made express reference to native Rhodian mythologists,—to one in particular, named Zeno (c. 57).

Wesseling supposes two different settlers in Rhodes, both named Althamênês: this is certainly necessary, if we are to treat the two narratives as historical.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiv, p. 653; Pausan. ii. 39, 3; Kallimachus apud Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀλικαρνασσοί.

Herodotus (vii. 99) calls Halikarnassus a colony of Trœzên; Pomponius Mela (i. 16.) of Argos. Vitruvius names both Argos and Trœzên (ii. 8, 12); but the two œkists whom he mentions, Melas and Arevanus, were not so well known as Anthês; the inhabitants of Halikarnassus being called *Anthædæ* (see Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀθηναί; and a curious inscription in Boeckh's Corpus Inscriptionum, No. 2655).

Greece passed from the heroic races who besieged Troy and Thêbes, piloted the adventurous Argô, and slew the monstrous boar of Kalydôn, to the historical races, differently named and classified, who furnished victors to the Olympic and Pythian games.

A patient and learned French writer, M. Raoul Rochette, — who construes all the events of the heroic age, generally speaking, as so much real history, only making allowance for the mistakes and exaggerations of poets, — is greatly perplexed by the blank and interruption which this supposed continuous series of history presents, from the Return of the Herakleids down to the beginning of the Olympiads. He cannot explain to himself so long a period of absolute quiescence, after the important incidents and striking adventures of the heroic age; and if there happened nothing worthy of record during this long period, — as he presumes, from the fact that nothing has been transmitted, — he concludes that this must have arisen from the state of suffering and exhaustion in which previous wars and revolution had left the Greeks: a long interval of complete inaction being required to heal such wounds.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "La période qui me semble la plus obscure et la plus remplie de difficultés n'est pas celle que je viens de parcourir: c'est celle qui sépare l'époque des Héraclides de l'institution des Olympiades. La perte des ouvrages d'Ephore et de Théopompe est sans doute la cause en grande partie du vide immense que nous offre dans cet intervalle l'histoire de la Grèce. Mais si l'on en excepte l'établissement des colonies Eoliennes, Doriennes, et Ioniennes, de l'Asie Mineure, et quelques évènements, très rapprochés de la première de ces époques, l'espace de plus de quatre siècles qui les sépare est couvert d'une obscurité presque impénétrable, et l'on aura toujours lieu de s'étonner que les ouvrages des anciens n'offrent aucun secours pour remplir une lacune aussi considérable. Une pareille absence doit aussi nous faire soupçonner qu'il se passa dans la Grèce peu de ces grands évènements qui se gravent fortement dans la mémoire des hommes: puisque, si les traces ne s'en étaient point conservées dans les écrits des contemporains, au moins le souvenir s'en seroit-il perpétué par des monumens: or les monumens et l'histoire se taisent également. Il faut donc croire que la Grèce, agitée depuis si long temps par des révolutions de toute espèce, épuisée par ses dernières émigrations, se tourna toute entière vers des occupations paisibles, et ne chercha, pendant ce long intervalle, qu'à guérir, au sein du repos et de l'abondance qui en est la suite, les plaies profondes que sa population avait souffertes. (Raoul Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. ii. c. 16. p. 455.)

To the same purpose, Gillies (History of Greece, ch. iii. p. 67. quarto.)

Assuming M. Rochette's view of the heroic ages to be correct, and reasoning upon the supposition that the adventures ascribed to the Grecian heroes are matters of historical reality, transmitted by tradition from a period of time four centuries before the recorded Olympiads, and only embellished by describing poets, — the blank which he here dwells upon is, to say the least of it, embarrassing and unaccountable. It is strange that the stream of tradition, if it had once begun to flow, should (like several of the rivers in Greece) be submerged for two or three centuries and then reappear. But when we make what appears to me the proper distinction between legend and history, it will be seen that a period of blank time between the two is perfectly conformable to the conditions under which the former is generated. It is not the immediate past, but a supposed remote past, which forms the suitable atmosphere of mythical narrative, — a past originally quite undetermined in respect to distance from the present, as we see in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. And even when we come down to the genealogical poets, who affect to give a certain measure of bygone time, and a succession of persons as well as of events, still, the names whom they most delight to honor and upon whose exploits they chiefly expatiate, are those of the ancestral gods and heroes of the tribe and their supposed contemporaries; ancestors separated by a long lineage from the present hearer. The gods and heroes were conceived as removed from him by several generations, and the legendary matter which was grouped around them appeared only the more imposing when exhibited at a respectful distance, beyond the days of father and grandfather, and of all known predecessors. The Odes of Pindar strikingly illustrate this tendency. We thus see how it happened that, between the times assigned to heroic adventure and those of historical record, there existed an intermediate blank, filled with inglorious names; and how, amongst the same society which cared not to remember proceedings of fathers and grandfathers, there circulated much popular and accredited narrative respecting real or supposed ancestors long past and gone.

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"The obscure transactions of Greece, during the four following centuries, ill correspond with the splendor of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic expedition," etc.

The obscure and barren centuries which immediately precede the first recorded Olympiad, form the natural separation between the legendary return of the Herakleids and the historical wars of Sparta against Messênê, — between the province of legend, wherein matter of fact (if any there be) is so intimately combined with its accompaniments of fiction, as to be undistinguishable without the aid of extrinsic evidence, — and that of history, where some matters of fact can be ascertained, and where a sagacious criticism may be usefully employed in trying to add to their number.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### APPLICATION OF CHRONOLOGY TO GRECIAN LEGEND.

I NEED not repeat, what has already been sufficiently set forth in the preceding pages, that the mass of Grecian incident anterior to 776 B. C. appears to me not reducible either to history or to chronology, and that any chronological system which may be applied to it must be essentially uncertified and illusory. It was, however, chronologized in ancient times, and has continued to be so in modern; and the various schemes employed for this purpose may be found stated and compared in the first volume (the last published) of Mr. Fynes Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*. There were among the Greeks, and there still are among modern scholars, important differences as to the dates of the principal events:<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenês dissented both from Herodotus and from Phanias and Kallimachus, while Larcher and Raoul Rochette

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<sup>1</sup> Larcher and Raoul Rochette, adopting the chronological date of Herodotus, fix the taking of Troy at 1270 B. C., and the Return of the Herakleids at 1190 B. C. According to the scheme of Eratosthenês, these two events stand at 1184 and 1104 B. C.

O. Müller, in his *Chronological Tables* (Appendix vi. to *History of Dorians*, vol. ii. p. 441, Engl. transl.), gives no dates or computation of years



(who follow Herodotus) stand opposed to O. Müller and to Mr. Clinton. That the reader may have a general conception of the order in which these legendary events were disposed, I transcribe from the *Fasti Hellenica* a double chronological table, contained in p. 139, in which the dates are placed in series, from Phorôneus to the Olympiad of Corœbus in B. C. 776, — in the first column according to the system of Eratosthenês, in the second according to that of Kallimachus.

“The following Table (says Mr. Clinton) offers a summary view of the leading periods from Phorôneus to the Olympiad of Corœbus, and exhibits a double series of dates; the one proceeding from the date of Eratosthenês, the other from a date founded on the reduced calculations of Phantias and Kallimachus, which strike out fifty-six years from the amount of Eratosthenês. Phantias, as we have seen, omitted fifty-five years between the Return and the registered Olympiads; for so we may understand the account: Kallimachus, fifty-six years between the Olympiad of Iphitus and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won.<sup>1</sup>

anterior to the Capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids, which he places with Eratosthenês in 1184 and 1104 B. C.

C. Müller thinks (in his *Annotatio ad Marmor Parium*, appended to the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Didot, pp. 556, 568, 572; compare his Prefatory notice of the *Fragments of Hellanikus*, p. xxviii. of the same volume) that the ancient chronologists, in their arrangement of the mythical events as antecedent and consequent, were guided by certain numerical attachments, especially by a reverence for the cycle of 63 years, product of the sacred numbers  $7 \times 9 = 63$ . I cannot think that he makes out his hypothesis satisfactorily, as to the particular cycle followed, though it is not improbable that some preconceived numerical theories *did* guide these early calculators. He calls attention to the fact that the Alexandrine computation of dates was only one among a number of others discrepant, and that modern inquirers are too apt to treat it as if it stood alone, or carried some superior authority, (pp. 568–572; compare Clemen. Alex. *Stromat.* i. p. 145, *Sylb.*) For example, O. Müller observes, (*Appendix to Hist. of Dorians*, p. 442,) that “Larcher’s criticism and rejection of the Alexandrine chronologists may perhaps be found as groundless as they are presumptuous,” — an observation, which, to say the least of it, ascribes to Eratosthenês a far higher authority than he is entitled to.

<sup>1</sup> The date of Kallimachus for *Iphitus* is approved by Clavier (*Prem. Temps*, torn. ii. p. 203), who considers it as not far from the truth.

"The first column of this Table exhibits the *current* years before and after the fall of Troy: in the second column of dates the *complete* intervals are expressed."

Years before the Fall of Troy.		Years intervening between the different events	B. C. Bra- tooth.	B. C. Kalli- mach.
(570) <sup>1</sup>	<i>Phoroneus</i> , p. 19 .....	287	(1753)	(1697)
(283) {	<i>Daneus</i> , p. 73 .....	33	(1466)	(1410)
	<i>Pelasgus V.</i> p. 13, 88 .....			
(250)	<i>Deukalion</i> , p. 42 .....	50	(1433)	(1377)
(200) {	<i>Erechtheus</i> .....	50	(1383)	(1327)
	<i>Dardanius</i> , p. 88 .....			
(150)	<i>Azan</i> , <i>Aphida</i> , <i>Elatus</i> .....	20	(1333)	(1277)
130	<i>Kadmus</i> , p. 85 .....	30	1313	1257
(100)	<i>Pelops</i> .....	22	(1283)	(1227)
78	Birth of <i>Hercules</i> .....	36	1261	1205
(42)	Argonauts .....	12	(1225)	(1169)
30	First Theban war, p. 51, h. ....	4	1213	1157
26	Death of <i>Hercules</i> .....	2	1209	1153
24	Death of <i>Eurystheus</i> , p. 106, x. ....	4	1207	1151
20	Death of <i>Hylus</i> .....	2y 9m	1203	1147
18	Accession of <i>Agamemnon</i> .....	2	1200	1144
16	Second Theban war, p. 87, l. ....	6	1198	1142
10	Trojan expedition (9y 1m) .....	9	1192	1136
Years after the Fall of Troy.				
	Troy taken .....	7	1183	1127
8	<i>Orestes</i> reigns at Argos in the 8th year ..	52	1176	1120
60 {	The <i>Thessali</i> occupy Thessaly .....	20	1124	1068
	The <i>Bæoti</i> return to Bæotia in the 60th yr. ....			
80	<i>Æolic</i> migration under <i>Penthius</i> .....			
	Return of the <i>Heracidae</i> in the 80th year ..	29	1104	1048
109	<i>Aletes</i> reigns at Corinth, p. 130, m. ....	1	1075	1019
110	Migration of <i>Theras</i> .....	21	1074	1018
131	Lesbos occupied 130 years after the sera. ....	8	1053	997
139	Death of <i>Codrus</i> .....	1	1045	989
140	Ionic migration 60 years after the Return ..	11	1044	988
151	<i>Cymæ</i> founded 150 years after the sera ..	18	1033	977
169	<i>Smyrna</i> , 168 years after the sera, p. 105, t. ....	131	1015	959
		299		
300	Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i> .....	{ 108 52	884	828
408 {				
352 {	Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .....	..	776	776

<sup>1</sup> These dates, distinguished from the rest by braces, are proposed as mere conjectures, founded upon the probable length of generations.

Wherever chronology is possible, researches such as those of Mr. Clinton, which have conduced so much to the better understanding of the later times of Greece, deserve respectful attention. But the ablest chronologist can accomplish nothing, unless he is supplied with a certain basis of matters of fact, pure and distinguishable from fiction, and authenticated by witnesses both knowing the truth and willing to declare it. Possessing this preliminary stock, he may reason from it to refute distinct falsehoods and to correct partial mistakes: but if all the original statements submitted to him contain truth (at least wherever there *is* truth) in a sort of chemical combination with fiction, which he has no means of decomposing, — he is in the condition of one who tries to solve a problem without data: he is first obliged to construct his own data, and from them to extract his conclusions. The statements of the epic poets, our only original witnesses in this case, correspond to the description here given. Whether the proportion of truth contained in them be smaller or greater, it is at all events unassignable, — and the constant and intimate admixture of fiction is both indisputable in itself, and, indeed, essential to the purpose and profession of those from whom the tales proceed. Of such a character are all the deposing witnesses, even where their tales agree; and it is out of a heap of such tales, not agreeing, but discrepant in a thousand ways, and without a morsel of pure authenticated truth, — that the critic is called upon to draw out a methodical series of historical events adorned with chronological dates.

If we could imagine a modern critical scholar transported into Greece at the time of the Persian war, — endued with his present habits of appreciating historical evidence, without sharing in the religious or patriotic feelings of the country, — and invited to prepare, out of the great body of Grecian epic which then existed, a History and Chronology of Greece anterior to 776 B. C., assigning reasons as well for what he admitted as for what he rejected, — I feel persuaded that he would have judged the undertaking to be little better than a process of guesswork. But the modern critic finds that not only Pherekydès and Hellanikus, but also Herodotus and Thucydidès, have either attempted the task or sanctioned the belief that it was practicable, — a matter not at all surprising, when we consider both their narrow ex-

perience of historical evidence and the powerful ascendancy of religion and patriotism in predisposing them to antiquarian belief, — and he therefore accepts the problem as they have bequeathed it, adding his own efforts to bring it to a satisfactory solution. Nevertheless, he not only follows them with some degree of reserve and uneasiness, but even admits important distinctions quite foreign to their habits of thought. Thucydides talks of the deeds of Hellên and his sons with as much confidence as we now speak of William the Conqueror: Mr. Clinton recognizes Hellên, with his sons Dôrus, Æolus, and Xuthus, as fictitious persons. Herodotus recites the great heroic genealogies down from Kadmus and Danaus, with a belief not less complete in the higher members of the series than in the lower: but Mr. Clinton admits a radical distinction in the evidence of events before and after the first recorded Olympiad, or 776 B. C., — “the first date in Grecian chronology (he remarks, p. 123,) which can be fixed upon *authentic evidence*,” — the highest point to which Grecian chronology, *reckoning upward*, can be carried. Of this important epoch in Grecian development, — the commencement of authentic chronological life, — Herodotus and Thucydides had no knowledge or took no account: the later chronologists, from Timæus downwards, noted it, and made it serve as the basis of their chronological comparisons, so far as it went: but neither Eratosthenês nor Apollodôrus seem to have recognized (though Varro and Africanus did recognize) a marked difference in respect of certainty or authenticity between the period before and the period after.

In farther illustration of Mr. Clinton's opinion that the first recorded Olympiad is the earliest date which can be fixed upon authentic evidence, we have, in p. 138, the following just remarks in reference to the dissentient views of Eratosthenês, Phantias, and Kallimachus, about the date of the Trojan war: “The chronology of Eratosthenês (he says), founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect. But we must remember that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence; that what is accepted as a substitute for testimony is not an equivalent: witnesses only can prove a date, and in the want of these, the knowledge of it is plainly beyond our reach.

If in the absence of a better light we seek for what is probable, we are not to forget the distinction between conjecture and proof; between what is probable and what is certain. The computation, then, of Eratosthenês for the war of Troy is open to inquiry; and if we find it adverse to the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and adverse to the acknowledged length of generation in the most authentic dynasties, we are allowed to follow other guides, who give us a lower epoch."

Here Mr. Clinton again plainly acknowledges the want of evidence, and the irremediable uncertainty of Grecian chronology before the Olympiads; and the reasonable conclusion from his argument is, not simply, that "the computation of Eratosthenês was open to inquiry," (which few would be found to deny,) but that both Eratosthenês and Phantias had delivered positive opinions upon a point on which no sufficient evidence was accessible, and therefore that neither the one nor the other was a guide to be followed.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clinton does, indeed, speak of authentic dynasties prior to the first recorded Olympiad, but if there be any such, reaching up from that period to a supposed point coeval with or anterior to the war of Troy,—I see no good reason for the marked distinction which he draws between chronology before and chronology after the Olympiad of Korœbus, or for the necessity which he feels of suspending his upward reckoning at the last-mentioned epoch, and beginning a different process, called "a downward reckoning," from the higher epoch (supposed to be somehow ascertained without any upward reckoning) of the first patriarch from whom such authentic dynasty emanates.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus and Thucydidês might well, upon this supposition, ask of

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Müller observes (in the Dissertation above referred to, appended to the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, p. 568): "*Quod attinet æram Trojanam, tot obruimur et tam diversis veterum scriptorum computationibus, ut singulas enumerare negotium sit sædii plenum, eas vel probare vel improbare res vana nec vacua ab arrogantia. Nam nemo hodie nescit quænam fides his habenda sit omnibus.*"

<sup>2</sup> The distinction which Mr. Clinton draws between an upward and a downward chronology is one that I am unable to comprehend. His doctrine is, that upward chronology is trustworthy and practicable up to the first recorded Olympiad; downward chronology is trustworthy and practicable from Phœrœus down to the Ionic migration: what is uncertain is, the length of the intermediate line which joins the Ionic migration to the first recorded Olympiad.

Mr. Clinton, why he called upon them to alter their method of proceeding at the year 776 B. C., and why they might not be allowed to pursue their "upward chronological reckoning," without interruption, from Leonidas up to Danaus, or from Peisistratus up to Hellên and Deukalion, without any alteration in the point of view. Authentic dynasties from the Olympiads, up to an epoch above the Trojan war, would enable us to obtain chronological proof for the latter date, instead of being reduced (as Mr. Clinton affirms that we are) to "conjecture" instead of proof.

The whole question, as to the value of the reckoning from the

piad, — the downward and the upward terminus. (See *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. *Introduct.* p. ix. second edit. and p. 123, ch. vi.)

All chronology must begin by reckoning upwards: when by this process we have arrived at a certain determined era in earlier time, we may from that date reckon downwards, if we please. We must be able to reckon upwards from the present time to the Christian era, before we can employ that event as a fixed point for chronological determinations generally. But if Eratosthenês could perform correctly the upward reckoning from his own time to the fall of Troy, so he could also perform the upward reckoning up to the nearer point of the Ionic migration. It is true that Eratosthenês gives all his statements of time from an older point to a newer (so far at least as we can judge from Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 1, p. 336); he says "From the capture of Troy to the return of the Herakleids is 80 years; from thence to the Ionic migration, 60 years; then, farther on, to the guardianship of Lykurgus, 159 years; then to the first year of the first Olympiad, 108 years; from which Olympiad to the invasion of Xerxês, 297 years; from whence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 48 years," etc. But here is no difference between upward reckoning as high as the first Olympiad, and then downward reckoning for the intervals of time above it. Eratosthenês first found or made some upward reckoning to the Trojan capture, either from his own time or from some time at a known distance from his own: he then assumes the capture of Troy as an era, and gives statements of intervals going downwards to the Peloponnesian war: amongst other statements, he assigns clearly that interval which Mr. Clinton pronounces to be undiscoverable, viz. the space of time between the Ionic emigration and the first Olympiad, interposing one epoch between them. I reject the computation of Eratosthenês, or any other computation, to determine the supposed date of the Trojan war: but, if I admitted it, I could have no hesitation in admitting also the space which he defines between the Ionic migration and the first Olympiad. Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* x. 9, p. 485) reckons upwards from the birth of Christ, making various halts, but never breaking off, to the initial phenomena of Grecian antiquity, — the deluge of Deukalion and the conflagration of Phaëton.

Olympiads up to Phorôneus, does in truth turn upon this point: Are those genealogies, which profess to cover the space between the two, authentic and trustworthy, or not? Mr. Clinton appears to feel that they are not so, when he admits the essential difference in the character of the evidence and the necessity of altering the method of computation, before and after the first recorded Olympiad; yet, in his Preface, he labors to prove that they possess historical worth and are in the main correctly set forth: moreover, that the fictitious persons, wherever any such are intermingled, may be detected and eliminated. The evidences upon which he relies, are: 1. Inscriptions; 2. The early poets.

1. An inscription, being nothing but a piece of writing on marble, carries evidentiary value under the same conditions as a published writing on paper. If the inscriber reports a contemporary fact which he had the means of knowing, and if there be no reason to suspect misrepresentation, we believe his assertion: if, on the other hand, he records facts belonging to a long period before his own time, his authority counts for little, except in so far as we can verify and appreciate his means of knowledge.

In estimating, therefore, the probative force of any inscription, the first and most indispensable point is to assure ourselves of its date. Amongst all the public registers and inscriptions alluded to by Mr. Clinton, there is not one which can be positively referred to a date anterior to 776 B. C. The quoit of Iphitus, — the public registers at Sparta, Corinth, and Elis, — the list of the priestesses of Juno at Argos, — are all of a date completely uncertified. O. Müller does, indeed, agree with Mr. Clinton (though in my opinion without any sufficient proof) in assigning the quoit of Iphitus to the age ascribed to that prince: and if we even grant thus much, we shall have an inscription as old (adopting Mr. Clinton's determination of the age of Iphitus) as 828 B. C. But when Mr. Clinton quotes O. Müller as admitting the registers of Sparta, Corinth, and Elis, it is right to add that the latter does not profess to guarantee the authenticity of these documents, or the age at which such registers began to be kept. It is not to be doubted that there were registers of the kings of Sparta carrying them up to Héraklès, and of the kings of Elis from Oxylyus to Iphitus; but the question is, at what time did these lists begin to be kept continuously? This is a point which

we have no means of deciding, nor can we accept Mr. Clinton's unsupported conjecture, when he tells us: "*Perhaps* these were begun to be written as early as B. C. 1048, the probable time of the Dorian conquest." Again, he tells us: "At Argos, a register was preserved of the priestesses of Juno, which *might be* more ancient than the catalogues of the kings of Sparta or Corinth. That register, from which Hellanikus composed his work, contained the priestesses from the earliest times down to the age of Hellanikus himself. . . . But this catalogue *might have* been commenced as early as the Trojan war itself, and even at a still earlier date." (pp. x. xi.) Again, respecting the inscriptions quoted by Herodotus from the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thêbes, in which Amphitryo and Laodamas are named, Mr. Clinton says, "They were ancient in the time of Herodotus, which *may* perhaps carry them back 400 years before his time: and in that case they *might* approach within 300 years of Laodamas and within 400 years of the probable time of Kadmus himself."—"It is granted (he adds, in a note,) that these inscriptions were *not genuine*, that is, not of the date to which they were assigned by Herodotus himself. But that they were ancient, cannot be doubted," &c.

The time when Herodotus saw the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thêbes can hardly have been earlier than 450 B. C.: reckoning upwards from hence to 776 B. C., we have an interval of 326 years: the inscriptions which Herodotus saw may well therefore have been *ancient*, without being earlier than the first recorded Olympiad. Mr. Clinton does, indeed, tell us that *ancient* "may perhaps" be construed as 400 years earlier than Herodotus. But no careful reader can permit himself to convert such bare possibility into a ground of inference, and to make it available, in conjunction with other similar possibilities before enumerated, for the purpose of showing that there really existed inscriptions in Greece of a date anterior to 776 B. C. Unless Mr. Clinton can make out this, he can derive no benefit from inscriptions, in his attempt to substantiate the reality of the mythical persons or of the mythical events.

The truth is, that the Herakleid pedigree of the Spartan kings (as has been observed in a former chapter) is only one out of the numerous divine and heroic genealogies with which the Hel-



lenic world abounded,<sup>1</sup>—a class of documents which become historical evidence only so high in the ascending series as the

<sup>1</sup> See the string of fabulous names placed at the head of the Halikarnassian Inscription, professing to enumerate the series of priests of Poseidôn from the foundation of the city (Inscript. No. 2655, Boeckh), with the commentary of the learned editor: compare, also, what he pronounces to be an inscription of a genealogy partially fabulous at Hierapytna in Krête (No. 2563).

The memorable Parian marble is itself an inscription, in which legend and history—gods, heroes, and men—are blended together in the various successive epochs without any consciousness of transition in the mind of the inscriber.

That the Catalogue of Priestesses of Hêrê at Argos went back to the extreme of fabulous times, we may discern by the Fragments of Hellanikûs (Frag. 45–53). So also did the registers at Sikyôn: they professed to record Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiopê, as the inventor of harp-music (Plutarch, De Musicâ, c. 3, p. 1132).

I remarked in the preceding page, that Mr. Clinton erroneously cites K. O. Müller as a believer in the chronological *authenticity* of the lists of the early Spartan kings: he says (vol. iii. App. vi. p. 330), “Mr. Müller is of opinion that an *authentic* account of the years of each Lacedæmonian reign from the return of the Heraclidæ to the Olympiad of Korœbus had been preserved to the time of Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus.” But this is a mistake; for Müller expressly disavows any belief in the *authenticity* of the lists (Dorians, i. p. 146): he says: “I do not contend that the chronological accounts in the Spartan lists form an *authentic document*, more than those in the catalogue of the priestesses of Hêrê and in the list of Halikarnassian priests. The chronological statements in the Spartan lists may have been formed from imperfect memorials: but the Alexandrine chronologists must have found such tables in existence,” &c.

The discrepancies noticed in Herodotus (vi. 52) are alone sufficient to prove that continuous registers of the names of the Lacedæmonian kings did not begin to be kept until very long after the date here assigned by Mr. Clinton.

Xenophôn (Agesilaus, viii. 7) agrees with what Herodotus mentions to have been the native Lacedæmonian story,—that Aristodêmus (and not his sons) was the king who conducted the Dorian invaders to Sparta. What is farther remarkable is, that Xenophôn calls him—*Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους*. The reasonable inference here is, that Xenophôn believed Aristodêmus to be the son of Hêraklês, and that this was one of the various genealogical stories current. But here the critics interpose; “ὁ Ἡρακλέους (observes Schneider,) non παῖς, sed ἀπόγονος, ut ex Herodoto, viii. 131, admonuit Weiske.” Surely, if Xenophôn had meant this, he would have said ὁ ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους.

Perhaps particular exceptional cases might be quoted, wherein the very common phrase of ὁ, followed by a genitive, means *descendant*, and not *son*.

names composing them are authenticated by contemporary, or nearly contemporary, enrolment. At what period this practice of enrolment began, we have no information. Two remarks, however, may be made, in reference to any approximative guess as to the time when actual registration commenced: First, that the number of names in the pedigree, or the length of past time which it professes to embrace, affords no presumption of any superior antiquity in the time of registration: Secondly, that, looking to the acknowledged paucity and rudeness of Grecian writing, even down to the 60th Olympiad (540 B. C.), and to the absence of the habit of writing, as well as the low estimate of its value, which such a state of things argues, the presumption is, that written enrolment of family genealogies, did not commence until a long time after 776 B. C., and the obligation of proof falls upon him who maintains that it commenced earlier. And this second remark is farther borne out, when we observe that there is no registered list, except that of the Olympic victors, which goes up even so high as 776 B. C. The next list which O. Müller and Mr. Clinton produce, is that of the Karneonica, or victors at the Karneian festival, which reaches only up to 676 B. C.

If Mr. Clinton then makes little out of inscriptions to sustain his view of Grecian history and chronology anterior to the recorded Olympiads, let us examine the inferences which he draws from his other source of evidence, — the early poets. And here it will be found, First, that in order to maintain the credibility of these witnesses, he lays down positions respecting historical evidence both indefensible in themselves, and especially inapplicable to the early times of Greece: Secondly, that his reasoning is at the same time inconsistent, — inasmuch as it includes admissions, which, if properly understood and followed out, exhibit these very witnesses as habitually, indiscriminately, and unconsciously mingling truth and fiction, and therefore little fit to be believed upon their solitary and unsupported testimony.

To take the second point first, he says, Introduction, p. ii-iii: "The authority even of the genealogies has been called in ques-

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But if any doubt be allowed upon this point, chronological computations, founded on genealogies, will be exposed to a serious additional suspicion. Why are we to assume that Xenophôn *must* give the same story as Herodotus, unless his words naturally tell us so?

tion by many able and learned persons, who reject Danaus, Kadmus, Hercules, Thêseus, and many others, as fictitious persons. It is evident that any fact would come from the hands of the poets embellished with many fabulous additions: and fictitious genealogies were undoubtedly composed. Because, however, some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous. . . . . In estimating, then, the historical value of the genealogies transmitted by the early poets, we may take a middle course; not rejecting them as wholly false, nor yet implicitly receiving all as true. The genealogies contain many real persons, but these are *incorporated with many fictitious names*. The fictions, however, will have a basis of truth: the genealogical expression may be false, but the connection which it describes is real. Even to those who reject the whole as fabulous, the exhibition of the early times which is presented in this volume may still be not unacceptable: because it is necessary to the right understanding of antiquity that the opinions of the Greeks concerning their own origin should be set before us, even if these are erroneous opinions, and that their story should be told as they have told it themselves. The names preserved by the ancient genealogies may be considered of three kinds; either they were the name of a race or clan converted into the name of an individual, or they were altogether fictitious, or lastly, they were real historical names. An attempt is made, in the four genealogical tables inserted below, to distinguish these three classes of names. . . . Of those who are left in the third class (*i. e.* the real) all are not entitled to remain there. But I have only placed in the third class those names concerning which there seemed to be little doubt. The rest are left to the judgment of the reader."

Pursuant to this principle of division, Mr. Clinton furnishes four genealogical tables,<sup>1</sup> in which the names of persons representing races are printed in capital letters, and those of purely fictitious persons in italics. And these tables exhibit a curious sample of the intimate commixture of fiction with that which he calls truth: real son and mythical father, real husband and mythical wife, or *vice versa*.

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Clinton's work, pp. 32, 40, 100.

Upon Mr. Clinton's tables we may remark :—

1. The names singled out as fictitious are distinguished by no common character, nor any mark either assignable or defensible, from those which are left as real. To take an example (p. 40), why is Itônus the first pointed out as a fiction, while Itônus the second, together with Phycus, Cynus, Salmôneus, Ormenus, etc., in the same page, are preserved as real, all of them being eponyms of towns just as much as Itônus?

2. If we are to discard Hellên, Dôrus, Æolus, Iôn, etc., as not being real individual persons, but expressions for personified races, why are we to retain Kadmus, Danaus, Hyllus, and several others, who are just as much eponyms of races and tribes as the four above mentioned? Hyllus, Pamphylus, and Dymas are the eponyms of the three Dorian tribes,<sup>1</sup> just as Hoplés and the other three sons of Iôn were of the four Attic tribes: Kadmus and Danaus stand in the same relation to the Kadmeians and Danaans, as Argus and Achæus to the Argeians and Achæans. Besides, there are many other names really eponymous, which we cannot now recognize to be so, in consequence of our imperfect acquaintance with the subdivisions of the Hellenic population, each of which, speaking generally, had its god or hero, to whom the original of the name was referred. If, then, eponymous names are to be excluded from the category of reality, we shall find that the ranks of the real men will be thinned to a far greater extent than is indicated by Mr. Clinton's tables.

3. Though Mr. Clinton does not carry out consistently either of his disfranchising qualifications among the names and persons of the old mythes, he nevertheless presses them far enough to strike out a sensible proportion of the whole. By conceding thus much to modern scepticism, he has departed from the point of view of Hellanikus and Herodotus, and the ancient historians generally; and it is singular that the names, which he has been the most forward to sacrifice, are exactly those to which they were most attached, and which it would have been most painful to their faith to part with,—I mean the eponymous heroes. Neither Herodotus, nor Hellanikus, nor Eratosthenês, nor any

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<sup>1</sup> "From these three" (Hyllus, Pamphylus, and Dymas,) says Mr. Clinton, vol. i. ch. 5, p. 109, "the three Dorian tribes derived their names."

one of the chronological reckoners of antiquity, would have admitted the distinction which Mr. Clinton draws between persons real and persons fictitious in the old mythical world, though they might perhaps occasionally, on special grounds, call in question the existence of some individual characters amongst the mythical ancestry of Greece; but they never dreamed of that general severance into real and fictitious persons, which forms the principle of Mr. Clinton's "middle course." Their chronological computations for Grecian antiquity assumed that the mythical characters, in their full and entire sequence, were all real persons. Setting up the entire list as real, they calculated so many generations to a century, and thus determined the number of centuries which separated themselves from the gods, the heroes, or the autochthonous men who formed in their view the historical starting point. But as soon as it is admitted that the personages in the mythical world are divisible into two classes, partly real and partly fictitious, the integrity of the series is broken up, and it can be no longer employed as a basis for chronological calculation. In the estimate of the ancient chronologers, three succeeding persons of the same lineage — grandfather, father, and son, — counted for a century; and this may pass in a rough way, so long as you are thoroughly satisfied that they are all real persons: but if, in the succession of persons A, B, C, you strike out B as a fiction, the continuity of data necessary for chronological computation disappears. Now Mr. Clinton is inconsistent with himself in this, — that, while he abandons the unsuspecting historical faith of the Grecian chronologers, he nevertheless continues his chronological computations upon the data of that ancient faith, — upon the assumed reality of all the persons constituting his ante-historical generations. What becomes, for example, of the Heraclid genealogy of the Spartan kings, when it is admitted that eponymous persons are to be cancelled as fictions; seeing that Hyllus, through whom those kings traced their origin to Hêraklês comes in the most distinct manner under that category, as much so as Hoplês the son of Iôn? It will be found that, when we once cease to believe in the mythical world as an uninterrupted and unalloyed succession of real individuals, it becomes unfit to serve as a basis for chronological computations, and that Mr. Clinton, when he mutilated the data of the ancient chronolo-

gists, ought at the same time to have abandoned their problems as insoluble. Genealogies of real persons, such as Herodotus and Eratosthenês believed in, afford a tolerable basis for calculations of time, within certain limits of error: "genealogies containing many real persons, but incorporated with many fictitious names," (to use the language just cited from Mr. Clinton,) are essentially unavailable for such a purpose.

It is right here to add, that I agree in Mr. Clinton's view of these eponymous persons: I admit, with him, that "the genealogical expression may often be false, when the connection which it describes is real." Thus, for example, the adoption of Hyllus by Ægimius, the father of Pamphylus and Dymas, to the privileges of a son and to a third fraction of his territories, may reasonably be construed as a mythical expression of the fraternal union of the three Dorian tribes, Hyllêis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes: so about the relationship of Iôn and Achæus, of Dôrus and Æolus. But if we put this construction on the name of Hyllus, or Iôn, or Achæus, we cannot at the same time employ either of these persons as units in chronological reckoning: nor is it consistent to recognize them in the lump as members of a distinct class, and yet to enlist them as real individuals in measuring the duration of past time.

4. Mr. Clinton, while professing a wish to tell the story of the Greeks as they have told it themselves, seems unconscious how capitally his point of view differs from theirs. The distinction which he draws between real and fictitious persons would have appeared unreasonable, not to say offensive, to Herodotus or Eratosthenês. It is undoubtedly right that the early history (if so it is to be called) of the Greeks should be told as they have told it themselves, and with that view I have endeavored in the previous narrative, as far as I could, to present the primitive legends in their original color and character, — pointing out at the same time the manner in which they were transformed and distilled into history by passing through the retort of later analysts. It is the legend, as thus transformed, which Mr. Clinton seems to understand as the story told by the Greeks themselves, — which cannot be admitted to be true, unless the meaning of the expression be specially explained. In his general distinction, however, between the real and fictitious persons of the

mythical world, he departs essentially from the point of view even of the later Greeks. And if he had consistently followed out that distinction in his particular criticisms, he would have found the ground slipping under his feet in his upward march even to Troy, — not to mention the series of eighteen generations farther up, to Phorôneus; but he does *not* consistently follow it out, and therefore, in practice, he deviates little from the footsteps of the ancients.

Enough has been said to show that the witnesses upon whom Mr. Clinton relies, blend truth and fiction habitually, indiscriminately, and unconsciously, even upon his own admission. Let us now consider the positions which he lays down respecting historical evidence. He says (Introduct. pp. vi-vii): —

“ We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favor of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it. The persons may be considered real, when the description of them is consonant with the state of the country at that time: when no national prejudice or vanity could be concerned in inventing them: when the tradition is consistent and general: when rival or hostile tribes concur in the leading facts: when the acts ascribed to the person (divested of their poetical ornament) enter into the political system of the age, or form the basis of other transactions which fall within known historical times. Kadmus and Danaus appear to be real persons: for it is conformable to the state of mankind, and perfectly credible, that Phœnician and Egyptian adventurers, in the ages to which these persons are ascribed, should have found their way to the coasts of Greece: and the Greeks (as already observed) had no motive from any national vanity to feign these settlements. Hercules was a real person. His acts were recorded by those who were not friendly to the Dorians; by Achæans and Æoliâns, and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people. His descendants in many branches remained in many states down to the historical times. His son Tlepolemus, and his grandson and great-grandson Cleodæus and Aristomachus, are acknowledged (*i. e.* by O. Müller) to be real persons: and there is no reason that can be assigned for receiving these, which will not be equally valid for establishing the reality both of Her-

cules and Hyllus. Above all, Hércules is authenticated by the testimonies both of the Iliad and Odyssey."

These positions appear to me inconsistent with any sound views of the conditions of historical testimony. According to what is here laid down, we are bound to accept as real all the persons mentioned by Homer, Arktinus, Leschês, the Hesiodic poets, Eumêlus, Asius, etc., unless we can adduce some positive ground in each particular case to prove the contrary. If this position be a true one, the greater part of the history of England, from Brute the Trojan down to Julius Cæsar, ought at once to be admitted as valid and worthy of credence. What Mr. Clinton here calls the *early tradition*, is in point of fact, the narrative of these early poets. The word *tradition* is an equivocal word, and begs the whole question; for while in its obvious and literal meaning it implies only something handed down, whether truth or fiction,—it is tacitly understood to imply a tale descriptive of some real matter of fact, taking its rise at the time when that fact happened, and originally accurate, but corrupted by subsequent oral transmission. Understanding, therefore, by Mr. Clinton's words *early tradition*, the tales of the old poets, we shall find his position totally inadmissible,—that we are bound to admit the persons or statements of Homer and Hesiod as real unless where we can produce reasons to the contrary. To allow this, would be to put them upon a par with good contemporary witnesses; for no greater privilege can be claimed in favor even of Thucydidês, than the title of his testimony to be believed unless where it can be contradicted on special grounds. The presumption in favor of an asserting witness is either strong or weak, or positively nothing, according to the compound ratio of his means of knowledge, his moral and intellectual habits, and his motive to speak the truth. Thus, for instance, when Hesiod tells us that his father quitted the Æolic Kymê, and came to Askra in Bœôtia, we may fully believe him; but when he describes to us the battles between the Olympic gods and the Titans, or between Hêraklês and Cynus,—or when Homer depicts the efforts of Hectôr, aided by Apollo, for the defence of Troy, and the struggles of Achilles and Odysseus, with the assistance of Hêrê and Poseidôn, for the destruction of that city, events professedly long past and gone,—we cannot presume either of them



to be in any way worthy of belief. It cannot be shown that they possessed any means of knowledge, while it is certain that they **could** have no motive to consider historical truth: their object was to satisfy an uncritical appetite for narrative, and to interest the emotions of their hearers. Mr. Clinton says, that "the persons may be considered real when the description of them is consistent with the state of the country at that time." But he has forgotten, first, that we know nothing of the state of the country except what these very poets tell us; next, that fictitious persons may be just as consonant to the state of the country as real persons. While, therefore, on the one hand, we have no independent evidence either to affirm or to deny that Achilles or Agamemnôn are consistent with the state of Greece or Asia Minor, at a certain supposed date 1183 B. C., so, on the other hand, even assuming such consistency to be made out, this of itself would not prove them to be real persons.

Mr. Clinton's reasoning altogether overlooks the existence of *plausible fiction*, — fictitious stories which harmonize perfectly well with the general course of facts, and which are distinguished from matters of fact not by any internal character, but by the circumstance that matter of fact has some competent and well-informed witness to authenticate it, either directly or through legitimate inference. Fiction may be, and often is, extravagant and incredible; but it may also be plausible and specious, and in that case there is nothing but the want of an attesting certificate to distinguish it from truth. Now all the tests, which Mr. Clinton proposes as guarantees of the reality of the Homeric persons, will be just as well satisfied by plausible fiction as by actual matter of fact: the plausibility of the fiction consists in its satisfying those and other similar conditions. In most cases, the tales of the poets *did* fall in with the existing current of feelings in their audience: "prejudice and vanity" are not the only feelings, but doubtless prejudice and vanity were often appealed to, and it was from such harmony of sentiment that they acquired their hold on men's belief. Without any doubt, the *Iliad* appealed most powerfully to the reverence for ancestral gods and heroes among the Asiatic colonists who first heard it: the temptation of putting forth an interesting tale is quite a sufficient stimulus to the invention of the poet, and the plausibility of the tale a suffi-

cient passport to the belief of the hearers. Mr. Clinton talks of "consistent and general tradition." But that the tale of a poet, when once told with effect and beauty, acquired general belief, — is no proof that it was founded on fact: otherwise, what are we to say to the divine legends, and to the large portion of the Homeric narrative which Mr. Clinton himself sets aside as untrue, under the designation of "poetical ornament?" When a mythical incident is recorded as "forming the basis" of some known historical fact or institution, — as, for instance, the successful stratagem by which Melanthus killed Xanthus, in the battle on the boundary, as recounted in my last chapter, — we may adopt one of two views; we may either treat the incident as real, and as having actually given occasion to what is described as its effect, — or we may treat the incident as a legend imagined in order to assign some plausible origin of the reality, — "*Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula.*"<sup>1</sup> In cases where the legendary incident is referred to a time long anterior to any records, — as it commonly is, — the second mode of proceeding appears to me far more consonant to reason and probability than the first. It is to be recollected that all the persons and facts, here defended as matter of real history, by Mr. Clinton, are referred to an age long preceding the first beginning of records.

I have already remarked that Mr. Clinton shrinks from his own rule in treating Kadmus and Danaus as real persons, since they are as much eponyms of tribes or races as *Dôrus* and *Hellên*. And if he can admit *Hêraklês* to be a real man, I cannot see upon what reason he can consistently disallow any one of the mythical personages, for there is not one whose exploits are more strikingly at variance with the standard of historical probability. Mr. Clinton reasons upon the supposition that "*Herculês* was a *Dorian* hero:" but he was *Achæan* and *Kadmeian* as well as *Dorian*, though the legends respecting him are different in all the three characters. Whether his son *Tlepolemus* and his grandson *Cleodæus* belong to the category of historical men, I will not take upon me to say, though *O. Müller* (in my opinion without any warranty) appears to admit it; but *Hyllus* certainly is not a real man, if the canon of Mr. Clinton himself respecting the

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<sup>1</sup> *Pomponius Mela*, iii. 7.

eponyms is to be trusted. "The descendants of Herculês (observes Mr. Clinton) remained in many states down to the historical times." So did those of Zeus and Apollo, and of that god whom the historian Hekateus recognized as his progenitor in the sixteenth generation; the titular kings of Ephesus, in the historical times, as well as Peisistratus, the despot of Athens, traced their origin up to Æolus and Hellên, yet Mr. Clinton does not hesitate to reject Æolus and Hellên as fictitious persons. I dispute the propriety of quoting the Iliad and Odyssey (as Mr. Clinton does) in evidence of the historic personality of Herculês. For, even with regard to the ordinary men who figure in those poems, we have no means of discriminating the real from the fictitious; while the Homeric Hêraklês is unquestionably more than an ordinary man, — he is the favorite son of Zeus, from his birth predestined to a life of labor and servitude, as preparation for a glorious immortality. Without doubt, the poet himself believed in the reality of Herculês, but it was a reality clothed with superhuman attributes.

Mr. Clinton observes (Introd. p. ii.), that "because some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous." It is no way necessary that we should maintain so extensive a position: it is sufficient that all are fabulous so far as concerns gods and heroes, — *some* fabulous throughout, — and none ascertainably true, for the period anterior to the recorded Olympiads. How much, or what particular portions, may be true, no one can pronounce. The gods and heroes are, from our point of view, essentially fictitious; but from the Grecian point of view they were the most real (if the expression may be permitted, *i. e.* clung to with the strongest faith) of all the members of the series. They not only formed parts of the genealogy as originally conceived, but were in themselves the grand reason why it was conceived, — as a golden chain to connect the living man with a divine ancestor. The genealogy, therefore, taken as a whole, (and its value consists in its being taken as a whole,) was from the beginning a fiction; but the names of the father and grandfather of the living man, in whose day it first came forth, were doubtless those of real men. Wherever, therefore, we can verify the date of a genealogy, as applied to some living person, we may reasonably presume the two lowest members of

it to be also those of real persons: but this has no application to the time anterior to the Olympiads, — still less to the pretended times of the Trojan war, the Kalydônian boar-hunt, or the deluge of Deukalion. To reason (as Mr. Clinton does, *Introd.* p. vi.), — “Because Aristomachus was a real man, therefore his father Cleodæus, his grandfather Hyllus, and so farther upwards, etc., must have been real men,” — is an inadmissible conclusion. The historian Hekatsæus was a real man, and doubtless his father Hegesander, also, — but it would be unsafe to march up his genealogical ladder fifteen steps, to the presence of the ancestral god of whom he boasted: the upper steps of the ladder will be found broken and unreal. Not to mention that the inference, from real son to real father, is inconsistent with the admissions in Mr. Clinton’s own genealogical tables; for he there inserts the names of several mythical fathers as having begotten real historical sons.

The general authority of Mr. Clinton’s book, and the sincere respect which I entertain for his elucidations of the later chronology, have imposed upon me the duty of assigning those grounds on which I dissent from his conclusions prior to the first recorded Olympiad. The reader who desires to see the numerous and contradictory guesses (they deserve no better name) of the Greeks themselves in the attempt to chronologize their mythical narratives, will find them in the copious notes annexed to the first half of his first volume. As I consider all such researches not merely as fruitless, in regard to any trustworthy result, but as serving to divert attention from the genuine form and really illustrative character of Grecian legend, I have not thought it right to go over the same ground in the present work. Differing as I do, however, from Mr. Clinton’s views on this subject, I concur with him in deprecating the application of etymology (*Intr.* pp. xi–xii.) as a general scheme of explanation to the characters and events of Greek legend. Amongst the many causes which operated as suggestives and stimulants to Greek fancy in the creation of these interesting tales, doubtless etymology has had its share; but it cannot be applied (as Hermann, above all others, has sought to apply it) for the purpose of imparting supposed sense and system to the general body of mythical narrative. I have already remarked on this topic in a former chapter.

It would be curious to ascertain at what time, or by whom, the earliest continuous genealogies, connecting existing persons with the supposed antecedent age of legend, were formed and preserved. Neither Homer nor Hesiod mentioned any verifiable *present* persons or circumstances: had they done so, the age of one or other of them could have been determined upon good evidence, which we may fairly presume to have been impossible, from the endless controversies upon this topic among ancient writers. In the Hesiodic Works and Days, the heroes of Troy and Thêbes are even presented as an extinct race,<sup>1</sup> radically different from the poet's own contemporaries, who are a new race, far too depraved to be conceived as sprung from the loins of the heroes; so that we can hardly suppose Hesiod (though his father was a native of the Æolic Kymê) to have admitted the pedigree of the Æolic chiefs, as reputed descendants of Agamemnôn. Certain it is, that the earliest poets did not attempt to measure or bridge over the supposed interval, between their own age and the war of Troy, by any definite series of fathers and sons: whether Eumêlus or Asius made any such attempt, we cannot tell, but the earliest continuous backward genealogies which we find mentioned are those of Pherekydês, Hellanikus, and Herodotus. It is well known that Herodotus, in his manner of computing the upward genealogy of the Spartan kings, assigns the date of the Trojan war to a period 800 years earlier than himself, equivalent about to B. C. 1270-1250; while the subsequent Alexandrine chronologists, Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus, place that event in 1184 and 1183 B. C.; and the Parian marble refers it to an intermediate date, different from either, — 1209 B. C. Ephorus, Phanias, Timæus, Kleitarchus, and Duris, had each his own conjectural date; but the computations of the Alexandrine chronologists was the most generally followed by those who succeeded them, and seems to have passed to modern times as the received date of this great legendary event, — though some distinguished inquirers have adopted the epoch of Herodotus, which Larcher has attempted to vindicate in an elaborate but feeble dissertation.<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary to state that, in my view, the inquiry

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding volume of this History, Chap. ii. p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Larcher, *Chronologie d'Hérodote*, chap. xiv. pp. 352-401.

From the capture of Troy down to the passage of Alexander with his

has no other value except to illustrate the ideas which guided the Greek mind, and to exhibit its progress from the days of Homer to those of Herodotus. For it argues a considerable mental progress when men begin to methodize the past, even though they do so on fictitious principles, being as yet unprovided with those records which alone could put them on a better course. The Homeric man was satisfied with feeling, imagining, and

invading army into Asia, the latter a known date of 334 B. C., the following different reckonings were made:—

Phanias.....	gave 715 years.
Ephorus.....	" 735 "
Eratosthenēs	" 774 "
Timæus ... }	" 820 "
Kleitarchus }	
Duris.....	" 1000 "

(Clemens Alexand. Strom. i. p. 337.)

Democritus estimated a space of seven hundred and thirty years between his composition of the *Μυκρὸς Διάκοσμος* and the capture of Troy (Diogen. Laërt. ix. 41). Isokratēs believed the Lacedæmonians to have been established in Peloponnēsus seven hundred years, and he repeats this in three different passages (Archidam. p. 118; Panathen. p. 275; De Pace, p. 178). The dates of these three orations themselves differ by twenty-four years, the Archidamus being older than the Panathenæic by that interval; yet he employs the same number of years for each in calculating backwards to the Trojan war, (see Clinton, vol. i. Introd. p. v.) In round numbers, his calculation coincides pretty nearly with the eight hundred years given by Herodotus in the preceding century.

The remarks of Boeckh on the Parian marble generally, in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Græc.* t. ii. pp. 322–336, are extremely valuable, but especially his criticism on the epoch of the Trojan war, which stands the twenty-fourth in the Marble. The ancient chronologists, from Damastēs and Hellanikus downwards, professed to fix not only the exact year, but the exact month, day, and hour in which this celebrated capture took place. [Mr. Clinton pretends to no more than the possibility of determining the event within fifty years, Introd. p. vi.] Boeckh illustrates the manner of their argumentation.

O. Müller observes (*History of the Dorians*, t. ii. p. 442, Eng. Tr.), "In reckoning from the migration of the Heraklidæ downward, we follow the Alexandrine chronology, of which it should be observed, that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, *not to examine its correctness*"

But I do not see upon what evidence even so much as this can be done. Mr. Clinton, admitting that Eratosthenēs fixed his date by conjecture, supposes him to have chosen "a middle point between the longer and shorter computations of his predecessors." Boeckh thinks this explanation unsatisfactory (*l. c.* p. 328).

believing particular incidents of a supposed past, without any attempt to graduate the line of connection between them and himself: to introduce fictitious hypotheses and media of connection is the business of a succeeding age, when the stimulus of rational curiosity is first felt, without any authentic materials to supply it. We have, then, the form of history operating upon the matter of legend,—the transition-state between legend and history; less interesting, indeed, than either separately, yet necessary as a step between the two.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS AS EXHIBITED IN GRECIAN LEGEND.

THOUGH the particular persons and events, chronicled in the legendary poems of Greece, are not to be regarded as belonging to the province of real history, those poems are, nevertheless, full of instruction, as pictures of life and manners; and the very same circumstances, which divest their composers of all credibility as historians, render them so much the more valuable as unconscious expositors of their own contemporary society. While professedly describing an uncertified past, their combinations are involuntarily borrowed from the surrounding present: for among communities, such as those of the primitive Greeks, without books, without means of extended travel, without acquaintance with foreign languages and habits, the imagination, even of highly gifted men, was naturally enslaved by the circumstances around them to a far greater degree than in the later days of Solón or Herodotus; insomuch that the characters which they conceived and the scenes which they described would for that reason bear a stronger generic resemblance to the realities of their own time and locality. Nor was the poetry of that age addressed to lettered and critical authors, watchful to detect plagiarism, sated with

simple imagery, and requiring something of novelty or peculiarity in every fresh production. To captivate their emotions, it was sufficient to depict, with genius and fervor, the more obvious manifestations of human adventure or suffering, and to idealize that type of society, both private and public, with which the hearers around were familiar. Even in describing the gods, where a great degree of latitude and deviation might have been expected,<sup>1</sup> we see that Homer introduces into Olympus the passions, the caprices, the love of power and patronage, the alternation of dignity and weakness, which animated the bosom of an ordinary Grecian chief; and this tendency, to reproduce in substance the social relations to which he had been accustomed, would operate still more powerfully when he had to describe simply human characters, — the chief and his people, the warrior and his comrades, the husband, wife, father, and son, — or the imperfect rudiments of judicial and administrative proceeding. That his narrative on all these points, even with fictitious characters and events, presents a close approximation to general reality, there can be no reason to doubt.<sup>2</sup> The necessity under which he lay of drawing from a store, then happily unexhausted, of personal experience and observation, is one of the causes of that freshness and vivacity of description for which he stands unrivalled, and which constituted the imperishable charm of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from the beginning to the end of Grecian literature.

While, therefore, we renounce the idea of chronologizing or historicizing the events of Grecian legend, we may turn them to profit as valuable memorials of that state of society, feeling, and intelligence, which must be to us the starting-point of the history of the people. Of course, the legendary age, like all those which succeeded it, had its antecedent causes and determining conditions; but of these we know nothing, and we are compelled to

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<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλευσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐβασιλεύοντο. "Ὡς περ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν (Aristot. Politic. i. 1. 7).

<sup>2</sup> In the pictures of the Homeric Heroes, there is no material difference of character recognized between one race of Greeks and another, — or even between Greeks and Trojans. See Helbig, *Die Sittlichen Zustände des Griechischen Heldenalters*, part ii. p. 53.



assume it as a primary fact, for the purpose of following out its subsequent changes. To conceive absolute beginning or origin (as Niebuhr has justly remarked) is beyond the reach of our faculties : we can neither apprehend nor verify anything beyond progress, or development, or decay,<sup>1</sup> — change from one set of circumstances to another, operated by some definite combination of physical or moral laws. In the case of the Greeks, the legendary age, as the earliest in any way known to us, must be taken as the initial state from which this series of changes commences. We must depict its prominent characteristics as well as we can, and show, — partly how it serves to prepare, partly how it forms a contrast to set off, — the subsequent ages of Solón, of Periklês, and of Demosthenês.

1. The political condition, which Grecian legend everywhere presents to us, is in its principal features strikingly different from that which had become universally prevalent among the Greeks in the time of the Peloponnêsian war. Historical oligarchy, as well as democracy, agreed in requiring a certain established system of government, comprising the three elements of specialized functions, temporary functionaries, and ultimate responsibility

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<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 55, 2d edit. "Erkennt man aber dass aller Ursprung jenseits unserer nur Entwicklung und Fortgang fassenden Begriffe liegt; und beschränkt sich von Stufe auf Stufe im Umfang der Geschichte zurückzugehen, so wird man Völker eines Stammes (das heisst, durch eigenthümliche Art und Sprache identisch) vielfach eben an sich entgegenliegenden Küstenländern antreffen..... ohne dass irgend etwas die Voraussetzung erheischte, eine von diesen getrennten Landschaften sei die ursprüngliche Heimath gewesen von wo ein Theil nach der andern gewandert wäre..... Dies ist der Geographie der Thiergeschlechter und der Vegetation analog: deren grosse Bezirke durch Gebürge geschieden werden, und beschränkte Meere einschliessen."

"When we once recognize, however, that *all absolute beginning lies out of the reach of our mental conceptions, which comprehend nothing beyond development and progress*, and when we attempt nothing more than to go back from the later to the earlier stages in the compass of history, we shall often find, on opposite coasts of the same sea, people of *one stock* (that is, of the same peculiar customs and language,) without being warranted in supposing that either of these separate coasts was the primitive home from whence emigrants crossed over to the other. This is analogous to the geography of animals and plants, whose wide districts are severed by mountains and inclose internal seas "

(under some forms or other) to the mass of qualified citizens, — either a Senate or an Ecclesia, or both. There were, of course, many and capital distinctions between one government and another, in respect to the qualification of the citizen, the attributes and efficiency of the general assembly, the admissibility to power, etc.; and men might often be dissatisfied with the way in which these questions were determined in their own city. But in the mind of every man, some determining rule or system — something like what in modern times is called a *constitution* — was indispensable to any government entitled to be called legitimate, or capable of creating in the mind of a Greek a feeling of moral obligation to obey it. The functionaries who exercised authority under it might be more or less competent or popular; but his personal feelings towards them were commonly lost in his attachment or aversion to the general system. If any energetic man could by audacity or craft break down the constitution, and render himself permanent ruler according to his own will and pleasure, — even though he might govern well, he could never inspire the people with any sentiment of duty towards him. His sceptre was illegitimate from the beginning, and even the taking of his life, far from being interdicted by that moral feeling which condemned the shedding of blood in other cases, was considered meritorious. Nor could he be mentioned in the language except by a name<sup>1</sup> (*τύραννος*, *despot*,) which branded him as an object of mingled fear and dislike.

If we carry our eyes back from historical to legendary Greece, we find a picture the reverse of what has been here sketched. We discern a government in which there is little or no scheme or system, — still less any idea of responsibility to the governed, — but in which the mainspring of obedience on the part of the people consists in their personal feeling and reverence towards the

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek name *τύραννος* cannot be properly rendered *tyrant*; for many of the *τύραννοι* by no means deserved to be so called, nor is it consistent with the use of language to speak of a mild and well-intentioned tyrant. The word *despot* is the nearest approach which we can make to it, since it is understood to imply that a man has got more power than he ought to have, while it does not exclude a beneficent use of such power by some individuals. It is, however, very inadequate to express the full strength of Grecian feeling which the original word called forth.

chief. We remark, first and foremost, the king: next, a limited number of subordinate kings or chiefs; afterwards, the mass of armed freemen, husbandmen, artisans, freebooters, etc.; lowest of all, the free laborers for hire, and the bought slaves. The king is not distinguished by any broad or impassable boundary from the other chiefs, to each of whom the title *basileus* is applicable as well as to himself: his supremacy has been inherited from his ancestors, and passes by descent, as a general rule, to his eldest son, having been conferred upon the family as a privilege by the favor of Zeus.<sup>1</sup> In war, he is the leader, foremost in personal prowess, and directing all military movements; in peace, he is the general protector of the injured and oppressed; he farther offers up those public prayers and sacrifices which are intended to obtain for the whole people the favor of the gods. An ample domain is assigned to him as an appurtenance of his lofty position, while the produce of his fields and his cattle is consecrated in part to an abundant, though rude hospitality. Moreover, he receives frequent presents, to avert his enmity, to conciliate his favor,<sup>2</sup> or to buy off his exactions; and when plunder is taken

<sup>1</sup> The Phæakian king Alkinous (Odys. vii. 55-65): there are twelve other Phæakian *Βασιλῆες*, he is himself the thirteenth (viii. 391).

The chief men in the *Iliad*, and the suitors of Penelopë in the *Odyssey*, are called usually and indiscriminately both *Βασιλῆες* and *Ἄνακτες*; the latter word, however, designates them as men of property and masters of slaves, (analogous to the subsequent word *δεσπότης*, which word does not occur in Homer, though *δέσποινα* is found in the *Odyssey*,) while the former word marks them as persons of conspicuous station in the tribe (see Odys. i. 393-401; xiv. 63). A chief could only be *Βασιλεὺς* of freemen; but he might be *Ἄναξ* either of freemen or of slaves.

Agamemnôn and Menelaus belong to the *most* kingly race (*γένος βασιλεύρων*: compare Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* ix. v. 8, p. 9, ed. Schneidewin) of the Pelopids, to whom the sceptre originally made for Zeus has been given by Hermês (*Iliad*, ii. 101; ix. 160; x. 239); compare Odys. xv. 539. The race of Dardanus are the favorite offspring of Zeus, *βασιλεύτατον* among the Trojans (*Iliad*, xx. 304). These races are the parallels of the kingly *prosapies* called Amali, Asdingi, Gungingi, and Lithingi, among the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards (Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*, c. 14-22; Paul Warnefrid, *Gest. Langob.* c. 14-21); and the *ἀρχικὸν γένος* among the Chaonian Epirots (Thucyd. ii. 80).

<sup>2</sup> Odys. i. 392; xi. 184; xiii. 14; xix. 109.—

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύμεν· αἰψά τε οἱ δῶ  
Ἄφνειον πέλεται, καὶ τιμῆεστέροις αὐτός.

from the enemy, a large previous share, comprising probably the most alluring female captive, is reserved for him, apart from the general distribution.<sup>1</sup>

Iliad, ix. 154-297 (when Agamemnôn is promising seven townships to Achilles, as a means of appeasing his wrath):—

Ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολυῤῥήγνες, πολυβοῦται,  
Οἱ κέ σε δωτήνῃσι, θεὸν ὧς, τιμήσουσι,  
Καὶ σοι ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.

See Iliad, xii. 312; and the reproaches of Thersitês (ii. 226)—*βασιλεὺς δωροφάγους* (Hesiod, Opp. Di. 38-264).

The Roman kings had a large *τέμενος* assigned to them, — “*agri, arva, et arbusta et pascui læti atque uberes*” (Cicero, De Republ. v. 2): the German kings received presents: “*Mos est civitatibus* (observes Tacitus, respecting the Germans whom he describes, M. G. 15) *ultra ac viritim conferre principibus, vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit.*”

The revenue of the Persian kings before Darius consisted only of what were called *δώρα*, or presents (Herod. iii. 89): Darius first introduced both the name of tribute and the determinate assessment. King Polydektês, in Seriphos, invites his friends to a festival, the condition of which is that each guest shall contribute to an *ἐρανος* for his benefit (Pherekydês, Fragg. 26, ed. Didot); a case to which the Thracian banquet prepared by Senthês affords an exact parallel (Xenophôn, Anab. vii. 3, 16-32: compare Thucyd. ii. 97, and Welcker, *Æschyl. Trilogie*, p. 381). Such Aids, or Benevolences, even if originally voluntary, became in the end compulsory. In the European monarchies of the Middle Ages, what were called free gifts were more ancient than public taxes: “The feudal Aids (observes Mr. Hallam) are the beginning of taxation, of which they for a long time answered the purpose.” (Middle Ages, ch. ii. part i. p. 189.) So about the Aides in the old French Monarchy, “*La Cour des Aides avoit été instituée, et sa jurisdiction s'étoit formée, lorsque le domaine des Rois suffisoit à toutes les dépenses de l'Etat, les droits d'Aides étoient alors des supplémens peu considérables et toujours temporaires. Depuis, le domaine des Rois avoit été anéanti: les Aides, au contraire, étoient devenues permanentes et formoient presque la totalité des ressources du trésor.*” (Histoire de la Fronde, par M. de St. Anlaire, ch. iii. p. 124.)

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέραςι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι*, is the description which Thucydides gives of these heroic governments (i. 13).

The language of Aristotle (Polit. iii. 10, 1) is much the same: *Ἡ βασιλεία — ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους — αὐτὴ δ' ἦν ἐκόντων μὲν, ἐπὶ τισὶ δ' ὠρισμένων: στρατηγὸς δ' ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος.*

It can hardly be said correctly, however, that the king's authority was defined: nothing can well be more indefinite.

Agamemnôn enjoyed or assumed the power of putting to death a disobe-

Such is the position of the king, in the heroic times of Greece, — the only person (if we except the heralds and priests, each both special and subordinate,) who is then presented to us as clothed with any individual authority, — the person by whom all the executive functions, then few in number, which the society requires, are either performed or directed. His personal ascendancy — derived from divine countenance, bestowed both upon himself individually and upon his race, and probably from accredited divine descent — is the salient feature in the picture. The people hearken to his voice, embrace his propositions, and obey his orders: not merely resistance, but even criticism upon his acts, is generally exhibited in an odious point of view, and is, indeed, never heard of except from some one or more of the subordinate princes. To keep alive and justify such feelings in the public mind, however, the king must himself possess various accomplishments, bodily and mental, and that too in a superior degree.<sup>1</sup> He must be brave in the field, wise in the council, and eloquent in the agora; he must be endued with bodily strength and activity above other men, and must be an adept, not only in the use of his arms, but also in those athletic exercises which the crowd delight to witness. Even the more homely varieties of manual acquirements are an addition to his character, — such as the craft of the carpenter or shipwright, the straight furrowing of the ploughman, or the indefatigable persistence of the mower without repose or refreshment throughout the longest day.<sup>2</sup> The

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dient soldier (Aristot. Polit. iii. 9, 2). The words which Aristotle read in the speech of Agamemnôn in the *Iliad* — *Ἰὼν γὰρ ἐμὸι θάνατος* — are not in our present copies: the Alexandrine critics effaced many traces of the old manners.

<sup>1</sup> Striking phrases on this head are put into the mouth of Sarpêdôn (*Iliad*, xii. 310-322).

Kings are named and commissioned by Zeus, — 'Εκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες (Hesiod, *Theogon.* 96; Callimach. *Hymn. ad Jov.* 79): *κρατέρω θεράποντε Διὸς* is a sort of paraphrase for the kingly dignity in the case of Pelias and Nêleus (*Odyss.* xi. 255; compare *Iliad*, ii. 204).

<sup>2</sup> *Odysseus* builds his own bed and bedchamber, and his own raft (*Odyss.* xxiii. 188; v. 246-255): he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman (xviii. 365-375): for his astonishing proficiency in the athletic contests, see viii. 180-230. Paris took a share in building his own house (*Iliad*, vi. 814).

conditions of voluntary obedience, during the Grecian heroic times, are family descent with personal force and superiority mental as well as bodily, in the chief, coupled with the favor of the gods: an old chief, such as Pélus and Læertes, cannot retain his position.<sup>1</sup> But, on the other hand, where these elements of force are present, a good deal of violence, caprice, and rapacity is tolerated: the ethical judgment is not exact in scrutinizing the conduct of individuals so preëminently endowed. As in the case of the gods, the general epithets of *good*, *just*, etc., are applied to them as euphemisms arising from submission and fear, being not only not suggested, but often pointedly belied, by their particular acts. These words signify<sup>2</sup> the man of birth, wealth, influence, and daring, whose arm is strong to destroy or to protect, whatever may be the turn of his moral sentiments; while the opposite epithet, *bad*, designates the poor, lowly, and weak; from whose dispositions, be they ever so virtuous, society has little either to hope or to fear.

Aristotle, in his general theory of government,<sup>3</sup> lays down the

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xi. 496; xxiv. 136-248.

<sup>2</sup> See this prominent meaning of the words *ἀγαθός*, *ἐσθλός*, *κακός*, etc., copiously illustrated in Welcker's excellent Prolegomena to Theognis, sect. 9-16. Camerarius, in his notes on that poet (v. 19), had already conceived clearly the sense in which these words are used. Iliad, xv. 323. *Ὅλα τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρῶσι χέρηες*. Compare Hesiod, Opp. Di. 216, and the line in Athenæus, v. p. 178, *Ἀτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν*.

"*Moralis illarum vocum vis, et civilis*—quarum hæc a lexicographis et commentatoribus plurimis fere neglecta est—probe discernendæ erunt. Quod quo facilius fieret, nescio an ubi posterior intellectus valet, majusculâ scribendum fuisset *Ἀγαθοὶ* et *Κακοί*."

If this advice of Welcker could have been followed, much misconception would have been obviated. The reference of these words to power and not to worth, is their primitive import in the Greek language, descending from the Iliad downward, and determining the habitual designation of parties during the period of active political dispute. The ethical meaning of the word hardly appears until the discussions raised by Socrates, and prosecuted by his disciples; but the primitive import still continued to maintain concurrent footing.

I shall have occasion to touch more largely on this subject, when I come to expound the Grecian political parties. At present, it is enough to remark that the epithets of *good men*, *best men*, habitually applied afterwards to the aristocratical parties, descend from the rudest period of Grecian society.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 7.

position, that the earliest sources of obedience and authority among mankind are personal, exhibiting themselves most perfectly in the type of paternal supremacy; and that therefore the kingly government, as most conformable to this stage of social sentiment, became probably the first established everywhere. And in fact it still continued in his time to be generally prevalent among the non-Hellenic nations, immediately around; though the Phœnician cities and Carthage, the most civilized of all non-Hellenic states, were republics. Nevertheless, so completely were the feelings about kingship reversed among his contemporary Greeks, that he finds it difficult to enter into the voluntary obedience paid by his ancestors to their early heroic chiefs. He cannot explain to his own satisfaction how any one man should have been so much superior to the companions around him as to maintain such immense personal ascendancy: he suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors.<sup>1</sup> Such remarks illustrate strongly the revolution which the Greek mind had undergone during the preceding centuries, in regard to the internal grounds of political submission. But the connecting link, between the Homeric and the republican schemes of government, is to be found in two adjuncts of the Homeric royalty, which are now to be mentioned,—the *boulê*, or council of chiefs, and the *agora*, or general assembly of freemen.

These two meetings, more or less frequently convoked, and interwoven with the earliest habits of the primitive Grecian communities, are exhibited in the monuments of the legendary age

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<sup>1</sup> Καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρας διαφέροντας κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις (Polit. iii. 10, 7); also the same treatise, v. 8, 5, and v. 8, 22. Οὐ γίνονται δ' ἐτι βασιλείαι νῦν, etc.

Aristotle handles monarchy far less copiously than either oligarchy or democracy: the tenth and eleventh chapters of his third book, in which he discusses it, are nevertheless very interesting to peruse.

In the conception of Plato, also, the kingly government, if it is to work well, implies a breed superior to humanity to hold the sceptre (Legg. iv. 6. p. 713).

The Athenian dramatic poets (especially Euripidēs) often put into the mouths of their heroic characters popular sentiments adapted to the democratical atmosphere of Athens, — very different from what we find in Homer

as opportunities for advising the king, and media for promulgating his intentions to the people, rather than as restraints upon his authority. Unquestionably, they must have conduced in practice to the latter result as well as to the former; but this is not the light in which the Homeric poems describe them. The chiefs, kings, princes, or gerontes — for the same word in Greek designates both an old man and a man of conspicuous rank and position — compose the council,<sup>1</sup> in which, according to the representations in the *Iliad*, the resolutions of Agamemnôn on the one side, and of Hectôr on the other, appear uniformly to prevail. The harshness and even contempt with which Hectôr treats respectful opposition from his ancient companion Polydamas, — the desponding tone and conscious inferiority of the latter, and the unanimous assent which the former obtains, even when quite in the wrong — all this is clearly set forth in the poem.<sup>2</sup> while in the Grecian camp we see Nestôr tendering his advice in the most submissive and delicate manner to Agamemnôn, to be adopted or rejected, as “the king of men” might determine.<sup>3</sup> The council is a purely consultative body, assembled, not with any power of peremptorily arresting mischievous resolves of the king, but solely for his information and guidance. He himself is the presiding (boulephôrus, or) member<sup>4</sup> of council; the rest, collectively as well as individually, are his subordinates.

We proceed from the council to the agora: according to what seems the received custom, the king, after having talked over his intentions with the former, proceeds to announce them to the people. The heralds make the crowd sit down in order,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγασθύνων Ἰζε γερόντων (*Iliad*, ii. 53): compare x. 195–415. Ἴλιν, παλαιῶ δὴ μογερόντος (xi. 371).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xviii. 313. —

Ἐκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,  
Πολυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔτις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλὴν

Also, xii. 213, where Polydamas says to Hectôr, —

..... ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ εἰκα  
Δῆμον ἔοντα παρὲς ἀγορευόμεν, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ,  
Οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 95–101. .

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, vii. 126, Πήλεως — Ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων Βουλήφορος ἡδ' ἀγορητής.

<sup>5</sup> Considerable stress seems to be laid on the necessity that the people in



enforce silence: any one of the chiefs or councillors — but as it seems, no one else<sup>1</sup> — is allowed to address them: the king first promulgates his intentions, which are then open to be commented upon by others. But in the Homeric agora, no division of affirmative or negative voices ever takes place, nor is any formal resolution ever adopted. The nullity of positive function strikes us even more in the agora than in the council. It is an assembly for talk, communication, and discussion, to a certain extent, by the chiefs, in presence of the people as listeners and sympathizers, — often for eloquence, and sometimes for quarrel, — but here its ostensible purposes end.

The agora in Ithaka, in the second book of the *Odyssey*, is convened by the youthful Telemachus, at the instigation of Athênê, not for the purpose of submitting any proposition, but in order to give formal and public notice to the suitors to desist from their iniquitous intrusion and pillage of his substance, and to absolve himself farther, before gods and men, from all obligations towards them, if they refuse to comply. For the slaughter of the suitors, in all the security of the festive hall and banquet (which forms the catastrophe of the *Odyssey*), was a proceeding involving much that was shocking to Grecian feeling,<sup>2</sup> and therefore required to be preceded by such ample formalities, as would leave both the delinquents themselves without the shadow of excuse, and their surviving relatives without any claim to the customary satisfaction. For this special purpose, Telemachus directs the heralds to summon an agora: but what seems most of all sur-

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the agora should *sit* down (*Iliad*, ii. 96): a *standing* agora is a symptom of tumult or terror (*Iliad*, xviii, 246); an evening agora, to which men come elevated by wine, is also the forerunner of mischief (*Odys.* iii. 138).

Such evidences of regular formalities observed in the agora are not without interest.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 100. —

..... εἰποῖ' αὐτῆς

Σχοίαι', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.

Nitzsch (ad *Odys.* ii. 14) controverts this restriction of individual manifestation to the chiefs: the view of O. Müller (*Hist. Dorians*, b. iii. c. 3) appears to me more correct: such was also the opinion of Aristotle — *φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ὁ μὲν δῆμος μόνον τοῦ ἀκούσαι κέρδιος ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ πρῆξαι* (Schol. *Iliad*. ix. 17): compare the same statement in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iliad*, ix. 635; *Odys.* xi. 419.

prising is, that none had ever been summoned or held since the departure of Odysseus himself, — an interval of twenty years. “No agora or session has taken place amongst us (says the gray-headed Ægyptius, who opens the proceedings) since Odysseus went on shipboard: and now, who is he that has called us together? what man, young or old, has felt such a strong necessity? Has he received intelligence from our absent warriors, or has he other public news to communicate? He is our good friend for doing this: whatever his projects may be, I pray Zeus to grant him success.”<sup>1</sup> Telemachus, answering the appeal forthwith, proceeds to tell the assembled Ithakans that he has no public news to communicate, but that he has convoked them upon his own private necessities. Next, he sets forth, pathetically, the wickedness of the suitors, calls upon them personally to desist, and upon the people to restrain them, and concludes by solemnly warning them, that, being henceforward free from all obligation towards them, he will invoke the avenging aid of Zeus, so “that they may be slain in the interior of his own house, without bringing upon him any subsequent penalty.”<sup>2</sup>

We are not of course to construe the Homeric description as anything more than an *idéal*, approximating to actual reality. But, allowing all that can be required for such a limitation, it exhibits the agora more as a special medium of publicity and intercommunication,<sup>3</sup> from the king to the body of the people, than as including any idea of responsibility on the part of the

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. ii. 25–40.

Odyss. ii. 43, 77, 145. —

Νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἐντοσθεν δλοισθε.

<sup>3</sup> A similar character is given of the public assemblies of the early Franks and Lombards (Pfeffel, *Histoire du Droit Public en Allemagne*, t. i. p. 18; Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, t. i. c. 2, p. 71).

Dionysius of Halikarnassus (ii. 12) pays rather too high a compliment to the moderation of the Grecian heroic kings.

The kings at Rome, like the Grecian heroic kings, began with an ἀρχὴ ἀντιπένδυος: the words of Pomponius (*De Origine Juris*, i. 2,) would be perhaps more exactly applicable to the latter than to the former: “Initio civitatis nostræ Populus sine certâ lege, sine jure certo, primum agere instituit: omniaque manu a Regibus gubernabantur.” Tacitus says (*Ann.* iii. 26), “Nobis Romulus, ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit, repertaque quædam a Tullo et Anco: sed

former or restraining force on the part of the latter, however such consequences may indirectly grow out of it. The primitive Grecian government is essentially monarchical, reposing on personal feeling and divine right: the memorable dictum in the *Iliad* is borne out by all that we hear of the actual practice: "The ruler of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only,—one king,—him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the tutelary sanctions."<sup>1</sup>

The second book of the *Iliad*, full as it is of beauty and vivacity, not only confirms our idea of the passive, recipient, and listening character of the agora, but even presents a repulsive picture of the degradation of the mass of the people before the chiefs. Agamemnon convokes the agora for the purpose of immediately arming the Grecian host, under a full impression that the gods have at last determined forthwith to crown his arms with complete victory. Such impression has been created by a special visit of Oneirus (the Dream-god), sent by Zeus during his sleep,—being, indeed, an intentional fraud on the part of Zeus, though Agamemnon does not suspect its deceitful character. At this precise moment, when he may be conceived to be more than usually anxious to get his army into the field and snatch the prize, an unaccountable fancy seizes him, that, instead of inviting the troops to do what he really wishes, and encouraging their spirits for this one last effort, he will adopt a course directly contrary: he will try their courage by professing

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*præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam Reges obtemperarent."* The appointment of a Dictator under the Republic was a reproduction, for a short and definite interval, of this old unbounded authority (Cicero, *De Repub.* ii. 32; Zonaras, *Ann.* vii. 13; Dionys. *Hal.* v. 75).

See Rubino, *Untersuchungen über Römische Verfassung und Geschichte*, Cassel, 1839, buch i. abschnitt 2, pp. 112–132; and Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, i. sect. 18, pp. 81–91.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 204. Agamemnon promises to make over to Achilles seven well-peopled cities, with a body of wealthy inhabitants (*Iliad*, ix. 153); and Menelaus, if he could have induced Odysseus to quit Ithaca, and settle near him in Argos, would have depopulated one of his neighboring towns in order to make room for him (*Odys.* iv. 176).

Manso (*Sparta*, i. 1, p. 34) and Nitzsch (*ad Odys.* iv. 171) are inclined to exclude these passages as spurious,—a proceeding, in my opinion, inadmissible, without more direct grounds than they are able to produce.

to believe that the siege had become desperate, and that there was no choice except to go on shipboard and flee. Announcing to Nestôr and Odysseus, in preliminary council, his intention to hold this strange language, he at the same time tells them that he relies upon them to oppose it and counterwork its effect upon the multitude.<sup>1</sup> The agora is presently assembled, and the king of men pours forth a speech full of dismay and despair, concluding by a distinct exhortation to all present to go aboard and return home at once. Immediately the whole army, chiefs as well as people, break up and proceed to execute his orders: every one rushes off to get his ship afloat, except Odysseus, who looks on in mournful silence and astonishment. The army would have been quickly on its voyage home, had not the goddesses Hêrê and Athênê stimulated Odysseus to an instantaneous interference. He hastens among the dispersing crowd and diverts them from their purpose of retreat: to the chiefs he addresses flattering words, trying to shame them by gentle expostulation: but the people he visits with harsh reprimand and blows from his sceptre,<sup>2</sup> thus driving them back to their seats in the agora.

Amidst the dissatisfied crowd thus unwillingly brought back, the voice of Thersitês is heard the longest and the loudest, — a man ugly, deformed, and unwarlike, but fluent in speech, and especially severe and unsparing in his censure of the chiefs, Agamemnôn, Achilles, and Odysseus. Upon this occasion, he addresses to the people a speech denouncing Agamemnôn for selfish and greedy exaction generally, but particularly for his recent ill-treatment of Achilles, — and he endeavors, moreover, to induce them to persist in their scheme of departure. In reply, Odysseus not only rebukes Thersitês sharply for his impudence in abusing the commander-in-chief, but threatens that, if ever such behavior is repeated, he will strip him naked, and thrash him out of the assembly with disgraceful blows; as an earnest of which, he administers to him at once a smart stroke with the

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, ii. 74. Πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, ii. 188–196. —

Ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἑξοχὸν ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
 Τόνδ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς. . . . .  
 Οὐ δ' αὖ δῆμον τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι, βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,  
 Τὸν σκῆπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν, ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ, etc.

studded sceptre, imprinting its painful mark in a bloody weal across his back. Thersitês, terrified and subdued, sits down weeping; while the surrounding crowd deride him, and express the warmest approbation of Odysseus for having thus by force put the reviler to silence.<sup>1</sup>

Both Odysseus and Nestôr then address the agora, sympathizing with Agamemnôn for the shame which the retreat of the Greeks is about to inflict upon him, and urging emphatically upon every one present the obligation of persevering until the siege shall be successfully consummated. Neither of them animadverts at all upon Agamemnôn, either for his conduct towards Achilles, or for his childish freak of trying the temper of the army.<sup>2</sup>

There cannot be a clearer indication than this description — so graphic in the original poem — of the true character of the Homeric agora. The multitude who compose it are listening and acquiescent, not often hesitating, and never refractory<sup>3</sup> to the chief. The fate which awaits a presumptuous critic, even where his virulent reproaches are substantially well-founded, is plainly set forth in the treatment of Thersitês; while the unpopularity of such a character is attested even more by the excessive pains which Homer takes to heap upon him repulsive personal deformities, than by the chastisement of Odysseus; — he is lame, bald, crook-backed, of misshapen head, and squinting vision.

But we cease to wonder at the submissive character of the agora, when we read the proceedings of Odysseus towards the people themselves; — his fine words and flattery addressed to the chiefs, and his contemptuous reproof and manual violence towards the common men, at a moment when both were doing exactly the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 213–277.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 284–340. Nor does Thersitês, in his criminatory speech against Agamemnôn, touch in any way upon this anomalous point, though, in the circumstances under which his speech is made, it would seem to be of all others the most natural, — and the sharpest thrust against the commander-in-chief.

<sup>3</sup> See this illustrated in the language of Theseus, Eurip. *Supplic.* 349–352

Δόξαι δὲ χρήζω καὶ πόλει πάσῃ τᾷδε·  
Δόξει δ' ἐμοῦ θέλοντος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου  
Προσδοῖς, ἔχοιμ' ἂν δῆμον εὐμενέστερον.

same thing, — fulfilling the express bidding of Agamemnôn, upon whom Odysseus does not offer a single comment. This scene, which excited a sentiment of strong displeasure among the democrats of historical Athens,<sup>1</sup> affords a proof that the feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece — Herodotus, Xenophôn, Hippocratês, and Aristotle — boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic, was yet undeveloped in the time of Homer.<sup>2</sup> The ancient epic is commonly so filled with the personal adventures of the chiefs, and the people are so constantly depicted as simple appendages attached to them; that we rarely obtain a glimpse of the treatment of the one apart from the other, such as this memorable Homeric agora affords.

There remains one other point of view in which we are to regard the agora of primitive Greece, — as the scene in which justice was administered. The king is spoken of as constituted by Zeus the great judge of society: he has received from Zeus the sceptre, and along with it the powers of command and sanction: the people obey these commands and enforce these sanctions, under him, enriching him at the same time with lucrative presents and payments.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the king separately, sometimes the kings or chiefs or gerontes in the plural number, are named as deciding disputes and awarding satisfaction to complainants; always, however, in public, in the midst of the assembled agora.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophôn, Memorab. i. 2, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. vii. 6, 1; Hippocrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. v. 85–86; Herodot. vii. 135.

<sup>3</sup> The *σκήπτρον*, *θέμιστες*, or *θέμις*, and *ἀγορὴ*, go together, under the presiding superintendence of the gods. The goddess Themis both convokes and dismisses the agora (see *Iliad*, xi. 806; *Odys.* ii. 67; *Iliad*, xx. 4).

The *θέμιστες*, commandments and sanctions, belong properly to Zeus (*Odys.* xvi. 403), from him they are given in charge to earthly kings along with the sceptre (*Iliad*, i. 238; ii. 206).

The commentators on Homer recognized *θέμις*, rather too strictly, as *ἀγορᾶς καὶ βουλῆς λέξις* (see Eustath. ad *Odys.* xvi. 403).

The presents and the *λειτουργίαι* *θέμιστες* (*Iliad*, ix. 156).

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod, *Theogon.* 85; the single person judging seems to be mentioned (*Odys.* xii. 439).

It deserves to be noticed that, in Sparta, the senate decided accusations of homicide (Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1, 7): in historical Athens, the senate of Areiopagus originally did the same, and retained, even when its powers

In one of the compartments of the shield of Achilles, the details of a judicial scene are described. While the agora is full of an eager and excited crowd, two men are disputing about the fine of satisfaction for the death of a murdered man,—one averring, the other denying, that the fine had already been paid, and both demanding an inquest. The gerontes are ranged on stone seats,<sup>1</sup> in the holy circle, with two talents of gold lying before them, to be awarded to such of the litigants as shall make out his case to their satisfaction. The heralds with their sceptres, repressing the warm sympathies of the crowd in favor of one or other of the parties, secure an alternate hearing to both.<sup>2</sup> This interesting picture completely harmonizes with the brief allusion of Hesiod to the judicial trial—doubtless a real trial—between himself and his brother Persês. The two brothers disputed about their paternal inheritance, and the cause was carried to be tried by the chiefs in agora; but Persês bribed them, and obtained an unjust verdict for the whole.<sup>3</sup> So at least Hesiod affirms, in the bitterness of his heart; earnestly exhorting his brother not to waste a precious time, required for necessary labors, in the unprofitable occupation of witnessing and abetting litigants in the agora,—for which (he adds) no man has proper leisure, unless his subsistence for the year beforehand be safely treasured up in his garners.<sup>4</sup> He repeats, more than once, his complaints of the crooked and corrupt judgments of which the kings were habitually guilty; dwelling upon abuse of justice as

were much abridged, the trial of accusations of intentional homicide and wounding.

Respecting the judicial functions of the early Roman kings, Dionys. Hal. A. R. x. 1. *Τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἐταπτον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, τοῦτο νόμος ἦν* (compare iv. 25; and Cicero, Republic. v. 2; Rubino, Untersuchungen, i. 2, p. 122).

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xviii. 504. —

*Οἱ δὲ γέροντες*

*Ἐταρ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.*

Several of the old northern Sagas represent the old men, assembled for the purpose of judging, as sitting on great stones in a circle, called the Urtheilsring, or Gerichtsring (Leitfaden der Nördischen Alterthümer, p. 31, Copenhag. 1837).

<sup>2</sup> Homer, Iliad, xviii. 497–510.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, Opp. Di. 37

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod, Opp. Di. 27–33.

the crying evil of his day, and predicting as well as invoking the vengeance of Zeus to repress it. And Homer ascribes the tremendous violence of the autumnal storms to the wrath of Zeus against those judges who disgrace the agora with their wicked verdicts.<sup>1</sup>

Though it is certain that, in every state of society, the feelings of men when assembled in multitude will command a certain measure of attention, yet we thus find the agora, in judicial matters still more than in political, serving merely the purpose of publicity. It is the king who is the grand personal mover of Grecian heroic society.<sup>2</sup> He is on earth, the equivalent of Zeus in the agora of the gods: the supreme god of Olympus is in the habit of carrying on his government with frequent publicity, of hearing some dissentient opinions, and of allowing himself occasionally to be wheedled by Aphroditê, or worried into compliance by Hêrê: but his determination is at last conclusive, subject only to the overruling interference of the Mœræ, or Fates.<sup>3</sup> Both the society of gods, and the various societies of men, are, according to the conceptions of Grecian legend, carried on by the personal rule of a legitimate sovereign, who does not derive his title from the special appointment of his subjects, though he governs with their full consent. In fact, Grecian legend presents to us hardly anything else, except these great individual personalities. The race, or nation, is as it were absorbed into the prince: eponymous persons, especially, are not merely princes, but fathers and representative unities, each the equivalent of that greater or less aggregate to which he gives name.

But though, in the primitive Grecian government, the king is the legitimate as well as the real sovereign, he is always conceived as acting through the council and agora. Both the one and the other are established and essential media through which his ascendancy is brought to bear upon the society: the absence of such assemblies is the test and mark of savage men, as in the

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Opp. Di.* 250-263; Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Tittmann (*Darstellung der Griechischen Staatsverfassungen*, book ii. p. 63) gives too lofty an idea, in my judgment, of the condition and functions of the Homeric agora.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, i. 520-527; iv. 14-56; especially the agora of the gods (xx. 16).



case of the Cyclôpes.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he must possess qualities fit to act with effect upon these two assemblies: wise reason for the council, unctuous eloquence for the agora.<sup>2</sup> Such is the *ideal* of the heroic government: a king, not merely full of valor and resource as a soldier, but also sufficiently superior to those around him to insure both the deliberate concurrence of the chiefs, and the hearty adhesion of the masses.<sup>3</sup> That this picture is not, in all individual cases, realized, is unquestionable; but the endowments so often predicated of good kings show it to have been the type present to the mind of the describer.<sup>4</sup> Xenophôn, in his *Cyropædia*, depicts Cyrus as an improved edition of the Homeric Agamemnôn,—“a good king and a powerful soldier,” thus idealizing the perfection of personal government.

It is important to point out these fundamental conceptions of government, discernible even before the dawn of Grecian history, and identified with the social life of the people. It shows us that the Greeks, in their subsequent revolutions, and in the political experiments which their countless autonomous commu-

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. ix. 114. —

Τοῖσιν δ' (the Cyclôpes) οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλήφοροι, οὔτε θέμιστες.  
'Ἄλλ' οἷγ' ἐψηλὼν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα  
'Ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι· θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος  
Παιδῶν ἡδ' ἀλόχων· οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

These lines illustrate the meaning of *θέμις*.

<sup>2</sup> See this point set forth in the prolix discourse of Aristides, *Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς* (Or. xlv. vol. ii. p. 99): Ἡσίοδος.....ταῦτὰ ἀντικρὺς Ὀμήρῳ λέγων.....ὅτι τε ἡ-ρητορικὴ συνέδρος τῆς βασιλικῆς, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Péleus*, king of the Myrmidons, is called (*Iliad*, vii. 126) Ἑσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουλήφορος ἡδ' ἀγορητῆς — *Diomedes*, ἀγορῇ δὲ τ' ἀμείνω (iv. 400) — *Nestor*, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητῆς — *Sarpédon*, Ἀνκίων βουλευφόρε (v. 683); and *Idomeneus*, Κρητῶν βουληφόρε (xiii. 219).

Hesiod (*Theogon*. 80-96) illustrates still more amply the *ideal* of the king governing by persuasion and inspired by the Muses.

<sup>4</sup> See the striking picture in Thucydides (ii. 65). Xenophôn, in the *Cyropædia*, puts into the mouth of his hero the Homeric comparison between the good king and the good shepherd, implying as it does immense superiority of organization, morality, and intelligence (*Cyropæd.* viii. p. 450, Hutchinson).

Volney observes, respecting the emirs of the Druses in Syria: “Everything depends on circumstances: if the governor be a man of ability, he is absolute; — if weak, he is a cipher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Asia.” (*Travels in Egypt and Syria*, vol. ii. p. 66.) Such was pretty much the condition of the king in primitive Greece.

nities presented, worked upon preëxisting materials,—developing and exalting elements which had been at first subordinate, and suppressing, or remodelling on a totally new principle, that which had been originally predominant. When we approach historical Greece, we find that (with the exception of Sparta) the primitive hereditary, irresponsible monarch, uniting in himself all the functions of government, has ceased to reign,—while the feeling of legitimacy, which originally induced his people to obey him willingly, has been exchanged for one of aversion towards the character and title generally. The multifarious functions which he once exercised, have been parcelled out among temporary nominees. On the other hand, the council, or senate, and the agora, originally simple média through which the king acted, are elevated into standing and independent sources of authority, controlling and holding in responsibility the various special officers to whom executive duties of one kind or another are confided. The general principle here indicated is common both to the oligarchies and the democracies which grew up in historical Greece: much as these two governments differed from each other, and many as were the varieties even between one oligarchy or democracy and another, they all stood in equal contrast with the principle of the heroic government. Even in Sparta, where the hereditary kingship lasted, it was preserved with lustre and influence exceedingly diminished,<sup>1</sup> and such timely diminution of its power seems to have been one of the essential conditions of its preservation.<sup>2</sup> Though the Spartan kings had the hereditary command of the military forces, yet,

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the question put by Leotychides to the deposed Spartan king Demaratus, — *δοκίον τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν* (Herodot. vi. 65), and the poignant insult which those words conveyed, afford one among many other evidences of the lofty estimate current in Sparta respecting the regal dignity, of which Aristotle, in the *Politica*, seems hardly to take sufficient account.

<sup>2</sup> O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, book iii. i. 3) affirms that the fundamental features of the royalty were maintained in the Dorian states, and obliterated only in the Ionian and democratical. In this point, he has been followed by various other authors (see Helbig, *Die Sittlich. Zustände des Heldenalters*, p. 73), but his position appears to me substantially incorrect, even as regards Sparta; and strikingly incorrect, in regard to the other Dorian states.

even in all foreign expeditions, they habitually acted in obedience to orders from home ; while in affairs of the interior, the superior power of the ephors sensibly overshadowed them. So that, unless possessed of more than ordinary force of character, they seem to have exercised their chief influence as presiding members of the senate.

There is yet another point of view in which it behoves us to take notice of the council and the agora as integral portions of the legendary government of the Grecian communities. We are thus enabled to trace the employment of public speaking, as the standing engine of government and the proximate cause of obedience, to the social infancy of the nation. The power of speech in the direction of public affairs becomes more and more obvious, developed, and irresistible, as we advance towards the culminating period of Grecian history, the century preceding the battle of Chæroneia. That its development was greatest among the most enlightened sections of the Grecian name, and smallest among the more obtuse and stationary, is matter of notorious fact ; nor is it less true, that the prevalence of this habit was one of the chief causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally. At a time when all the countries around were plunged comparatively in mental torpor, there was no motive sufficiently present and powerful to multiply so wonderfully the productive minds of Greece, except such as arose from the rewards of public speaking. The susceptibility of the multitude to this sort of guidance, their habit of requiring and enjoying the stimulus which it supplied, and the open discussion, combining regular forms with free opposition, of practical matters, political as well as judicial, — are the creative causes which formed such conspicuous adepts in the art of persuasion. Nor was it only professed orators who were thus produced ; didactic aptitude was formed in the background, and the speculative tendencies were supplied with interesting phenomena for observation and combination, at a time when the truths of physical science were almost inaccessible. If the primary effect was to quicken the powers of expression, the secondary, but not less certain result, was to develop the habits of scientific thought. Not only the oratory of Demosthenês and Periklês, and the colloquial magic of Socratês, but also the philosophical speculations of Plato, and the syste-

matic politics, rhetoric, and logic of Aristotle, are traceable to the same general tendencies in the minds of the Grecian people: and we find the germ of these expansive forces in the senate and agora of their legendary government. The poets, first epic and then lyric, were the precursors of the orators, in their power of moving the feelings of an assembled crowd; whilst the Homeric poems — the general training-book of educated Greeks — constituted a treasury of direct and animated expression, full of concrete forms, and rare in the use of abstractions, and thence better suited to the workings of oratory. The subsequent critics had no difficulty in selecting from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, samples of eloquence in all its phases and varieties.

On the whole, then, the society depicted in the old Greek poems is loose and unsettled, presenting very little of legal restraint, and still less of legal protection, — but concentrating such political power as does exist in the hands of a legitimate hereditary king, whose ascendancy over the other chiefs is more or less complete according to his personal force and character. Whether that ascendancy be greater or less, however, the mass of the people is in either case politically passive and of little account. Though the Grecian freeman of the heroic age is above the degraded level of the Gallic *plebs*, as described by Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> he is far from rivalling the fierce independence and sense of dignity, combined with individual force, which characterize the Germanic tribes before their establishment in the Roman empire. Still less does his condition, or the society in which he moves, correspond to those pleasing dreams of spontaneous rectitude and innocence, in which Tacitus and Seneca indulge with regard to primitive man.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *Bell. Gallic.* vi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca, *Epist.* xc.; Tacitus, *Annal.* iii. 26. "Vetustissimi mortalium (says the latter), nullâ adhuc malâ libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine poenâ aut coercitione, agebant: neque præmiis opus erat, cum honesta suo pte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui æqualitas, et pro modestiâ et pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, proveniêre dominationes, multosque apud populos æternum mansere," etc. Compare Strabo, vii. p. 301.

These are the same fancies so eloquently set forth by Rousseau, in the last century. A far more sagacious criticism pervades the preface of Thucydides.

2. The state of moral and social feeling, prevalent in legendary Greece, exhibits a scene in harmony with the rudimentary political fabrics just described. Throughout the long stream of legendary narrative on which the Greeks looked back as their past history, the larger social motives hardly ever come into play: either individual valor and cruelty, or the personal attachments and quarrels of relatives and war-companions, or the feuds of private enemies, are ever before us. There is no sense of obligation then existing, between man and man as such,—and very little between each man and the entire community of which he is a member; such sentiments are neither operative in the real world, nor present to the imaginations of the poets. Personal feelings, either towards the gods, the king, or some near and known individual, fill the whole of a man's bosom: out of them arise all the motives to beneficence, and all the internal restraints upon violence, antipathy, or rapacity: and special communion, as well as special solemnities, are essential to their existence. The ceremony of an oath, so imposing, so paramount, and so indispensable in those days, illustrates strikingly this principle. And even in the case of the stranger suppliant,—in which an apparently spontaneous sympathy manifests itself,—the succor and kindness shown to him arise mainly from his having gone through the consecrated formalities of supplication, such as that of sitting down in the ashes by the sacred hearth, thus obtaining a sort of privilege of sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> That ceremony exalts him

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<sup>1</sup> Senthês, in the *Anabasis* of Xenophôn (vii. 2, 33), describes how, when an orphan youth, he formerly supplicated Mædokos, the Thracian king, to grant him a troop of followers, in order that he might recover his lost dominions, *ἐκαθέζομην ἐνδὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰκέτης δοῦναι μοι ἄνδρας*.

Thucydides gives an interesting description of the arrival of the exile Themistoklês, then warmly pursued by the Greeks on suspicion of treason, at the house of Admêtus, king of the Epirotic Molossians. The wife of Admêtus herself instructed the fugitive how to supplicate her husband in form: the child of Admêtus was placed in his arms, and he was directed to sit down in this guise close by the consecrated hearth, which was of the nature of an altar. While so seated, he addressed his urgent entreaties to Admêtus for protection: the latter raised him up from the ground and promised what was asked. "That (says the historian) was the most powerful form of supplication." Admêtus,—*ἀκούσας ἀνίστησιν τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱός, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἰκέτευμα ἦν τοῦτο*

into something more than a mere suffering man, — it places him in express fellowship with the master of the house, under the tutelary sanctions of Zeus Hiketêsios. There is great difference between one form of supplication and another; the suppliant, however, in any form, becomes more or less the object of a particular sympathy.

The sense of obligation towards the gods manifests itself separately in habitual acts of worship, sacrifice, and libations, or

(Thuc. i. 136). So Téléphus, in the lost drama of Æschylus called *Μυσοί*, takes up the child Orestês. See Bothe's *Fragm.* 44; Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 305.

In the *Odyssey*, both Nausikaa and the goddess Athênê instruct Odysseus in the proper form of supplicating Alkinous: he first throws himself down at the feet of queen Arêtê, embracing her knees and addressing to her his prayer, and then, without waiting for a reply, sits down among the ashes on the hearth, — ὡς εἰπὼν, κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσι, — Alkinous is dining with a large company: for some time both he and the guests are silent: at length the ancient Echenêus remonstrates with him on his tardiness in raising the stranger up from the ashes. At his exhortation, the Phæakian king takes Odysseus by the hand, and, raising him up, places him on a chair beside him: he then directs the heralds to mix a bowl of wine, and to serve it to every one round, in order that all may make libations to Zeus Hiketêsios. This ceremony clothes the stranger with the full rights and character of a suppliant (*Odys.* vi. 310; vii. 75, 141, 166): κατὰ νόμον ἀφικτόρων, Æschyl. *Supplic.* 242.

That the form counted for a great deal, we see evidently marked: but of course supplication is often addressed, and successfully addressed, in circumstances where this form cannot be gone through.

It is difficult to accept the doctrine of Eustathius, (ad *Odys.* xvi. 424,) that *Ikérês* is a *vox media* (like *xeivos*), applied as well to the *Ikéradochos* as to the *Ikérês*, properly so called: but the word *ἀλλήλοισιν*, in the passage just cited, does seem to justify his observation: yet there is no direct authority for such use of the word in Homer.

The address of Theoclymenos, on first preferring his supplication to Telemachus, is characteristic of the practice (*Odys.* xv. 260); compare also *Iliad*, xvi. 574, and Hesiod. *Scut. Hercul.* 12–85.

The idea of the *xeivos* and the *Ikérês* run very much together. I can hardly persuade myself that the reading *Ikéreneos* (*Odys.* xi. 520) is truly Homeric: implying as it does the idea of a pitiable sufferer, it is altogether out of place when predicated of the proud and impetuous Neoptolemus: we should rather have expected *ékéleues*. (See *Odys.* x. 15.)

The constraining efficacy of special formalities of supplication, among the Scythians, is powerfully set forth in the *Toxaris* of Lucian: the suppliant sits upon an ox-hide, with his hands confined behind him (Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 48, vol. iii. p. 69, Tauchn.) — the *μεγίστη Iketêria* among that people.

by votive presents, such as that of the hair of Achilles, which he has pledged to the river-god Spercheius,<sup>1</sup> and such as the constant dedicated offerings which men who stand in urgent need of the divine aid first promise and afterwards fulfil. But the feeling towards the gods also appears, and that not less frequently, as mingling itself with and enforcing obligations towards some particular human person. The tie which binds a man to his father, his kinsman, his guest, or any special promisee towards whom he has taken the engagement of an oath, is conceived in conjunction with the idea of Zeus, as witness and guarantee; and the intimacy of the association is attested by some surname or special appellation of the god.<sup>2</sup> Such personal feelings composed all the moral influences of which a Greek of that day was susceptible, — a state of mind which we can best appreciate by contrasting it with that of the subsequent citizen of historical Athens. In the view of the latter, the great impersonal authority, called "The Laws," stood out separately, both as guide and sanction, distinct from religious duty or private sympathies: but of this discriminated conception of positive law and positive morality,<sup>3</sup> the germ only can be detected in the Homeric poems. The appropriate Greek word for human laws never occurs. Amidst a very wavering phraseology,<sup>4</sup> we can detect a gradual transition

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xxiii. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. xiv. 389. —

Οὐ γὰρ τοῦνεκ' ἐγὼ σ' αἰδέσσομαι, οὐδὲ φίλῃσω,  
Ἄλλὰ Δία ξένιον δέισας, αὐτὸν δ' ἐλεαίρων.

<sup>3</sup> Nägelsbach (Homerische Theologie, Abschn. v. s. 23) gives a just and well-sustained view of the Homeric ethics: "Es ist der charakteristische Standpunkt der Homerischen Ethik, dass die Sphären des Rechts, der Sittlichkeit, und Religiosität, bey dem Dichter, durchaus noch nicht auseinander fallen, so dass der Mensch z. B. δίκαιος seyn konnte ohne θεουδής zu seyn — sondern in unentwickelter Einheit beysammen sind."

<sup>4</sup> Νόμοι, laws, is not an Homeric word; νόμος, law, in the singular, occurs twice in the Hesiodic Works and Days (276, 388).

The employment of the words δίκη, δίκαι, θέμις, θέμιστες, in Homer, is curious as illustrating the early moral associations, but would require far more space than can be given to it in a note; we see that the sense of each of these words was essentially fluctuating. Themis, in Homer, is sometimes decidedly a person, who exercises the important function of opening and closing the agora, both of gods and mén (Iliad, xx. 4: Odyss. ii. 68), and

from the primitive idea of a personal goddess Themis, attached to Zeus, first to his sentences or orders called Themistes, and next by a still farther remove to various established customs, which those sentences were believed to sanctify, — the authority of religion and that of custom coalescing into one indivisible obligation.

The family relations, as we might expect, are set forth in our pictures of the legendary world as the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority is highly revered: the son who lives to years of maturity, repays by affection to his parents the charge of his maintenance in infancy, which the language notes by a special word; whilst on the other hand, the Erinnyæ, whose avenging hand is put in motion by the curse of a father or mother, is an object of deep dread.<sup>1</sup>

who, besides that, acts and speaks (*Iliad*, xiv. 87–93); always the associate and companion of Zeus, the highest god. In Hesiod, (*Theog.* 901,) she is the wife of Zeus: in Æschylus, (*Prometh.* 209,) she is the same as Γαῖα: even in Plato, (*Legg.* xi. p. 936,) witnesses swear (to want of knowledge of matters under inquest) by Zeus, Apollo, and Themis. Themis as a person is probably the oldest sense of the word: then we have the plural *θέμιστες* (connected with the verb *τίθημι*, like *θεσμός* and *τεθμός*), which are (not persons, but) special appurtenances or emanations of the supreme god, or of a king acting under him, analogous to and joined with the sceptre. The sceptre, and the *θέμιστες* or the *δίκαι* constantly go together (*Iliad*, ii. 209; ix. 99): Zeus or the king is a judge, not a law-maker; he issues decrees or special orders to settle particular disputes, or to restrain particular men; and, agreeable to the concrete forms of ancient language, the decrees are treated as if they were a collection of ready-made substantive things, actually in his possession, like the sceptre, and prepared for being delivered out when the proper occasion arose: *δικάσπολοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύναται* (*Il.* i. 138), compared with the two passages last cited: *Ἀφρονα τοῦτον ἀνέντας, ὃς οὐτινα οἶδε θέμιστα* (*Il.* v. 761), *Ἄγριον, οὐτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας* (*Odyss.* ix. 215). The plural number *δίκαι* is more commonly used in Homer than the singular: *δίκη* is rarely used to denote Justice, as an abstract conception; it more often denotes a special claim of right on the part of some given man (*Il.* xviii. 508). It sometimes also denotes, simply, established custom, or the known lot, — *δμῶν δίκη, γερόντων, θεῶν βασιλῆων, θεῶν* (see Damm's *Lexicon*, *ad voc.*): *θέμις* is used in the same manner.

See, upon this matter, Platner, *De Notione Juris ap. Homerum*, p. 31, and O. Müller, *Prolegg. Mythol.* p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε (*Il.* iv. 477): *θρέπτρα* or *θρεπτήρια* (compare *Il.* ix. 454; *Odyss.* ii. 134; Hesiod, *Opp.* Di. 186).



In regard to marriage, we find the wife occupying a station of great dignity and influence, though it was the practice for the husband to purchase her by valuable presents to her parents,—a practice extensively prevalent among early communities, and treated by Aristotle as an evidence of barbarism. She even seems to live less secluded and to enjoy a wider sphere of action than was allotted to her in historical Greece.<sup>1</sup> Concubines are frequent with the chiefs, and occasionally the jealousy of the wife breaks out in reckless excess against her husband, as may be seen in the tragical history of Phoenix. The continence of Lærtês, from fear of displeasing his wife Antikleia, is especially noticed.<sup>2</sup> A large portion of the romantic interest which Grecian legend inspires is derived from the women: Penelopë, Androma-

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 5, 11. The *édva*, or present given by the suitor to the father, as an inducement to grant his daughter in marriage, are spoken of as very valuable,—*ἀνεπίστια édva* (Il. xi. 244; xvi. 178; xxii. 472): to grant a daughter without *édva* was a high compliment to the intended son-in-law (Il. ix. 141: compare xiii. 366). Among the ancient Germans of Tacitus, the husband gave presents, not to his wife's father, but to herself (Tacit. Germ. c. 18): the customs of the early Jews were in this respect completely Homeric; see the case of Shechem and Dinah (Genesis, xxxiv. 12) and others, etc.; also Mr. Catlin's Letters on the North American Indians, vol. i. Lett. 26, p. 213.

The Greek *édva* correspond exactly to the *mundium* of the Lombard and Alemannic laws, which is thus explained by Mr. Price (Notes on the Laws of King Ethelbert, in the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, translated and published by Mr. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 20): "The Longobardic law is the most copious of all the barbaric codes in its provisions respecting marriage, and particularly so on the subject of the *Mund*. From that law it appears that the *Mundium* was a sum paid over to the family of the bride, for transferring the tutelage which they possessed over her to the family of the husband: 'Si quis pro muliere liberâ aut puellâ mundium dederit et ei tradita fuerit ad uxorem,' etc. (ed. Rotharis, c. 183.) In the same sense in which the term occurs in these dooms, it is also to be met with in the Alemannic law: it was also common in Denmark and in Sweden, where the bride was called a *mund-bought* or a *mund-given* woman."

According to the 77th Law of King Ethelbert (p. 23), this *mund* was often paid in cattle: the Saxon daughters were *νῆρθενοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι* (Iliad, xviii. 593).

<sup>2</sup> Odys. i. 430; Iliad, ix. 450; see also Terpstra, Antiquitas Homerica, capp. 17 and 18.

Polygamy appears to be ascribed to Priam, but to no one else (Iliad, xxi. 88).

chê, Helen, Klytæmnêstra, Eriphylê, Iokasta, Hekabê, etc., all stand in the foreground of the picture, either from their virtues their beauty, their crimes, or their sufferings.

Not only brothers, but also cousins, and the more distant blood-relations and clansmen, appear connected together by a strong feeling of attachment, sharing among them universally the obligation of mutual self-defence and revenge, in the event of injury to any individual of the race. The legitimate brothers divide between them by lot the paternal inheritance, — a bastard brother receiving only a small share; he is, however, commonly very well treated,<sup>1</sup> though the murder of Phokus, by Telamon and Pêleus, constitutes a flagrant exception. The furtive pregnancy of young women, often by a god, is one of the most frequently recurring incidents in the legendary narratives; and the severity with which such a fact, when discovered, is visited by the father, is generally extreme. As an extension of the family connection, we read of larger unions, called the phratry and the tribe, which are respectfully, but not frequently, mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

The generous readiness with which hospitality is afforded to the stranger who asks for it,<sup>3</sup> the facility with which he is allowed to contract the peculiar connection of guest with his host, and the

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xiv. 202–215: compare Iliad, xi. 102. The primitive German law of succession divided the paternal inheritance among the sons of a deceased father, under the implied obligation to maintain and portion out their sisters (Eichhorn, *Deutsches Privat-Recht*. sect. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, ii. 362. —

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιτος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,  
Ὅς πολέμον ἔραται, etc. (II. ix. 63.)

These three epithets include the three different classes of personal sympathy and obligation: 1. The Phratry, in which a man is connected with father, mother, brothers, cousins, brothers-in-law, clansmen, etc.; 2. The *θέμιτος*, whereby he is connected with his fellow-men who visit the same agora; 3. His Hestia, or Hearth, whereby he becomes accessible to the *ξείνος* and the *ἱκέτης*: —

Τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,  
'Αρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ  
Γνώτην ἀλλήλοιν. (Odyss. xx. 34.)

<sup>3</sup> It must be mentioned, however, that when a chief received a stranger and made presents to him, he reimbursed to himself the value of the presents by collections among the people (Odyss. xiii. 14; xix. 197): ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἐνὰ προικὸς χάρισσασθαι, says Alkinous.

permanence with which that connection, when created by partaking of the same food and exchanging presents, is maintained even through a long period of separation, and even transmitted from father to son — these are among the most captivating features of the heroic society. The Homeric chief welcomes the stranger who comes to ask shelter in his house, first gives him refreshment, and then inquires his name and the purpose of his voyage.<sup>1</sup> Though not inclined to invite strangers to his house, he cannot repel them when they spontaneously enter it craving a lodging.<sup>2</sup> The suppliant is also commonly a stranger, but a stranger under peculiar circumstances; who proclaims his own calamitous and abject condition, and seeks to place himself in a relation to the chief whom he solicits, something like that in which men stand to the gods. Onerous as such special tie may become to him, the chief cannot decline it, if solicited in the proper form: the ceremony of supplication has a binding effect, and the Erinnyes punish the hardhearted person who disallows it. A conquered enemy may sometimes throw himself at the feet of his conqueror, and solicit mercy, but he cannot by doing so acquire the character and claims of a suppliant properly so called: the conqueror has free discretion either to kill him, or to spare him and accept a ransom.<sup>3</sup>

There are in the legendary narratives abundant examples of individuals who transgress in particular acts even the holiest of

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. i. 123; iii. 70, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. xvii. 383. —

Τίς γὰρ δὴ ξείνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν

Ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶνδ', οἱ δημῳεργοὶ ἔασιν, etc.;

which breathes the plain-spoken shrewdness of the Hesiodic Works and Days, v. 355.

<sup>3</sup> See the illustrative case of Lykaon, in vain craving mercy from Achilles. (Iliad, xxi. 64–97. Ἀντί τοι εἰμ' ἰκέταο, etc.)

Menelaus is about to spare the life of the Trojan Adrastus, who clasps his knees and craves mercy, offering a large ransom, — when Agamemnôn repels the idea of quarter, and kills Adrastus with his own hand: his speech to Menelaus displays the extreme of violent enmity, yet the poet says, —

Ὡς εἰπὼν, παρέπεισεν ἄδελφεῖον φρένας ἥρωος,

Αἰσιμα παρειαπὼν, etc.

Adrastus is not called an ἰκέτης, nor is the expression used in respect to Dolon (Il. x. 456), nor in the equally striking case of Odysseus (Odyss. xiv. 379), when begging for his life.

these personal ties, but the savage Cyclops is the only person described as professedly indifferent to them, and careless of the sanction of the gods which in Grecian belief accompanied them all.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the tragical horror which pervades the lineage of Athamas or Kadmus, and which attaches to many of the acts of Héraklès, of Péleus and Telamon, of Jasôn and Médea, of Atreus and Thyestès, etc., is founded upon a deep feeling and sympathy with those special obligations, which conspicuous individuals, under the temporary stimulus of the maddening Atê, are driven to violate. In such conflict of sentiments, between the obligation generally revered and the exceptional deviation in an individual otherwise admired, consists the pathos of the story.

These feelings — of mutual devotion between kinsmen and companions in arms — of generous hospitality to the stranger, and of helping protection to the suppliant, — constitute the bright spots in a dark age. We find them very generally prevalent amongst communities essentially rude and barbarous, — amongst the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus, the Druses in Lebanon,<sup>2</sup> the Arabian tribes in the desert, and even the North American Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Odys. ix. 112-275.

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. German. c. 21. "Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortunâ quisque apparatus epulis excipit: cum defecere qui modo hospes fuerat, monstratur hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest — pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit." Compare Cæsar, B. G. vi. 22.

See about the Druses and Arabians, Volney, Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 76, Engl. Transl.; Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, Copenh. 1772, pp. 46-49.

Pomponius Mela describes the ancient Germans in language not inapplicable to the Homeric Greeks: "Jus in viribus habent, adeo ut ne latrocinii quidem pudeat: tantum hospitibus boni, mitesque supplicibus." (iii. 3.)

"The hospitality of the Indians is well known. It extends even to strangers who take refuge among them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one, commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person. In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and, when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are, however, remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they will even call upon their friends and posterity to do

They are the instinctive manifestations of human sociality, standing at first alone, and for that reason appearing to possess a

it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy." (Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians*, Part I. ch. 2, p. 15.)

"Charlevoix observes, (says Dr. Ferguson, *Essay on Civil Society*, Part II. § 2, p. 145,) that the nations among whom he travelled in North America never mentioned acts of generosity or kindness under the notion of duty. They acted from affection, as they acted from appetite, without regard to its consequences. When they had done a kindness, they had gratified a desire: the business was finished, and it passed from the memory. The spirit with which they give or receive presents is the same as that which Tacitus remarks among the ancient Germans: '*Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur.*' Such gifts are of little consequence, except when employed as the seal of a bargain or a treaty."

Respecting the Morlacchi (Illyrian Slavonians), the Abbé Fortis says (*Travels in Dalmatia*, pp. 55-58):—

"The hospitality of the Morlachs is equally conspicuous among the poor as among the opulent. The rich prepares a roasted lamb or sheep, and the poor, with equal cordiality, gives his turkey, milk, honey,—whatever he has. Nor is their generosity confined to strangers, but generally extends to all who are in want. . . . Friendship is lasting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the sacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Slavonian ritual contains a particular benediction, for the solemn union of two male or two female friends, in presence of the whole congregation. The male friends thus united are called Pobratimi, and the females Posestreime, which means half-brothers and half-sisters. The duties of the Pobratimi are, to assist each other in every case of need and danger, to revenge mutual wrongs, etc.: their enthusiasm is often carried so far as to risk, and even lose their life. . . . But as the friendships of the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly unextinguishable. They pass from father to son, and the mothers fail not to put their children in mind of their duty to revenge their father, if he has had the misfortune to be killed, and to show them often the bloody shirt of the deceased. . . . A Morlach is implacable, if injured or insulted. With him, revenge and justice have exactly the same meaning, and truly it is the primitive idea, and I have been told that in Albania the effects of revenge are still more atrocious and more lasting. There, a man of the mildest character is capable of the most barbarous revenge, believing it to be his positive duty. . . . A Morlach who has killed another of a powerful family is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and keep out of the way for several years. If during that time he has been fortunate enough to escape the search of his pursuers, and has got a small sum of money, he endeavors to obtain pardon and peace. . . . It is the custom in some places for the offended

greater tutelary force than really belongs to them,—beneficent, indeed, in a high degree, with reference to their own appropriate period, but serving as a very imperfect compensation for the impotence of the magistrate, and for the absence of any all-pervading sympathy or sense of obligation between man and man. We best appreciate their importance when we compare the Homeric society with that of barbarians like the Thracians, who tattooed their bodies, as the mark of a generous lineage,—sold their children for export as slaves,—considered robbery, not merely as one admissible occupation among others, but as the only honorable mode of life; agriculture being held contemptible,—and above all, delighted in the shedding of blood as a luxury. Such were the Thracians in the days of Herodotus and Thucydides: and the Homeric society forms a mean term between that which these two historians yet saw in Thrace, and that which they witnessed among their own civilized countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

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party to threaten the criminal, holding all sorts of arms to his throat, and at last to consent to accept his ransom."

Concerning the influence of these two distinct tendencies—devoted personal friendship and implacable animosities—among the Illyrico-Sclavonian population, see Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de la Turquie*, ch. vii. pp. 42–46, and Dr. Joseph Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien, und die Oesterreichisch-Montenegrenische Gränze*, Prag. 1844, pp. 24–25.

"It is for the virtue of hospitality (observes Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, etc. vol. i. book vi. ch. iv.), that the primitive times are chiefly famed. But, in my opinion, hospitality was then exercised, not so much from generosity and greatness of soul, as from necessity. Common interest probably gave rise to that custom. In remote antiquity, there were few or no public inns: they entertained strangers, in order that they might render them the same service, if they happened to travel into their country. Hospitality was reciprocal. When they received strangers into their houses, they acquired a right of being received into theirs again. This right was regarded by the ancients as sacred and inviolable, and extended not only to those who had acquired it, but to their children and posterity. Besides, hospitality in these times could not be attended with much expense: men travelled but little. In a word, the modern Arabians prove that hospitality may consist with the greatest vices, and that this species of generosity is no decisive evidence of goodness of heart, or rectitude of manners."

The book of Genesis, amidst many other features of resemblance to the Homeric manners, presents that of ready and exuberant hospitality to the stranger.

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the Thracians, compare Herodot. v. 11; Thucyd. vii

When, however, among the Homeric men we pass beyond the influence of the private ties above enumerated, we find scarcely any other moralizing forces in operation. The acts and adventures commemorated imply a community wherein neither the protection nor the restraints of law are practically felt, and wherein ferocity, rapine, and the aggressive propensities generally, seem restrained by no internal counterbalancing scruples. Homicide, especially, is of frequent occurrence, sometimes by open violence, sometimes by fraud: expatriation for homicide is among the most constantly recurring acts of the Homeric poems: and savage brutalities are often ascribed, even to admired heroes, with apparent indifference. Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroklos, while his son Neoptolemus not only slaughters the aged Priam, but also seizes by the leg the child Astyanax (son of the slain Hector) and hurls him from one of the lofty towers of Troy.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the celebrity of Autolykus, the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, in the career of wholesale robbery and perjury, and the wealth which it enabled him to acquire, are described with the same unaffected admiration as the wisdom

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29-30. The expression of the latter historian is remarkable, — τὸ δὲ γένος τῶν Θρακῶν, ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσέσῃς φονικώτατόν ἐστι.

Compare Herodot. viii. 116; the cruelty of the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ towards his own sons.

The story of Odysseus to Eumæus in the *Odyssey* (xiv. 210-226) furnishes a valuable comparison for this predatory disposition among the Thracians. Odysseus there treats the love of living by war and plunder as his own peculiar taste: he did not happen to like regular labor, but the latter is not treated in any way mean or unbecoming a freeman: —

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν

οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἣ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Ilias Minor*, Fragm. 7, p. 18, ed. Düntzer; *Iliad*, xxiii. 175. Odysseus is mentioned once as obtaining poison for his arrows (*Odys.* i. 160), but no poisoned arrows are ever employed in either of the two poems.

The anecdotes recounted by the Scythian Toxaris in Lucian's work so entitled (vol. ii. c. 36, p. 544, *seqq.* ed. Hemst.) afford a vivid picture of this combination of intense and devoted friendship between individuals, with the most revolting cruelty of manners. "You Greeks live in peace and tranquillity," observes the Scythian, — παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ συνεχεῖς οἱ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἡ ἐπελαύνομεν ἄλλοις, ἢ ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐκιδόντας, ἢ συμπεσόντες ὑπὲρ νομῆς ἢ λείας μαχόμεθα. ἐνθ' αὖ μάλιστα δεῖ φίλων ἀγαθῶν, etc.

of Nestôr or the strength of Ajax.<sup>1</sup> Achilles, Menelaus, Odysseus, pillage in person, wherever they can find an opportunity, employing both force and stratagem to surmount resistance.<sup>2</sup> The vocation of a pirate is recognized and honorable, so that a host, when he asks his guest what is the purpose of his voyage, enumerates enrichment by indiscriminate maritime plunder *as* among those projects which may naturally enter into his contemplation.<sup>3</sup> Abduction of cattle, and expeditions for unprovoked ravage as well as for retaliation, between neighboring tribes, appear ordinary phenomena;<sup>4</sup> and the established inviolability of heralds seems the only evidence of any settled feeling of obligation between one community and another. While the house and property of Odysseus, during his long absence, enjoys no public

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<sup>1</sup> Odys. xxi. 397; Pherekydês, Fragm. 63, ed. Didot; Autolykus, *πλεῖστα κλέπτων ἐθῆσαίριζεν*. The Homeric Hymn to Hermês (the great patron-god of Autolykus) is a farther specimen of the admiration which might be made to attach to clever thieving.

The *ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ*, likely to rob the farm, is one great enemy against whom Hesiod advises precaution to be taken, — a sharp-toothed dog, well-fed, to serve as guard (Opp. Di. 604).

<sup>2</sup> Iliad, xi. 624; xx. 189. Odys. iv. 81–90; ix. 40; xiv. 230; and the indirect revelation (Odys. xix. 284), coupled with a compliment to the dexterity of Odysseus.

<sup>3</sup> Even in the century prior to Thucydides, undistinguishing plunder at sea, committed by Greek ships against ships not Greek, seems not to have been held discreditable. The Phokæan Dionysius, after the ill-success of the Ionic revolt, goes with his three ships of war to Sicily, and from thence plunders Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians (Herod. vi. 17). — *ληϊστὴς κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν*. Compare the conduct of the Phokæan settlers at Alalia in Corsica, after the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus (Herodot. i. 166).

In the treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, made at some period subsequent to 509 B. C., it is stipulated, — *Τοῦ Καλοῦ Ἀκρωτηρίου, Μαστίας, Ταρσηίου, μὴ ληϊσέσθαι ἐπέκεινα Ῥωμαίων μηδ' ἐμπορεύεσθαι, μηδὲ πόνον κτείναν* (Polyb. iii. 24, 4). Plunder, commerce, and colonization, are here assumed as the three objects which the Roman ships would pursue, unless they were under special obligation to abstain, in reference to foreigners. This morality approaches nearer to that of the Homeric age, than to the state of sentiment which Thucydides indicates as current in his day among the Greeks.

<sup>4</sup> See the interesting boastfulness of Nestôr, Iliad, xi. 670–700; also Odys. xxi. 18; Odys. iii. 71; Thucyd. i. 5.



protection,<sup>1</sup> those unprincipled chiefs, who consume his substance, find sympathy rather than disapprobation among the people of Ithaka. As a general rule, he who cannot protect himself finds no protection from society: his own kinsmen and immediate companions are the only parties to whom he can look with confidence for support. And in this respect, the representation given by Hesiod makes the picture even worse. In his emphatic denunciation of the fifth age, that poet deplores not only the absence of all social justice and sense of obligation among his contemporaries, but also the relaxation of the ties of family and hospitality.<sup>2</sup> There are marks of querulous exaggeration in the poem of the Works and Days; yet the author professes to describe the real state of things around him, and the features of his picture, soften them as we may, will still appear dark and calamitous. It is, however, to be remarked, that he contemplates a state of peace, — thus forming a contrast with the Homeric poems. His copious catalogue of social evils scarcely mentions liability to plunder by a foreign enemy, nor does he compute the chances of predatory aggression as a source of profit.

There are two special veins of estimable sentiment, on which it may be interesting to contrast heroic and historical Greece, and which exhibit the latter as an improvement on the former, not less in the affections than in the intellect.

The law of Athens was peculiarly watchful and provident with respect both to the persons and the property of orphan minors; but the description given in the Iliad of the utter and hopeless destitution of the orphan boy, despoiled of his paternal inheritance, and abandoned by all the friends of his father, whom he urgently supplicates, and who all harshly cast him off, is one of the most pathetic morsels in the whole poem.<sup>3</sup> In reference

<sup>1</sup> Odys. iv. 165, among many other passages. Telemachus laments the misfortune of his race, in respect that himself, Odysseus, and Laërtēs were all only sons of their fathers: there were no brothers to serve as mutual auxiliaries (Odys. xvi. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Opp. Di. 182-199:—

Οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίος, οὐδέ τι παῖδες,  
Οὐδὲ ξείνος ξεινοδόκῳ, καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ,  
Οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
Αἰψὰ δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμῆσονται τοκῆας, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad, xxii. 487-500. Hesiod dwells upon injury to orphan children, however, as a heinous offence (Opp. Di. 330).

again to the treatment of the dead body of an enemy, we find all the Greek chiefs who come near (not to mention the conduct of Achilles himself) piercing with their spears the corpse of the slain Hectôr, while some of them even pass disgusting taunts upon it. We may add, from the lost epics, the mutilation of the dead bodies of Paris and Deiphobus by the hand of Menelaus.<sup>1</sup> But at the time of the Persian invasion, it was regarded as unworthy of a right-minded Greek to maltreat in any way the dead body of an enemy, even where such a deed might seem to be justified on the plea of retaliation. After the battle of Plataea, a proposition was made to the Spartan king Pausanias, to retaliate upon the dead body of Mardonius the indignities which Xerxês had heaped upon that of Leonidas at Thermopylae. He indignantly spurned the suggestion, not without a severe rebuke, or rather a half-suppressed menace, towards the proposer: and the feeling of Herodotus himself goes heartily along with him.<sup>2</sup>

The different manner of dealing with homicide presents a third test, perhaps more striking yet, of the change in Grecian feelings and manners during the three centuries preceding the Persian invasion. That which the murderer in the Homeric times had to dread, was, not public prosecution and punishment, but the personal vengeance of the kinsmen and friends of the deceased, who were stimulated by the keenest impulses of honor and obligation to avenge the deed, and were considered by the public as specially privileged to do so.<sup>3</sup> To escape from this danger, he

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xxii. 371. οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ τὴν ἀνδρὸς γέ περ ἔσση. Argument of Iliad. Minor. ap. Düntzer, Epp. Fragm. p. 17; Virgil, Æneid, vi. 520.

Both Agamemnôn and the Oiliad Ajax cut off the heads of slain warriors, and send them rolling like a ball or like a mortar among the crowd of warriors (Iliad, xi. 147; xiii. 102).

The ethical maxim preached by Odysseus in the Odyssey, not to utter boastful shouts over a slain enemy (Ὀὐκ ὀΐνῃ, κραμένουσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχεράσθαι, xxii. 412), is abundantly violated in the Iliad.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. ix. 78-79. Contrast this strong expression from Pausanias, with the conduct of the Carthaginians towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, after their capture of Selinus in Sicily, where, after having put to death 16,000 persons, they mutilated the dead bodies, —κατὰ τὸ πατρίων ἔθος (Diodôr. xiii. 57-86).

<sup>3</sup> The Mosaic law recognizes this habit and duty on the part of the rela-

is obliged to flee the country, unless he can prevail upon the incensed kinsmen to accept of a valuable payment (we must not speak of coined money, in the days of Homer) as satisfaction for their slain comrade. They may, if they please, decline the offer, and persist in their right of revenge; but if they accept, they are bound to leave the offender unmolested, and he accordingly remains at home without farther consequences. The chiefs in agora do not seem to interfere, except to insure payment of the stipulated sum.

Here we recognize once more the characteristic attribute of the Grecian heroic age, — the omnipotence of private force, tempered and guided by family sympathies, and the practical nullity of that collective sovereign afterwards called *The City*, — who in historical Greece becomes the central and paramount source of obligation, but who appears yet only in the background, as a germ of promise for the future. And the manner in which, in the case of homicide, that germ was developed into a powerful reality, presents an interesting field of comparison with other nations.

For the practice, here designated, of leaving the party guilty of homicide to compromise by valuable payment with the relatives of the deceased, and also of allowing to the latter a free choice whether they would accept such compromise or enforce their right of personal revenge, — has been remarked in many rude communities, but is particularly memorable among the early German tribes.<sup>1</sup> Among the many separate Teutonic establish-

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tives of the murdered man, and provides cities of refuge for the purpose of sheltering the offender in certain cases (Deuteron. xxxv. 13-14; Bauer, *Handbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer*, sect. 51-52).

The relative who inherited the property of a murdered man was specially obliged to avenge his death (H. Leo, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Jüdischen Staats*. — Vorl. iii. p. 35).

<sup>1</sup> "Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo pecorum armentorumque numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus." (Tacit. *German*. 21.) Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 32.

"An Indian feast (says Loskiel, *Mission of the United Brethren in North America*), is seldom concluded without bloodshed. For the murder of a man one hundred yards of wampum, and for that of a woman two hundred yards, must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, and his friends cannot or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations."

ments which rose upon the ruins of the Western Empire of Rome, the right as well as duty of private revenge, for personal injury or insult offered to any member of a family, — and the endeavor to avert its effects by means of a pecuniary composition levied upon the offender, chiefly as satisfaction to the party injured, but partly also as perquisite to the king, — was adopted as the basis of their legislation. This fundamental idea was worked out in elaborate detail as to the valuation of the injury inflicted, wherein one main circumstance was the rank, condition, and power of the sufferer. The object of the legislator was to preserve the society from standing feuds, but at the same time to accord such full satisfaction as would induce the injured person to waive his acknowledged right of personal revenge, — the full luxury of which, as it presented itself to the mind of an Homeric Greek, may be read in more than one passage of the *Iliad*.<sup>1</sup> The Ger-

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Rogge (*Gerichtswesen der Germanen*, capp. 1, 2, 3), Grimm (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, book v. cap. 1-2), and Eichhorn (*Deutsches Privat-Recht* sect. 48) have expounded this idea, and the consequences deduced from it among the ancient Germans.

Aristotle alludes, as an illustration of the extreme silliness of ancient Greek practices (*ἐνθήθη πάμπαν*), to a custom which he states to have still continued at the Æolic Kymê, in cases of murder. If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held peremptorily guilty, — *ὅλον ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἔστιν, ἂν πλήθος τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἐνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα* (*Polit.* ii. 5, 12). This presents a curious parallel with the old German institution of the *Eideshelfern*, or conjurators, who, though most frequently required and produced in support of the party accused, were yet also brought by the party accusing. See Rogge, sect. 36, p. 186; Grimm, p. 862.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ποινὴ* indicates this satisfaction by valuable payment for wrong done, especially for homicide: that the Latin word *pœna* originally meant the same thing, may be inferred from the old phrases *dare pœnas*, *pendere pœnas*. The most illustrative passage in the *Iliad* is that in which Ajax, in the embassy undertaken to conciliate Achilles, censures by comparison the inexorable obstinacy of the latter in setting at naught the proffered presents of Agamemnôn (*Il.* ix. 627): —

Νηλῆς· καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο  
 Ποινὴν, ἣ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνεώτοιο·  
 Καί δ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὑπὸ τίσας·  
 Τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρηγύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ὑγῆνυρ,  
 Ποινὴν δεξαμένον.....

man codes begin by trying to bring about the acceptance of a fixed pecuniary composition as a constant voluntary custom, and proceed ultimately to enforce it as a peremptory necessity: the idea of society is at first altogether subordinate, and its influence passes only by slow degrees from amicable arbitration into imperative control.

The Homeric society, in regard to this capital point in human progression, is on a level with that of the German tribes as described by Tacitus. But the subsequent course of Grecian legislation takes a direction completely different from that of the German codes: the primitive and acknowledged right of private revenge (unless where bought off by pecuniary payment), instead of being developed into practical working, is superseded by more comprehensive views of a public wrong requiring public intervention, or by religious fears respecting the posthumous wrath of the murdered person. In historical Athens, this right of private revenge was discountenanced and put out of sight, even so early as the Draconian legislation,<sup>1</sup> and at last restricted to a few ex-

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The *ποινὴ* is, in its primitive sense, a genuine payment in valuable commodities serving as compensation (*Iliad*, iii. 290; v. 266; xiii. 659): but it comes by a natural metaphor to signify the death of one or more Trojans, as a satisfaction for that of a Greek warrior who had just fallen (or *vice versa*, *Iliad*, xiv. 483; xvi. 398); sometimes even the notion of compensation generally (xvii. 207). In the representation on the shield of Achilles, the genuine proceeding about *ποινὴ* clearly appears: the question there tried is, whether the payment stipulated as satisfaction for a person slain, has really been made or not, — *ὅτι δ' ἄνδρες ἐπέειπον εἶνεκα ποινῆς Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμέ-  
νου*, etc. (xviii. 498.)

The danger of an act of homicide is proportioned to the number and power of the surviving relatives of the slain; but even a small number is sufficient to necessitate flight (*Odyss.* xxiii. 120): on the other hand, a large body of relatives was the grand source of encouragement to an insolent criminal (*Odyss.* xviii. 141).

An old law of Tralles in Lydia, enjoining a nominal *ποινὴ* of a medimnus of beans to the relatives of a murdered person belonging to a contemptible class of citizens, is noticed by Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* c. 46, p. 302. Even in the century preceding Herodotus, too, the Delphians gave a *ποινὴ* as satisfaction for the murder of the fabulist Æsop; which *ποινὴ* was claimed and received by the grandson of Æsop's master (*Herodot.* ii. 134. *Plutarch.* *Ser. Num. Vind.* p. 556).

<sup>1</sup> See Lysias, *De Cæde Eratosthen.* *Orat.* i. p. 94; *Plutarch.* *Solon.* 28; *Demosthen.* *cont. Aristokrat.* pp. 632-637.

treme and special cases; while the murderer came to be considered, first as having sinned against the gods, next as having deeply injured the society, and thus at once as requiring absolution and deserving punishment. On the first of these two grounds, he is interdicted from the agora and from all holy places, as well as from public functions, even while yet untried and simply a suspected person; for if this were not done, the wrath of the gods would manifest itself in bad crops and other national calamities. On the second ground, he is tried before the council of Areiopagus, and if found guilty, is condemned to death, or perhaps to disfranchisement and banishment.<sup>1</sup> The idea of a propitiatory payment to the relatives of the deceased has ceased

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Plato (De Legg. ix. pp. 871-874), in his copious penal suggestions to deal with homicide, both intentional and accidental, concurs in general with the old Attic law (see Matthiæ, *Miscellanea Philologica*, vol. i. p. 151): and as he states with sufficient distinctness the grounds of his propositions, we see how completely the idea of a right to private or family revenge is absent from his mind. In one particular case, he confers upon kinsmen the privilege of avenging their murdered relative (p. 871); but generally, he rather seeks to enforce upon them strictly the duty of bringing the suspected murderer to trial before the court. By the Attic law, it was only the kinsmen of the deceased who had the right of prosecuting for murder, — or the master, if the deceased was an *οἰκέτης* (Demosthen. cont. Euerg. et Mnesibul. c. 18); they might by forgiveness shorten the term of banishment for the unintentional murderer (Demosth. cont. Makart. p. 1069). They seem to have been regarded, generally speaking, as religiously obliged, but not legally compellable, to undertake this duty; compare Plato, Euthyphro, capp. 4 and 5.

<sup>1</sup> Lysias, cont. Aporat. Or. xiii. p. 137. Antiphon. Tetralog. i. 1, p. 629. Ἀσύμφορον δ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τόνδε, μισρὸν καὶ ἀναγνον ὄντα, εἰς τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν εἰσιόντα μαίνειν τὴν ἡγεῖαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς τραπέζας ὄντα συγκαταπιμπλάναι τοὺς ἀναιτίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων αἱ τε ἀφόροι γίνονται, δυστυχεῖς θ' αἱ πράξεις καθίστανται.

The three Tetralogies of Antipho are all very instructive respecting the legal procedure in cases of alleged homicide: as also the Oration De Cæde Herodis (see capp. 1 and 2) — τοῦ νόμου κειμένου, τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἄναποθαιεῖν, etc.

The case of the Spartan Drakontius, one of the Ten Thousand Greeks who served with Cyrus the younger, and permanently exiled from his country in consequence of an involuntary murder committed during his boyhood, presents a pretty exact parallel to the fatal quarrel of Patroklos at dice, when a boy, with the son of Amphidamas, in consequence of which he was forced to seek shelter under the roof of Pêleus (compare Iliad, xxiii. 85, with Xenoph. Anab. iv. 8, 25).

altogether to be admitted: it is the protection of society which dictates, and the force of society which inflicts, a measure of punishment calculated to deter for the future.

3. The society of legendary Greece includes, besides the chiefs, the general mass of freemen (*λαοί*), among whom stand out by special names certain professional men, such as the carpenter, the smith, the leather-dresser, the leech, the prophet, the bard, and the fisherman.<sup>1</sup> We have no means of appreciating their condition. Though lots of arable land were assigned in special property to individuals, with boundaries both carefully marked and jealously watched,<sup>2</sup> yet the larger proportion of surface was devoted to pasture. Cattle formed both the chief item in the substance of a wealthy man, the chief means of making payments, and the common ground of quarrels,—bread and meat, in large quantities, being the constant food of every one.<sup>3</sup> The estates of the owners were tilled, and their cattle tended, mostly by bought slaves, but to a certain degree also by poor freemen called *Thêtes*, working for hire and for stated periods. The principal slaves, who were intrusted with the care of large herds of oxen, swine, or goats, were of necessity men worthy of confidence, their duties placing them away from their master's immediate

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<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* xvii. 384; xix. 135. *Iliad*, iv. 187; vii. 221. I know nothing which better illustrates the idea of the Homeric *δημοεργοί*,—the herald, the prophet, the carpenter, the leech, the bard, etc.,—than the following description of the structure of an East Indian village (*Milf's History of British India*, b. ii. c. 5, p. 266): "A village, politically considered, resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of *officers and servants* consists of the following descriptions: the potail, or head inhabitant, who settles disputes and collects the revenue, etc.; the curnum, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, etc.; the tallier; the boundary-man; the superintendent of tanks and water-courses; the Brahman, who performs the village worship; the schoolmaster; the calendar Brahman, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing or thrashing; the smith and carpenter; the potter; the washerman; the barber; the cowkeeper; the doctor; the dancing-girl who attends at rejoicings; the musician, and the poet."

Each of these officers and servants (*δημοεργοί*) is remunerated by a definite perquisite—so much landed produce—out of the general crop of the village (p. 264).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xii. 421; xxi. 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, i. 155; ix. 154; xiv. 122

eye.<sup>1</sup> They had other slaves subordinate to them, and appear to have been well-treated: the deep and unshaken attachment of Eumæus the swineherd and Philœtius the neatherd to the family and affairs of the absent Odysseus, is among the most interesting points in the ancient epic. Slavery was a calamity, which in that period of insecurity might befall any one: the chief who conducted a freebooting expedition, if he succeeded, brought back with him a numerous troop of slaves, as many as he could seize,<sup>2</sup> — if he failed, became very likely a slave himself: so that the slave was often by birth of equal dignity with his master: Eumæus was himself the son of a chief, conveyed away when a child by his nurse, and sold by Phœnician kidnappers to Laërteus. A slave of this character, if he conducted himself well, might often expect to be enfranchised by his master and placed in an independent holding.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, the slavery of legendary Greece does not present itself as existing under a peculiarly harsh form, especially if we consider that all the classes of society were then very much upon a level in point of taste, sentiment, and instruction.<sup>4</sup> In the absence of legal security or an effective social sanction, it is probable that the condition of a slave under an average master, may have been as good as that of the free Thête. The class of slaves whose lot appears to have been the most pitiable were the

<sup>1</sup> Odysseus and other chiefs of Ithaka had oxen, sheep, mules, etc., on the continent and in Peloponnêsus, under the care of herdsmen (Odys. iv. 636; xiv. 100).

Leukamôr, king of Bosphorus, asks the Scythian Arsakomas — *Πόσα δὲ βοσκήματα, ἢ πόσας ἀμάξας ἔχεις, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμεῖς πλουτεῖτε*; (Lucian, Toxaris, c. 45.) The enumeration of the property of Odysseus would have placed the *βοσκήματα* in the front line.

<sup>2</sup> *Δμῶαί δ' ἄς Ἀχιλεὺς ληΐσσατο* (Iliad, xviii. 28: compare also Odys. i. 397; xxiii. 357; particularly xvii. 441).

<sup>3</sup> Odys. xiv. 64; xv. 412; see also xix. 78: Eurykleia was also of dignified birth (i. 429). The questions put by Odysseus to Eumæus, to which the speech above referred to is an answer, indicate the proximate causes of slavery: "Was the city of your father sacked? or were you seized by pirates when alone with your sheep and oxen?" (Odys. xv. 385.)

Eumæus had purchased a slave for himself (Odys. xiv. 448).

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, Mor. Germ. 21. "Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eâdem humo, degunt," etc. (Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 167.)



females,—more numerous than the males, and performing the principal work in the interior of the house. Not only do they seem to have been more harshly treated than the males, but they were charged with the hardest and most exhausting labor which the establishment of a Greek chief required: they brought in water from the spring, and turned by hand the house-mills, which ground the large quantity of flour consumed in his family.<sup>1</sup> This oppressive task was performed generally by female slaves, in historical as well as legendary Greece.<sup>2</sup> Spinning and weaving was the constant occupation of women, whether free or slave, of every rank and station: all the garments worn both by men and women were fashioned at home, and Helen as well as Penelopë is expert and assiduous at the occupation.<sup>3</sup> The daughters of Keleos at Eleusis go to the well with their basins for water, and Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinous,<sup>4</sup> joins her female slaves in the business of washing her garments in the river. If we are obliged to point out the fierceness and insecurity of an early society, we may at the same time note with pleasure its characteristic simplicity of

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. vii. 104; xx. 116; Iliad vi. 457; compare the Book of Genesis, ch. xi. 5. The expression of Telemachus, when he is proceeding to hang up the female slaves who had misbehaved, is bitterly contemptuous:—

Μῆ μὲν δὴ καθάρῳ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην  
Τάων, etc. (Odyss. xxii. 464.)

The humble establishment of Hesiod's farmer does not possess a mill; he has nothing better than a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding or bruising the corn; both are constructed, and the wood cut from the trees, by his own hand (Opp. Di. 423), though it seems that a professional carpenter ("the servant of Athênê,") is required to put together the plough (v. 430). The Virgilian poem *Moretum*, (v. 24,) assigns a hand-mill even to the humblest rural establishment. The instructive article "Corn Mills," in Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions* (vol. i. p. 227, Eng. transl.), collects all the information available, about this subject.

<sup>2</sup> See Lysias, Or. 1, p. 93 (De Cæde Eratosthenis). Plutarch (*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, c. 21, p. 1101),—Παχυσκελῆς ἄλτρις πρὸς μύλην κινουμένη,—and Kallimachus, (Hymn. ad Delum, 242,)—μηδ' ὄθι δειλαὶ Δυστοκέες μογέουσιν ἄλτρίδες,—notice the overworked condition of these women.

The "grinding slaves" (ἄλτρίδες) are expressly named in one of the Laws of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and constitute the second class in point of value among the female slaves (Law xi. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i. p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Odyss. iv. 131: xix. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Odyss. vi. 96; Hymn. ad Démêtr. 105

manners: Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro, in the early Mosaic narrative, as well as the wife of the native Macedonian chief (with whom the Temenid Perdiccas, ancestor of Philip and Alexander, first took service on retiring from Argos), baking her own cakes on the hearth,<sup>1</sup> exhibit a parallel in this respect to the Homeric pictures.

We obtain no particulars respecting either the common freemen generally, or the particular class of them called Thêtes. These latter, engaged for special jobs, or at the harvest and other busy seasons of field labor, seem to have given their labor in exchange for board and clothing: they are mentioned in the same line with the slaves,<sup>2</sup> and were (as has been just observed) probably on the whole little better off. The condition of a poor freeman in those days, without a lot of land of his own, going about from one temporary job to another, and having no powerful family and no social authority to look up to for protection, must have been sufficiently miserable. When Eumæus indulged his expectation of being manumitted by his masters, he thought at the same time that they would give him a wife, a house, and a lot of land near to themselves;<sup>3</sup> without which collateral advantages, simple manumission might perhaps have been no improvement in his condition. To be Thête in the service of a very poor farmer is selected by Achilles as the maximum of human hardship: such a person could not give to his Thête the same ample food, and good shoes and clothing, as the wealthy chief Eurymachus, while he would exact more severe labor.<sup>4</sup> It was probably among such smaller occupants, who could not advance the price necessary to purchase slaves, and were glad to save the cost of keep when they did not need service, that the Thêtes found employment: though we may conclude that the brave and strong amongst these poor freemen found it preferable to accompany some freebooting chief and to live by the plunder acquired.<sup>5</sup> The exact Hesiod

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. iv. 643.

<sup>3</sup> Odyss. xiv. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Odyss. xi. 490, with xviii. 358. Klytæmnêstra, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, preaches a something similar doctrine to Cassandra, — how much kinder the *ὑρχαίοι λουτοι δεσποταί* were towards their slaves, than masters who had risen by unexpected prosperity (*Agamemn.* 1042).

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. i. 5, *ἐτράποντο πρὸς λήστειαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἐδυνατωτάτων, κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς,*

advises his farmer, whose work is chiefly performed by slaves, to employ and maintain the Thête during summer-time, but to dismiss him as soon as the harvest is completely got in, and then to take into his house for the winter a woman "without any child;" who would of course be more useful than the Thête for the indoor occupations of that season.<sup>1</sup>

In a state of society such as that which we have been describing, Grecian commerce was necessarily trifling and restricted. The Homeric poems mark either total ignorance or great vagueness of apprehension respecting all that lies beyond the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, and the islands between or adjoining them. Libya and Egypt are supposed so distant as to be known only by name and hearsay: indeed, when the city of Kyrene was founded, a century and a half after the first Olympiad, it was difficult to find anywhere a Greek navigator who had ever visited the coast of Libya, or was fit to serve as guide to the colonists.<sup>2</sup> The mention of the Sikels in the Odyssey,<sup>3</sup> leads us to

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Opp. Di. 459 — ἐφορμηθῆναι, ὁμῶς δμῶές τε καὶ αὐτός — and 603: —

.....Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ  
 Πάντα βίον κατὰθαι ἐπήρμενον ἐνδοθι οἴκου,  
 Θῆτά τ' οἶκον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄτεκνον ἐριθον  
 Δίξασθαι κέλομαι· χαλεπὴ δ' ὑπόπορτις ἐριθος.

The two words *οἶκον ποιεῖσθαι* seem here to be taken together in the sense of "dismiss the Thête," or "make him houseless;" for when put out of his employer's house, he had no residence of his own. Götting (*ad loc.*), Nitzsch (*ad Odys.* iv. 643), and Lehrs (*Quæst. Epic.* p. 205) all construe *οἶκον* with *θῆτα*, and represent Hesiod as advising that the houseless Thête should be at that moment *taken on*, just at the time when the summer's work was finished. Lehrs (and seemingly Götting also), sensible that this can never have been the real meaning of the poet, would throw out the two lines as spurious. I may remark farther that the translation of *θῆς* given by Götting — *villicus* — is inappropriate: it includes the idea of superintendence over other laborers, which does not seem to have belonged to the Thête in any case.

There were a class of poor free women who made their living by taking in wool to spin and perhaps to weave: the exactness of their dealing, as well as the poor profit which they made, are attested by a touching Homeric simile (*Iliad*, xiii. 434). See *Iliad*, vi. 289; xxiii. 742. *Odys.* xv. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. iv. 151. Compare Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, part i. pp. 16–19.

*Odys.* xx. 383; xxiv. 210. The identity of the Homeric Scheria with

conclude that Korkyra, Italy, and Sicily were not wholly unknown to the poet: among seafaring Greeks, the knowledge of the latter implied the knowledge of the two former, — since the habitual track, even of a well-equipped Athenian trireme during the Peloponnesian war, from Peloponnêsus to Sicily, was by Korkyra and the Gulf of Tarentum. The Phokæans, long afterwards, were the first Greeks who explored either the Adriatic or Tyrrhenian sea.<sup>1</sup> Of the Euxine sea no knowledge is manifested in Homer, who, as a general rule, presents to us the names of distant regions only in connection with romantic or monstrous accompaniments. The Kretans, and still more the Taphians (who are supposed to have occupied the western islands off the coast of Acarnania), are mentioned as skilful mariners, and the Taphian *Mentês* professes to be conveying iron to Temesa to be there exchanged for copper;<sup>2</sup> but both Taphians and Kretans are more corsairs than traders.<sup>3</sup> The strong sense of the dangers of the sea, expressed by the poet Hesiod, and the imperfect structure of the early Grecian ship, attested by Thucydîdês (who points out the more recent date of that improved ship-building which prevailed in his time), concur to demonstrate the then narrow range of nautical enterprise.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the state of the Greeks, as traders, at a time when Babylon combined a crowded and industrious population with extensive commerce, and when the Phœnician merchant-ships visited in one direction the southern coast of Arabia, perhaps even the island of Ceylon, — in another direction, the British islands.

The Phœnician, the kinsman of the ancient Jew, exhibits the type of character belonging to the latter, — with greater enterprise

Korkyra, and that of the Homeric Thrinakia with Sicily, appear to me not at all made out. Both Welcker and Klausen treat the Phœakians as purely mythical persons (see W. C. Müller, *De Corcyræorum Republicâ*, Götting. 1835, p. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Nitzsch. ad *Odyss.* i. 181; *Strabo*, i. p. 6. The situation of Temesa, whether it is to be placed in Italy or in Cyprus, has been a disputed point among critics, both ancient and modern.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyss.* xv. 426. *Τάφιοι, ληϊστορες ἄνδρες*; and xvi. 426. *Hymn to Dêmêtêr*, v. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod. *Opp. Di.* 615–684; *Thucyd.* i. 13.

and ingenuity, and less of religious exclusiveness, yet still different from, and even antipathetic to, the character of the Greeks. In the Homeric poems, he appears somewhat like the Jew of the Middle Ages, a crafty trader, turning to profit the violence and rapacity of others,—bringing them ornaments, decorations, the finest and brightest products of the loom, gold, silver, electrum, ivory, tin, etc., in exchange for which he received landed produce, skins, wool, and slaves, the only commodities which even a wealthy Greek chief of those early times had to offer,—prepared at the same time for dishonest gain, in any manner which chance might throw in his way.<sup>1</sup> He is, however, really a trader, not undertaking expeditions with the deliberate purpose of surprise and plunder, and standing distinguished in this respect from the Tyrrhenian, Kretan, or Taphian pirate. Tin, ivory, and electrum, all of which are acknowledged in the Homeric poems, were the fruit of Phœnician trade with the West as well as with the East.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xiv. 290; xv. 416.—

φοίνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπαθήλια εἰδώς,  
Τρώκτης, δς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἔωργε.

The interesting narrative given by Eumæus, of the manner in which he fell into slavery, is a vivid picture of Phœnician dealing (compare Herodot. i. 2-4. Iliad, vi. 290; xxiii. 743). Paris is reported to have visited Sidon, and brought from thence women eminent for skill at the loom. The Cyprian Verses (see the Argument ap. Düntzer, p. 17) affirmed that Paris had landed at Sidon, and attacked and captured the city. Taphian corsairs kidnapped slaves at Sidon (Odyss. xv. 424).

The ornaments or trinkets (ὑθύρματα) which the Phœnician merchant carries with him, seem to be the same as the δαίδαλα πολλὰ, Πόρπας τε γναμπτός θ' ἑλικας, etc. which Hēphæstus was employed in fabricating (Iliad, xviii. 400) under the protection of Thetis.

"Fallacissimum esse genus Phœnicum omnia monumenta vetustatis atque omnes historiæ nobis prodiderunt." (Cicero, Orat. Trium. partes ineditæ, ed. Maii, 1815, p. 13.)

<sup>2</sup> Ivory is frequently mentioned in Homer, who uses the word ἐλέφας exclusively to mean that substance, not to signify the animal.

The art of dyeing, especially with the various shades of purple, was in after-ages one of the special excellences of the Phœnicians: yet Homer, where he alludes in a simile to dyeing or staining, introduces a Mæonian or Karian woman as the performer of the process, not a Phœnician (Iliad, iv. 141).

What the *electrum* named in the Homeric poems really is cannot be positively determined. The word in antiquity meant two different things: 1.

Thucydides tells us that the Phœnicians and Karians, in very early periods, occupied many of the islands of the Ægean, and we know, from the striking remnant of their mining works which Herodotus himself saw in Thasus, off the coast of Thrace, that they had once extracted gold from the mountains of that island, — at a period indeed very far back, since their occupation must have been abandoned prior to the settlement of the poet Archilochus.<sup>1</sup> Yet few of the islands in the Ægean were rich in such valuable products, nor was it in the usual course of Phœnician proceeding to occupy islands, except where there was an adjoining mainland with which trade could be carried on. The traffic of these active mariners required no permanent settlement, but as occasional visitors they were convenient, in enabling a Greek chief to turn his captives to account, — to get rid of slaves or friendless Thêtes who were troublesome, — and to supply himself with the metals, precious as well as useful.<sup>2</sup> The halls of Alki-

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amber; 2, an impure gold, containing as much as one-fifth or more of silver (Ciny, H. N. xxxiii. 4). The passages in which we read the word in the Odyssey do not positively exclude either of these meanings; but they present to us electrum so much in juxtaposition with gold and silver each separately, that perhaps the second meaning is more probable than the first. Herodotus understands it to mean *amber* (iii. 115): Sophoklés, on the contrary, employs it to designate a metal akin to gold (Antigone, 1033).

See the dissertation of Buttmann, appended to his collection of essays called *Mythologus*, vol. ii. p. 337; also, Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, vol. iv. p. 12, Engl. Transl. "The ancients (observes the latter) used as a peculiar metal a mixture of gold and silver, because they were not acquainted with the art of separating them, and gave it the name of *electrum*." Dr Thirlwall (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 241) thinks that the Homeric *electrum* is amber; on the contrary, Hüllmann thinks that it was a metallic substance (Handels, *Geschichte der Griechen*, pp. 63–81).

Beckmann doubts whether the oldest *κασσίτερος* of the Greeks was really tin: he rather thinks that it was "the *stannum* of the Romans, the *werk* of our smelting-houses, — that is, a mixture of lead, silver, and other accidental metals." (*Ibid.* p. 20). The Greeks of Massalia procured tin from Britain, through Gaul, by the Seine, the Saone, and the Rhone (Diodôr. v. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 44; vi. 47. Archiloch. *Fragm.* 21–22, ed. Gaisf. Cœnomaus, ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* vi. 7. Thucyd. i. 12.

The Greeks connected this Phœnician settlement in Thasus with the legend of Kadmus and his sister Eurôpa: Thasus, the eponymus of the island, was brother of Kadmus. (Herod. *ib.*)

<sup>2</sup> The angry Laomedôn threatens, when Poseidôn and Apollo ask from

nous and Menelaus glitter with gold, copper, and electrum; while large stocks of yet unemployed metal — gold, copper, and iron — are stored up in the treasure-chamber of Odysseus and other chiefs.<sup>1</sup> Coined money is unknown to the Homeric age, — the trade carried on being one of barter. In reference also to the metals, it deserves to be remarked that the Homeric descriptions universally suppose copper, and not iron, to be employed for arms, both offensive and defensive. By what process the copper was tempered and hardened, so as to serve the purposes of the warrior, we do not know;<sup>2</sup> but the use of iron for these objects belongs to a later age, though the Works and Days of Hesiod suppose this change to have been already introduced.<sup>3</sup>

him (at the expiration of their term of servitude) the stipulated wages of their labor, to cut off their ears and send them off to some distant islands (Iliad, xxi. 454). Compare xxiv. 752. Odys. xx. 383; xviii. 83.

<sup>1</sup> Odys. iv. 73; vii. 85; xxi. 61. Iliad, ii. 226; vi. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See Millin, *Minéralogie Homérique*, p. 74. That there are, however, modes of tempering copper, so as to impart to it the hardness of steel, has been proved by the experiments of the Comte de Caylus.

The Massagetæ employed only copper — no iron — for their weapons (Herodot. i. 215).

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Opp. Di.* 150–420. The examination of the various matters of antiquity discoverable throughout the north of Europe, as published by the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, recognizes a distinction of three successive ages: 1. Implements and arms of stone, bone, wood, etc.: little or no use of metals at all; clothing made of skins. 2. Implements and arms of copper and gold, or rather bronze and gold; little or no silver or iron. Articles of gold and electrum are found belonging to this age, but none of silver, nor any evidences of writing. 3. The age which follows this has belonging to it arms of iron, articles of silver, and some Runic inscriptions: it is the last age of northern paganism, immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity (*Leitfaden zur Nördischen Alterthumskunde*, pp. 31, 57, 63, Copenhagen, 1837).

The Homeric age coincides with the second of these two periods. Silver is comparatively little mentioned in Homer, while both bronze and gold are familiar metals. Iron also is rare, and seems employed only for agricultural purposes — *Χρυσόν τε, χαλκόν τε ἄλυσ, ἐσθῆτα θ' ὑφαντήν* (Iliad, vi. 48; Odys. ii. 338; xiii. 136). The *χρυσόχοος* and the *χαλκεύς* are both mentioned in Homer, but workers in silver and iron are not known by any special name (Odys. iii. 425–436).

“The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the saw, the square, and the compass.” (Gillies, *Hist. of Greece*, chap. ii. p. 61.)

The mode of fighting among the Homeric heroes is not less different from the historical times, than the material of which their arms were composed. The Hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry of historical Greece, maintained a close order and well-dressed line, charging the enemy with their spears protended at even distance, and coming thus to close conflict without breaking their rank: there were special troops, bowmen, slingers, etc. armed with missiles, but the hoplite had no weapon to employ in this manner. The heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, on the contrary, habitually employ the spear as a missile, which they launch with tremendous force: each of them is mounted in his war-chariot, drawn by two horses, and calculated to contain the warrior and his charioteer; in which latter capacity a friend or comrade will sometimes consent to serve. Advancing in his chariot at full speed, in front of his own soldiers, he hurls his spear against the enemy: sometimes, indeed, he will fight on foot, and hand to hand, but the chariot is usually near to receive him if he chooses, or to insure his retreat. The mass of the Greeks and Trojans, coming forward to the charge, without any regular step or evenly-maintained line, make their attack in the same way by hurling their spears. Each chief wears habitually a long sword and a short dagger, besides his two spears to be launched forward, — the spear being also used, if occasion serves, as a weapon for thrust. Every man is protected by shield, helmet, breastplate, and greaves: but the armor of the chiefs is greatly superior to that of the common men, while they themselves are both stronger and more expert in the use of their weapons. There are a few bowmen, as rare exceptions, but the general equipment and proceeding is as here described.

Such loose array, immortalized as it is in the *Iliad*, is familiar to every one; and the contrast which it presents, with those inflexible ranks, and that irresistible simultaneous charge which bore down the Persian throng at Plataea and Kunaxa,<sup>1</sup> is such

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The Gauls, known to Polybius, seemingly the Cisalpine Gauls only, possessed all their property in cattle and gold, — *θρέμματα καὶ χρυσός*, — on account of the easy transportability of both (Polyb. ii. 17).

<sup>1</sup> Tyrtæus, in his military expressions, seems to conceive the Homeric mode of hurling the spear as still prevalent, — *δῶρον δ' εὐτόλμος βάλλοντες* (Fragm. ix. Gaisford). Either he had his mind prepossessed with the Ho-



as to illustrate forcibly the general difference between heroic and historical Greece. While in the former, a few splendid figures stand forward, in prominent relief, the remainder being a mere unorganized and ineffective mass, — in the latter, these units have been combined into a system, in which every man, officer and soldier, has his assigned place and duty, and the victory, when gained, is the joint work of all. Preëminent individual prowess is indeed materially abridged, if not wholly excluded, — no man can do more than maintain his station in the line:<sup>1</sup> but on the other hand, the grand purposes, aggressive or defensive, for which alone arms are taken up, become more assured and easy, and long-sighted combinations of the general are rendered for the first time practicable, when he has a disciplined body of men to obey him. In tracing the picture of civil society, we have to remark a similar transition — we pass from Hēraklēs, Thēseus, Jasōn, Achilles, to Solon, Pythagoras, and Periklēs — from “the shepherd of his people,” (to use the phrase in which Homer depicts the good side of the heroic king,) to the legislator who introduces, and the statesman who maintains, a preconcerted system by which willing citizens consent to bind themselves. If commanding individual talent is not always to be found, the whole community is so trained as to be able to maintain its course under inferior leaders; the rights as well as the duties of each citizen being predetermined in the social order, according to principles more or less wisely laid down. The contrast is similar, and the transition equally remarkable, in the civil as in the military picture. In fact, the military organization of the Grecian republics is an element of the greatest importance in respect to the conspicuous part which they have played in human affairs, —

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meric array, or else the close order and conjunct spears of the hoplites had not yet been introduced during the second Messenian war.

Thiersch and Schneidewin would substitute *πάλλοντες* in place of *βάλλοντες*. Euripidēs (Androm. 695) has a similar expression, yet it does not apply well to hoplites; for one of the virtues of the hoplite consisted in carrying his spear steadily: *δοράτων κίνησις* betokens a disorderly march, and the want of steady courage and self-possession. See the remarks of Brasidas upon the ranks of the Athenians under Kleon at Amphipolis (Thucyd. v. 6).

<sup>1</sup> Euripid. Andromach. 696.

their superiority over other contemporary nations in this respect being hardly less striking than it is in many others, as we shall have occasion to see in a subsequent stage of this history.

Even at the most advanced point of their tactics, the Greeks could effect little against a walled city, whilst the heroic weapons and array were still less available for such an undertaking as a siege. Fortifications are a feature of the age deserving considerable notice. There was a time, we are told, in which the primitive Greek towns or villages derived a precarious security, not from their walls, but merely from sites lofty and difficult of access. They were not built immediately upon the shore, or close upon any convenient landing-place, but at some distance inland, on a rock or elevation which could not be approached without notice or scaled without difficulty. It was thought sufficient at that time to guard against piratical or marauding surprise: but as the state of society became assured,—as the chance of sudden assault comparatively diminished and industry increased,—these uninviting abodes were exchanged for more convenient sites on the plain or declivity beneath; or a portion of the latter was inclosed within larger boundaries and joined on to the original foundation, which thus became the Acropolis of the new town. Thêbes, Athens, Argos, etc., belonged to the latter class of cities; but there were in many parts of Greece deserted sites on hill-tops, still retaining, even in historical times, the traces of former habitation, and some of them still bearing the name of the old towns. Among the mountainous parts of Krête, in Ægina and Rhodes, in portions of Mount Ida and Parnassus, similar remnants might be perceived.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ἡ παλαιὰ πόλις in Ægina (Herodot. vi. 88); Ἀστυπάλαια in Samos (Polyæn. i. 23. 2; Etymol. Magn. v. Ἀστυπάλαια): it became seemingly the acropolis of the subsequent city.

About the deserted sites in the lofty regions of Krête, see Theophrastus, *De Ventis*, v. 13, ed. Schneider, p. 762.

The site of Παλαιόκηφισ in Mount Ida, — ἐπάνω Κέβρηνος κατὰ τὸ μετὰ ῥότατον τῆς Ἰδῆς (Strabo, xiii. p. 607); ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκήψιν μετωκίσθησαν. Paphos in Cyprus was the same distance below the ancient Palæ-Paphos (Strabo, xiv. p. 683).

Near Mantinea in Arcadia was situated ὄρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τὰ ἐρείπια ἐπὶ Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χώριον ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις (Pausan. viii. 12, 4). See a similar statement about the lofty sites of the ancient

Probably, in such primitive hill villages, a continuous circle of wall would hardly be required as an additional means of defence, and would often be rendered very difficult by the rugged nature of the ground. But Thucydides represents the earliest Greeks — those whom he conceives anterior to the Trojan war — as living thus universally in unfortified villages, chiefly on account of their poverty, rudeness, and thorough carelessness for the morrow. Oppressed, and held apart from each other by perpetual fear, they had not yet contracted the sentiment of fixed abodes: they were unwilling even to plant fruit-trees because of the uncertainty of gathering the produce,—and were always ready to dislodge, because there was nothing to gain by staying, and a bare subsistence might be had any where. He compares them to the mountaineers of Ætolia and of the Ozolian Lokris in his own time, who dwelt in their unfortified hill villages with little or no intercommunication, always armed and fighting, and subsisting on the produce of their cattle and their woods,<sup>1</sup> — clothed in undressed hides, and eating raw meat.

The picture given by Thucydides, of these very early and un-  
town of Orchomenus (in Arcadia) (Paus. viii. 13, 2), of Nonakris (viii. 17, 5,) of Lusi (viii. 18, 3), Lykoreia on Parnassus (Paus. x. 6, 2; Strabo, ix. p. 418).

Compare also Plato, Legg. iii. 2, pp. 678–679, who traces these lofty and craggy dwellings, general among the earliest Grecian townships, to the commencement of human society after an extensive deluge, which had covered all the lower grounds and left only a few survivors.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 2. Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη, οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη; ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ βραδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, βιαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τινῶν αἰεὶ πλειόνων· τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις, οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔδ' ἐν φυτεύοντες, ἀθροῦν δὲ ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν, καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἡμα ὄντων, ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ὅν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἰσχυροὶ, οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.

About the distant and unfortified villages and rude habits of the Ætolians and Lokrians, see Thucyd. iii. 94; Pausan. x. 38, 3: also of the Cisalpine Gauls, Polyb. ii. 17.

Both Thucydides and Aristotle seem to have conceived the Homeric period as mainly analogous to the βάρβαροι of their own day — Δύει δ' Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων, ὅτι τοιαῦτα αἰεὶ ποιεῖ Ὅμηρος οἷα ἦν τότε· ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ παλαιὰ οἷα περ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις (Schol. Iliad. x. 151).

recorded times, can only be taken as conjectural,—the conjectures, indeed, of a statesman and a philosopher,—generalized too, in part, from the many particular instances of contention and expulsion of chiefs which he found in the old legendary poems. The Homeric poems, however, present to us a different picture. They recognize walled towns, fixed abodes, strong local attachments, hereditary individual property in land, vineyards planted and carefully cultivated, established temples of the gods, and splendid palaces of the chiefs.<sup>1</sup> The description of Thucydides belongs to a lower form of society, and bears more analogy to that which the poet himself conceives as antiquated and barbarous,—to the savage Cyclopes, who dwell on the tops of mountains, in hollow caves; without the plough, without vine or fruit culture, without arts or instruments,—or to the primitive settlement of Dardanus son of Zeus, on the higher ground of Ida, while it was reserved for his descendants and successors to found the holy Ilium on the plain.<sup>2</sup> Ilium or Troy represents the perfection of Homeric society. It is a consecrated spot, containing temples of the gods as well as the palace of Priam, and surrounded by walls which are the fabric of the gods; while the antecedent form of ruder society, which the poet briefly glances at, is the parallel of that which the theory of Thucydides ascribes to his own early semi-barbarous ancestors.

Walled towns serve thus as one of the evidences, that a large part of the population of Greece had, even in the Homeric times, reached a level higher than that of the Ætolians and Lokrians of the days of Thucydides. The remains of Mykênæ and Tiryns demonstrate the massy and Cyclopiian style of architecture employed in those early days: but we may remark that, while modern observers seem inclined to treat the remains of the former as very imposing, and significant of a great princely family, Thucydides, on the contrary, speaks of it as a small place, and labors

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. vi. 10; respecting Nausithous, past king of the Phæakians:

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἶκους,  
καὶ νηοῦς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.

The vineyard, olive-ground, and garden of Laërtes, is a model of careful cultivation (Odyss. xxiv. 245); see also the shield of Achilles (Iliad, xviii. 541–580), and the Kalydônian plain (Iliad, ix. 575).

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. x. 106–115; Iliad, xx. 216.

to elude the inference, which might be deduced from its insignificant size, in disproof of the grandeur of Agamemnôn.<sup>1</sup> Such fortifications supplied a means of defence incomparably superior to those of attack. Indeed, even in historical Greece, and after the invention of battering engines, no city could be taken except by surprise or blockade, or by ruining the country around, and thus depriving the inhabitants of their means of subsistence. And in the two great sieges of the legendary time, Troy and Thêbes, the former is captured by the stratagem of the wooden horse, while the latter is evacuated by its citizens, under the warning of the gods, after their defeat in the field.

This decided superiority of the means of defence over those of attack, in rude ages, has been one of the grand promotive causes both of the growth of civic life and of the general march of human improvement. It has enabled the progressive portions of mankind not only to maintain their acquisitions against the predatory instincts of the ruder and poorer, and to surmount the difficulties of incipient organization,—but ultimately, when their organization has been matured, both to acquire predominance, and to uphold it until their own disciplined habits have in part passed to their enemies. The important truth here stated is illustrated not less by the history of ancient Greece, than by that of modern Europe during the Middle Ages. The Homeric chief, combining superior rank with superior force, and ready to rob at every convenient opportunity, greatly resembles the feudal baron of the Middle Ages, but circumstances absorb him more easily into a city life, and convert the independent potentate into the member of a governing aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> Traffic by sea continued to be beset with

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 10. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἰ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα μὴ ἀξιοχρέων δοκεῖ εἶναι, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*, Abschn. v. sect. 54. Hesiod strongly condemns robbery, — Δὲς ἀγαθῇ, ἔρπας δὲ κακῇ, θανάτοιο δότειρα (Opp. Di. 356, comp. 320); but the sentiment of the Grecian heroic poetry seems not to go against it, — it is looked upon as a natural employment of superior force, — Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ, δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας Ιασιν (Athenæ. v. p. 178; comp. Pindar, Fragm. 48, ed. Dissen.): the long spear, sword, and breast-plate, of the Kretan Hybreas, constitute his wealth (Skolion 27, p. 877; Poet. Lyric. ed. Bergk), wherewith he ploughs and reaps, — while the unwarlike, who dare not or cannot wield these weapons, fall at his feet, and call him The Great King. The feeling is different in the later age of Demétrius

danger from pirates, long after it had become tolerably assured by land: the "wet ways" have always been the last resort of lawlessness and violence, and the Ægean, in particular, has in all times suffered more than other waters under this calamity.

Aggressions of the sort here described were of course most numerous in those earliest times when the Ægean was not yet an Hellenic sea, and when many of the Cyclades were occupied, not by Greeks, but by Karians, — perhaps by Phœnicians: the number of Karian sepulchres discovered in the sacred island of

Poliorkêtês (about 310 B. C.): in the Ithyphallic Ode, addressed to him at his entrance into Athens, robbery is treated as worthy only of Ætolians: —

Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἀρκίσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας,

Νυνὶ δὲ, καὶ τὰ πόρρω. —

(Poet. Lyr. xxv. p. 453, ed. Schneid.)

The robberies of powerful men, and even highway robbery generally, found considerable approving sentiment in the Middle Ages. "All Europe (observes Mr. Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ag. ch. viii. part 3, p. 247) was a scene of intestine anarchy during the Middle Ages: and though England was far less exposed to the scourge of private war than most nations on the continent, we should find, could we recover the local annals of every country, such an accumulation of petty rapine and tumult, as would almost alienate us from the liberty which served to engender it. . . . Highway robbery was from the earliest times a sort of national crime. . . . We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; men who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem, by a few acts of generosity, the just ignominy of extensive crimes. These, indeed, were the heroes of vulgar applause; but when such a judge as Sir John Fortescue could exult, that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year than French in seven, — and that, if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so, — it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."

The robberies habitually committed by the noblesse of France and Germany during the Middle Ages, so much worse than anything in England, — and those of the highland chiefs even in later times, — are too well known to need any references: as to France, an ample catalogue is set forth in Dulaure's *Histoire de la Noblesse* (Paris, 1792). The confederations of the German cities chiefly originated in the necessity of keeping the roads and rivers open for the transit of men and goods against the nobles who infested the high roads. Scaliger might have found a parallel to the *λῃσταί* of the heroic ages in the noblesse of la Rouergue, as it stood even in the 16th century, which he thus describes: "In Comitatu Rodez pessimi sunt mobilitas ibi latrocinatur: nec possunt reprimi." (ap. Dulaure, c. 9.)

Delus seems to attest such occupation as an historical fact.<sup>1</sup> According to the legendary account, espoused both by Herodotus and by Thucydides, it was the Kretan Minôs who subdued these islands and established his sons as rulers in them; either expelling the Karians, or reducing them to servitude and tribute.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides presumes that he must of course have put down piracy, in order to enable his tribute to be remitted in safety, like the Athenians during the time of their hegemony.<sup>3</sup> Upon the legendary thalassocracy of Minôs, I have already remarked in another place:<sup>4</sup> it is sufficient here to repeat, that, in the Homeric poems (long subsequent to Minôs in the current chronology), we find piracy both frequent and held in honorable estimation, as Thucydides himself emphatically tells us, — remarking, moreover, that the vessels of those early days were only half-decked, built and equipped after the piratical fashion,<sup>5</sup> in a manner upon which the nautical men of his time looked back with disdain. Improved and enlarged shipbuilding, and the trireme, or ship with three banks of oars, common for warlike purposes during the Persian invasion, began only with the growing skill, activity, and importance of the Corinthians, three quarters of a century after the first Olympiad.<sup>6</sup> Corinth, even in the Homeric poems, is distinguished by the epithet of wealthy, which it acquired principally from its remarkable situation on the Isthmus, and from its two harbors of Lechæum and Kenchreæ, the one on the Corinthian, the other on the Saronic gulf. It thus supplied a convenient connection between Epirus and Italy on the one side, and the Ægean sea on the other, without imposing upon the unskilful and timid navigator of those days the necessity of circumnavigating Peloponnêsus.

The extension of Grecian traffic and shipping is manifested

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 4–8. τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 171; Thucyd. i. 4–8. Isokratês (Panathenaic. p. 241) takes credit to Athens for having finally expelled the Karians out of these islands at the time of the Ionic emigration.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 4. τό τε ληστικὸν ὡς εἰ κ' ἔς, καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐψ' ὅσον ἡδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον λέναι αὐτῷ.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding volume of this History, Chap. xii. p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. i. 10. τῶ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστρικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. i. 13.

by a comparison of the Homeric with the Hesiodic poems; in respect to knowledge of places and countries, — the latter being probably referable to dates between B. C. 740 and B. C. 640. In Homer, acquaintance is shown (the accuracy of such acquaintance, however, being exaggerated by Strabo and other friendly critics) with continental Greece and its neighboring islands, with Krète and the principal islands of the Ægean, and with Thrace, the Troad, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor between Paphlagonia northward and Lykia southward. The Sikels are mentioned in the *Odyssey*, and Sikania in the last book of that poem, but nothing is said to evince a knowledge of Italy or the realities of the western world. Libya, Egypt, and Phœnikæ, are known by name and by vague hearsay, but the Nile is only mentioned as “the river Egypt:” while the Euxine sea is not mentioned at all.<sup>1</sup> In the Hesiodic poems, on the other hand, the Nile, the Ister, the Phasis, and the Eridanus, are all specified by name;<sup>2</sup> Mount Ætna, and the island of Ortygia near to Syracuse, the Tyrrhenians and Ligurians in the west, and the Scythians in the north, were also noticed.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, within forty years after the first Olympiad, the cities of Korkyra and Syracuse were founded from Corinth, — the first of a numerous and powerful series of colonies, destined to impart a new character both to the south of Italy and to Sicily.

In reference to the astronomy and physics of the Homeric Greek, it has already been remarked that he connected together the sensible phenomena which form the subject matter of these sciences by threads of religious and personifying fancy, to which the real analogies among them were made subordinate; and that these analogies did not begin to be studied by themselves, apart

<sup>1</sup> See Voelcker, *Homerische Geographie*, ch. iii. sect. 55–63. He has brought to bear much learning and ingenuity to identify the places visited by Odysseus with real lands, but the attempt is not successful. Compare also Ukert, *Hom. Geog.* vol. i. p. 14, and the valuable treatises of J. H. Voss, *Alte Weltkunde*, annexed to the second volume of his *Kritische Blätter* (Stuttgart, 1828), pp. 245–413. Voss is the father of just views respecting Homeric geography.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod. *Theog.* 338–340.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod. *Theogon.* 1016; Hesiod. *Fragm.* 190–194, ed. Götting; Strabo, i. p. 16; vii. p. 300. Compare Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, i. p. 37.



from the religious element by which they had been at first overlaid, until the age of Thales, — coinciding as that period did with the increased opportunities for visiting Egypt and the interior of Asia. The Greeks obtained access in both of these countries to an enlarged stock of astronomical observations, to the use of the gnomon, or sundial,<sup>1</sup> and to a more exact determination of the length of the solar year,<sup>2</sup> than that which served as the

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks learned from the Babylonians, *πόλον καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυωκαίδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης* (Herodot. ii. 109). In my first edition, I had interpreted the word *πόλον* in Herodotus erroneously. I now believe it to mean the same as *horologium*, the circular plate upon which the vertical gnomon projected its shadow, marked so as to indicate the hour of the day, — twelve hours between sunrise and sunset: see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 233. Respecting the opinions of Thales, see the same work, part ii. pp. 18–57; Plutarch. *de Placit. Philosophor.* ii. c. 12; Aristot. *de Cœlo*, ii. 13. Costard, *Rise and Progress of Astronomy among the Ancients*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> We have very little information respecting the early Grecian mode of computing time, and we know that though all the different states computed by lunar periods, yet most, if not all, of them had different names of months as well as different days of beginning and ending their months. All their immediate computations, however, were made by months: the lunar period was their immediate standard of reference for determining their festivals, and for other purposes, the solar period being resorted to only as a corrective, to bring the same months constantly into the same seasons of the year. Their original month had thirty days, and was divided into three decades, as it continued to be during the times of historical Athens (Hesiod. *Opp. Di.* 766). In order to bring this lunar period more nearly into harmony with the sun, they intercalated every year an additional month: so that their years included alternately twelve months and thirteen months, each month of thirty days. This period was called a *Dieteris*, — sometimes a *Trieteris*. Solon is said to have first introduced the fashion of months differing in length, varying alternately from thirty to twenty-nine days. It appears, however, that Herodotus had present to his mind the *Dieteric* cycle, or years alternating between thirteen months and twelve months (each month of thirty days), and no other (Herodot. i. 32; compare ii. 104). As astronomical knowledge improved, longer and more elaborate periods were calculated, exhibiting a nearer correspondence between an integral number of lunations and an integral number of solar years. First, we find a period of four years; next, the *Octaëteris*, or period of eight years, or seventy-nine lunar months; lastly, the *Metonic* period of nineteen years, or 235 lunar months. How far any of these larger periods were ever legally authorized, or brought into civil usage, even at Athens, is matter of much doubt. See Ideler, *Über die Astronomischen Beobachtungen der Alten*, pp. 175–195; Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 13.

basis of their various lunar periods. It is pretended that Thales was the first who predicted an eclipse of the sun, — not, indeed, accurately, but with large limits of error as to the time of its occurrence, — and that he also possessed so profound an acquaintance with meteorological phenomena and probabilities, as to be able to foretell an abundant crop of olives for the coming year, and to realize a large sum of money by an olive speculation.<sup>1</sup>

From Thales downward we trace a succession of astronomical and physical theories, more or less successful, into which I do not intend here to enter: it is sufficient at present to contrast the father of the Ionic philosophy with the times preceding him, and to mark the first commencement of scientific prediction among the Greeks, however imperfect at the outset, as distinguished from the inspired dicta of prophets or oracles, and from those special signs of the purposes of the gods, which formed the habitual reliance of the Homeric man.<sup>2</sup> We shall see these two modes of anticipating the future, — one based upon the philosophical, the other upon the religious appreciation of nature, — running simultaneously on throughout Grecian history, and sharing between them in unequal portions the empire of the Greek mind; the former acquiring both greater predominance and wider application among the intellectual men, and partially restricting, but never abolishing, the spontaneous employment of the latter among the vulgar.

Neither coined money, nor the art of writing,<sup>3</sup> nor painting, nor sculpture, nor imaginative architecture, belong to the Homeric and Hesiodic times. Such rudiments of arts, destined ultimately to acquire so great a development in Greece, as may have existed in these early days, served only as a sort of nucleus to the fancy of the poet, to shape out for himself the fabulous

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 74; Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. iii. 173. —

Ἥ τέομεν δὲ θεὸν φαίνειν τέρας αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἱκὼν  
Δεῖξε, καὶ ἠνώγει πύλαος μέσον εἰς Εὐβοίαν  
Τέμνειν, etc.

Compare Odyss. xx. 100; Iliad, i. 62; Eurip. Suppl. 216–230.

<sup>3</sup> The *σηματα λυγρά* mentioned in the Iliad, vi. 168, if they prove anything, are rather an evidence against, than for, the existence of alphabetical writing at the times when the Iliad was composed.

creations ascribed to Hephæstus or Dædalus. No statues of the gods, not even of wood, are mentioned in the Homeric poems. All the many varieties, in Grecian music, poetry, and dancing, — the former chiefly borrowed from Lydia and Phrygia, — date from a period considerably later than the first Olympiad: Terpander, the earliest musician whose date is assigned, and the inventor of the harp with seven strings instead of that with four strings, does not come until the 26th Olympiad, or 676 B. C.: the poet Archilochus is nearly of the same date. The iambic and elegiac metres — the first deviations from the primitive epic strain and subject — do not reach up to the year 700 B. C.

It is this epic poetry which forms at once both the undoubted prerogative and the solitary jewel of the earliest era of Greece. Of the many epic poems which existed in Greece during the eight century before the Christian era, none have been preserved except the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: the *Æthiopis* of Arktinus, the *Ilias Minor* of Lesches, the *Cyprian Verses*, the *Capture of Cæchalia*, the *Returns of the Heroes from Troy*, the *Thêbaïs* and the *Epigoni*, — several of them passing in antiquity under the name of Homer, — have all been lost. But the two which remain are quite sufficient to demonstrate in the primitive Greeks, a mental organization unparalleled in any other people, and powers of invention and expression which prepared, as well as foreboded, the future eminence of the nation in all the various departments to which thought and language can be applied. Great as the power of thought afterwards became among the Greeks, their power of expression was still greater: in the former, other nations have built upon their foundations and surpassed them, — in the latter, they still remained unrivalled. It is not too much to say that this flexible, emphatic, and transparent character of the language as an instrument of communication, — its perfect aptitude for narrative and discussion, as well as for stirring all the veins of human emotion without ever forfeiting that character of simplicity which adapts it to all men and all times, — may be traced mainly to the existence and the wide-spread influence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To us, these compositions are interesting as beautiful poems, depicting life and manners, and unfolding certain types of character with the utmost vivacity and artlessness: to their original hearer, they possessed all these sources of attrac

tion, together with others more powerful still, to which we are now strangers. Upon him, they bore with the full weight and solemnity of history and religion combined, while the charm of the poetry was only secondary and instrumental. The poet was then the teacher and preacher of the community, not simply the amuser of their leisure hours: they looked to him for revelations of the unknown past and for expositions of the attributes and dispensations of the gods, just as they consulted the prophet for his privileged insight into the future. The ancient epic comprised many different poets and poetical compositions, which fulfilled this purpose with more or less completeness: but it is the exclusive prerogative of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that, after the minds of men had ceased to be in full harmony with their original design, they yet retained their empire by the mere force of secondary excellences: while the remaining epics — though serving as food for the curious, and as storehouses for logographers, tragedians, and artists — never seem to have acquired very wide popularity even among intellectual Greeks.

I shall, in the succeeding chapter, give some account of the epic cycle, of its relation to the Homeric poems, and of the general evidences respecting the latter, both as to antiquity and authorship.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### GRECIAN EPIC.—HOMERIC POEMS.

At the head of the once abundant epical compositions of Greece, most of them unfortunately lost, stand the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the immortal name of Homer attached to each of them, embracing separate portions of the comprehensive legend of Troy. They form the type of what may be called the heroic epic of the Greeks, as distinguished from the genealogical, in which latter species some of the Hesiodic poems — the *Catalogue of Women*, the *Eoiai*, and the *Naupaktia* —

stood conspicuous. Poems of the Homeric character (if so it may be called, though the expression is very indefinite,)—being confined to one of the great events, or great personages of Grecian legendary antiquity, and comprising a limited number of characters, all contemporaneous, made some approach, more or less successful, to ascertain poetical unity; while the Hesiodic poems, tamer in their spirit, and unconfined both as to time and as to persons, strung together distinct events without any obvious view to concentration of interest,—without legitimate beginning or end.<sup>1</sup> Between these two extremes there were many gradations: biographical poems, such as the *Herakleia*, or *Theseis*, recounting all the principal exploits performed by one single hero, present a character intermediate between the two, but bordering more closely on the Hesiodic. Even the hymns to the gods, which pass under the name of Homer, are epical fragments, narrating particular exploits or adventures of the god commemorated.

Both the didactic and the mystico-religious poetry of Greece began in Hexameter verse,—the characteristic and consecrated measure of the epic;<sup>2</sup> but they belong to a different species, and burst out from a different vein in the Grecian mind. It seems to have been the more common belief among the historical Greeks, that such mystic effusions were more ancient than their narrative poems, and that Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Olên, Pamphus, and even Hesiod, etc., etc., the reputed composers of the former, were of earlier date than Homer. But there is no evidence to sustain this opinion, and the presumptions are all against it. Those compositions, which in the sixth century before the Christian era passed under the name of Orpheus and Musæus, seem to have been unquestionably post-Homeric, nor can we even admit the modified conclusion of Hermann, Ulrici, and others, that the mystic poetry as a genus (putting aside the particular compositions falsely ascribed to Orpheus and others) preceded in order of time the narrative.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Poet. c. 17–37. He points out and explains the superior structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as compared with the semi Homeric and biographical poems: but he takes no notice of the Hesiodic, or genealogical.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Poetic. c. 41. He considers the Hexameter to be the *natural* measure of narrative poetry: any other would be unseemly.

<sup>3</sup> Ulrici, *Geschichte des Griechischen Epos*, 5te Vorlesung, pp. 96–100. G. Hermann, *Ueber Homer und Sappho*, in his *Opuscula*, tom. vi. p. 8'.

Besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we make out the titles of about thirty lost epic poems, sometimes with a brief hint of their contents.

Concerning the legend of Troy there were five: the Cyprian Verses, the *Æthiopis*, and the Capture of Troy, both ascribed to Arktinus; the lesser *Iliad*, ascribed to Leschês; the Returns (of the Heroes from Troy), to which the name of Hagias of Troezen is attached; and the *Telegonia*, by Eugammôn, a continuation of the *Odyssey*. Two poems,—the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni* (perhaps two parts of one and the same poem) were devoted to the legend of Thebês,—the two sieges of that city by the Argeians. Another poem, called *Œdipodia*, had for its subject the tragical destiny of Œdipus and his family; and perhaps that which is cited as *Eurôpia*, or verses on *Eurôpa*, may have comprehended the tale of her brother Kadmus, the mythical founder of Thebês.<sup>1</sup>

The exploits of Hêraklês were celebrated in two compositions, each called *Hêrakteia*, by Kinêthôn and Pisander,—probably also in many others, of which the memory has not been preserved. The capture of Œchalia, by Hêraklês, formed the subject of a separate epic. Two other poems, the *Ægimius* and the *Minyas*, are supposed to have been founded on other achievements of this hero,—the effective aid which he lent to the Dorian king Ægimius against the Lapithæ, his descent to the under-world for the purpose of rescuing the imprisoned Thêseus, and his conquest of the city of the Minyæ, the powerful Orchomenus.<sup>2</sup>

Other epic poems—the *Phorônis*, the *Danaïs*, the *Alkmæônis*, the *Atthis*, the *Amazonia*—we know only by name, and can just guess obscurely at their contents so far as the name indicates.<sup>3</sup>

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The superior antiquity of Orpheus as compared with Homer passed as a received position to the classical Romans (Horat. Art. Poet. 392).

<sup>1</sup> Respecting these lost epics, see Düntzer, *Collection of the Fragmenta Epicor. Græcorum*; Wüllner, *De Cyclo Epico*, pp. 43–66; and Mr. Fynes Clinton's *Chronology*, vol. iii. pp. 349–359.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker, *Der Epische Kyklus*, pp. 256–266; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 7; Diodôr. iv. 37; O. Müller, *Dorians*, i. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Welcker (*Der Epische Kyklus*, p. 209) considers the *Alkmæônis* as the same with the *Epigoni*, and the *Atthis* of Hegesinous the same with the *Amazonia*: in Suidas (v. Ὀμπος) the latter is among the poems ascribed to Homer.

Leutsch (*Thebaidos Cyclicæ Reliquiæ*, pp. 12–14) views the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni* as different parts of the same poem.

The Titanomachia, the Gigantomachia, and the Corinthiaca, three compositions all ascribed to Eumêlus, afford by means of their titles an idea somewhat clearer of the matter which they comprised. The Theogony ascribed to Hesiod still exists, though partially corrupt and mutilated: but there seem to have been other poems, now lost, of the like import and title.

Of the poems composed in the Hesiodic style, diffusive and full of genealogical detail, the principal were, the Catalogue of Women and the Great Eoiai; the latter of which, indeed, seems to have been a continuation of the former. A large number of the celebrated women of heroic Greece were commemorated in these poems, one after the other, without any other than an arbitrary bond of connection. The Marriage of Kêyx,—the Melampodia,—and a string of fables called Astronomia, are farther ascribed to Hesiod: and the poem above mentioned, called Ægimius, is also sometimes connected with his name, sometimes with that of Kerkops. The Naupaktian Verses (so called, probably, from the birthplace of their author), and the genealogies of Kinæthôn and Asius, were compositions of the same rambling character, as far as we can judge from the scanty fragments remaining.<sup>1</sup> The Orchomenian epic poet Chersias, of whom two lines only are preserved to us by Pausanias, may reasonably be referred to the same category.<sup>2</sup>

The oldest of the epic poets, to whom any date, carrying with it the semblance of authority, is assigned, is Arktinus of Milêtus, who is placed by Eusebius in the first Olympiad, and by Suidas in the ninth. Eugammôn, the author of the Telegonia, and the latest of the catalogue, is placed in the fifty-third Olympiad, B. C. 566. Between these two we find Asius and Leschês, about the thirtieth Olympiad,—a time when the vein of the ancient epic was drying up, and when other forms of poetry—elegiac, iambic, lyric, and choric—had either already arisen, or were on the point of arising, to compete with it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Fragments of Hesiod, Eumêlus, Kinæthôn, and Asius, in the collections of Marktscheffel, Düntzer, Götting, and Gaisford.

I have already, in going over the ground of Grecian legend, referred to all these lost poems, in their proper places.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ix. 38, 6; Plutarch, Sept. Sap. Conv. p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, about the date of Arktinus, vol. i. p. 350

It has already been stated in a former chapter, that in the early commencements of prose-writing, Hekataeus, Pherekydês, and other logographers, made it their business to extract from the ancient fables something like a continuous narrative, chronologically arranged. It was upon a principle somewhat analogous that the Alexandrine literati, about the second century before the Christian era,<sup>1</sup> arranged the multitude of old epic poets into a series founded on the supposed order of time in the events narrated,—beginning with the intermarriage of Uranus and Gæa, and the Theogony,—and concluding with the death of Odysseus by the hands of his son Telegonus. This collection passed by the name of the Epic Cycle, and the poets, whose compositions were embodied in it, were termed Cyclic poets. Doubtless, the epical treasures of the Alexandrine library were larger than had ever before been brought together and submitted to men both of learning and leisure: so that multiplication of such compositions in the same museum rendered it advisable to establish some fixed order of perusal, and to copy them in one corrected and uniform edition.<sup>2</sup> It pleased the critics to determine precedence, neither

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Zenodotus, the superintendent of the Alexandrine library under Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the third century B.C.: there is a Scholion on Plautus, published not many years ago by Osann, and since more fully by Ritschl,—"Cæcius in commento Comœdiarum Aristophanis in Pluto, — Alexander Ætolus, et Lycophron Chalcidensis, et Zenodotus Ephesius, impulsu regis Ptolemæi, Philadelphi cognomento, artis poetices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt. Alexander tragoedias, Lycophron comedias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poemata et reliquorum illustrium poetarum." See Lange, *Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter*, p. 56 (Mainz. 1837); Welcker, *Der Epische Kyklus*, p. 8; Ritschl, *Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*, p. 3 (Breslau, 1838).

Lange disputes the sufficiency of this passage as proof that Zenodotus was the framer of the Epic Cycle: his grounds are, however, unsatisfactory to me.

<sup>2</sup> That there existed a cyclic copy or edition of the *Odyssey* (ἡ κυκλική) is proved by two passages in the Scholia (xvi. 195; xvii. 25), with Boeckh's remark in Buttman's edition: this was the *Odyssey* copied or edited along with the other poems of the cycle.

Our word to *edit*—or *edition*—suggests ideas not exactly suited to the proceedings of the Alexandrine library, in which we cannot expect to find anything like what is now called *publication*. That magnificent establishment, possessing a large collection of epical manuscripts, and ample means of every kind at command, would naturally desire to have these composi-



by antiquity nor by excellence of the compositions themselves, but by the supposed sequence of narrative, so that the whole taken together constituted a readable aggregate of epical antiquity.

Much obscurity<sup>1</sup> exists, and many different opinions have been expressed, respecting this Epic Cycle: I view it, not as an exclusive canon, but simply as an all-comprehensive classification, with a new edition founded thereupon. It would include all the epic poems in the library older than the Telegonia, and apt for continuous narrative; it would exclude only two classes,—first, the recent epic poets, such as Panyasis and Antimachus; next, the genealogical and desultory poems, such as the Catalogue of Women, the Eoiai, and others, which could not be made to fit in to any chronological sequence of events.<sup>2</sup> Both the Iliad and

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tions put in order and corrected by skilful hands, and then carefully copied for the use of the library. Such copy constitutes the cyclic edition: they might perhaps cause or permit duplicates to be made, but the *ἐκδοσις* or edition was complete without them.

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the great confusion in which the Epic Cycle is involved, see the striking declaration of Buttmann, *Addenda ad Scholia in Odysseum*, p. 575: compare the opinions of the different critics, as enumerated at the end of Welcker's treatise, *Episch. Kyk.* pp. 420–453.

<sup>2</sup> Our information respecting the Epic Cycle is derived from Eutychius Proclus, a literary man of Sicca during the second century of the Christian era, and tutor of Marcus Antoninus (*Jul. Capitolin. Vit. Marc. c.* 2),—not from Proclus, called Diadochus, the new-Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, as Heyne, Mr. Clinton, and others have imagined. The fragments from his work called *Chrestomathia*, give arguments of several of the lost cyclic poems connected with the Siege of Troy, communicating the important fact that the Iliad and Odyssey were included in the cycle, and giving the following description of the principle upon which it was arranged: *Διαλαμβάνει δὲ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἀρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐράνου καὶ Γῆς ὁμολογουμένης μίξεως . . . . . καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικός κύκλος, ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσεύς . . . . . Λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραγμάτων* (*ap. Photium, cod.* 239).

This much-commented passage, while it clearly marks out the cardinal principle of the Epic Cycle (*ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων*), neither affirms nor denies anything respecting the excellence of the constituent poems. Proclus speaks of the taste common in his own time (*σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς*): there was not much relish in his time for these poems as such; but people

the *Odyssey* were comprised in the Cycle, so that the denomination of cyclic poet did not originally or designedly carry with it any association of contempt. But as the great and capital poems were chiefly spoken of by themselves, or by the title of their own separate authors, so the general name of *poets of the Cycle* came gradually to be applied only to the worst, and thus to imply vulgarity or common-place; the more so, as many of the inferior compositions included in the collection seem to have been anonymous, and their authors in consequence describable only under some such common designation as that of the cyclic poets. It is in this manner that we are to explain the disparaging sentiment connected by Horace and others with the idea of a cyclic writer, though no such sentiment was implied in the original meaning of the Epic Cycle.

The poems of the Cycle were thus mentioned in contrast and antithesis with Homer,<sup>1</sup> though originally the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

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were much interested in the sequence of epical events. The abstracts which he himself drew up in the form of arguments of several poems, show that he adapted himself to this taste. We cannot collect from his words that he intended to express any opinion of his own respecting the goodness or badness of the cyclic poems.

<sup>1</sup> The gradual growth of a contemptuous feeling towards the *scriptor cyclicus* (Horat. Ars. Poetic. 136), which was not originally implied in the name, is well set forth by Lange (Ueber die Kyklisch. Dicht. pp. 53-56).

Both Lange (pp. 38-41), however, and Ulrich (Geschichte des Griech. Epos, 9te Vorles. p. 418) adopt another opinion with respect to the cycle, which I think unsupported and inadmissible, — that the several constituent poems were not received into it entire (*i. e.* with only such changes as were requisite for a corrected text), but cut down and abridged in such manner as to produce an *exact* continuity of narrative. Lange even imagines that the cyclic *Odyssey* was thus dealt with. But there seems no evidence to countenance this theory, which would convert the Alexandrine literati from critics into logographers. That the cyclic *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the same in the main (allowing for corrections of text) as the common *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is shown by the fact, that Proclus merely names them in the series without giving any abstract of their contents: they were too well known to render such a process necessary. Nor does either the language of Proclus, or that of Cæsius as applied to Zenodotus, indicate any transformation applied to the poets whose works are described to have been brought together and put into a certain order.

The hypothesis of Lange is founded upon the idea that the (ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων) continuity of narrated events must necessarily have been exact

had both been included among them: and this alteration of the meaning of the word has given birth to a mistake as to the primary purpose of the classification, as if it had been designed especially to part off the inferior epic productions from Homer. But while some critics are disposed to distinguish the cyclic poets too pointedly from Homer, I conceive that Welcker goes too much into the other extreme, and identifies the Cycle too closely with that poet. He construes it as a classification deliberately framed to comprise all the various productions of the Homeric epic, with its unity of action and comparative paucity, both of persons and adventures, — as opposed to the Hesiodic epic, crowded with separate persons and pedigrees, and destitute of central action as well as of closing catastrophe. This opinion does, indeed, coincide to a great degree with the fact, inasmuch as few of the Hesiodic epics appear to have been included in the Cycle: to say that *none* were included, would be too much, for we cannot venture to set aside either the Theogony or the Ægimius; but we may account for their absence perfectly well without supposing any design to exclude them, for it is obvious that their rambling character (like that of the Metamorphoses of Ovid) forbade the possibility of interweaving them in any continuous series. Continuity in the series of narrated events, coupled with a certain degree of antiquity in the poems, being the principle on which the arrangement called the Epic Cycle was based, the Hesiodic poems generally were excluded, not from any preconceived intention, but because they could not be brought into harmony with such orderly reading.

What were the particular poems which it comprised, we cannot now determine with exactness. Welcker arranges them as

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and without break, as if the whole constituted one work. But this would not be possible, let the framers do what they might: moreover, in the attempt, the individuality of all the constituent poets must have been sacrificed, in such manner that it would be absurd to discuss their separate merits.

The continuity of narrative in the Epic Cycle could not have been more than approximate, — as complete as the poems composing it would admit: nevertheless, it would be correct to say that the poems were arranged in series upon this principle and upon no other. The librarians might have arranged in like manner the vast mass of tragedies in their possession (if they had chosen to do so) upon the principle of sequence in the subjects: had they done so, the series would have formed a *Tragic Cycle*.

follows: Titanomachia, Danaïs, Amazonia (or Atthis), Œdipodia, Thebaïs (or Expedition of Amphiaraus), Epigoni (or Alkmaeonis), Minyas (or Phokais), Capture of Œchalia, Cyprian Verses, Iliad, Æthiopia, Lesser Iliad, Iliupersis or the Taking of Troy, Returns of the Heroes, Odyssey, and Telegonia. Wuellner, Lange, and Mr. Fynes Clinton enlarge the list of cyclic poems still farther.<sup>1</sup> But all such reconstructions of the Cycle are conjectural and destitute of authority: the only poems which we can affirm on positive grounds to have been comprehended in it, are, first, the series respecting the heroes of Troy, from the Cypria to the Telegonia, of which Proclus has preserved the arguments, and which includes the Iliad and Odyssey, — next, the old Thebaïs, which is expressly termed cyclic,<sup>2</sup> in order to distinguish it from the poem of the same name composed by Antimachus. In regard to other particular compositions, we have no evidence to guide us, either for admission or exclusion, except our general views as to the scheme upon which the Cycle was framed. If my idea of that scheme be correct, the Alexandrine critics arranged therein *all* their old epical treasures, down to the Telegonia, — the good as well as the bad; gold, silver, and iron, — provided only they could be pieced in with the narrative series. But I cannot venture to include, as Mr. Clinton does, the Eurôpia, the Phorônis, and other poems of which we know only the names, because it is uncertain whether their contents were such as to fulfil their primary condition: nor can I concur with him in thinking that, where there were two or more poems of the same title and subject, one of them must necessarily have been adopted into the Cycle to the exclusion of the others. There may have been two Theogonies, or two Herakleias, both comprehended in the Cycle; the purpose being (as I before remarked), not to sift the better from the worse, but to determine some fixed order, convenient for reading and reference, amidst a multiplicity of scattered compositions, as the basis of a new, entire, and corrected edition.

<sup>1</sup> Welcker, *Der Epische Kyklus*, pp. 37–41; Wuellner, *De Cyclo Epico*, p. 43, *seq.*; Lange, *Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter*, p. 47; Clinton, *Fasti Helenici*, vol. i. p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pindar. *Olymp.* vi. 26; *Athena.* xi. p. 465.

Whatever may have been the principle on which the cyclic poems were originally strung together, they are all now lost, except those two unrivalled diamonds, whose brightness, dimming all the rest, has alone sufficed to confer imperishable glory even upon the earliest phase of Grecian life. It has been the natural privilege of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, from the rise of Grecian philology down to the present day, to provoke an intense curiosity, which, even in the historical and literary days of Greece, there were no assured facts to satisfy. These compositions are the monuments of an age essentially religious and poetical, but essentially also unphilosophical, unreflecting, and unrecording: the nature of the case forbids our having any authentic transmitted knowledge respecting such a period; and the lesson must be learned, hard and painful though it be, that no imaginable reach of critical acumen will of itself enable us to discriminate fancy from reality, in the absence of a tolerable stock of evidence. After the numberless comments and acrimonious controversies<sup>1</sup> to which the Homeric poems have given rise, it can hardly be said that any of the points originally doubtful have obtained a solution such as to command universal acquiescence. To glance at all these controversies, however briefly, would far transcend the limits of the present work; but the most abridged Grecian history would be incomplete without some inquiry respecting *the Poet* (so the Greek critics in their veneration denominated Homer), and the productions which pass now, or have heretofore passed, under his name.

Who or what was Homer? What date is to be assigned to him? What were his compositions?

A person, putting these questions to Greeks of different towns and ages, would have obtained answers widely discrepant and contradictory. Since the invaluable labors of Aristarchus and

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<sup>1</sup> It is a memorable illustration of that bitterness which has so much disgraced the controversies of literary men in *all* ages (I fear, we can make no exception), when we find Pausanias saying that he had examined into the ages of Hesiod and Homer with the most laborious scrutiny, but that he knew too well the calumnious dispositions of contemporary critics and poets, to declare what conclusion he had come to (*Paus. ix. 30, 2*): *Περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὀμήρου, πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐ μοι γράφειν ἥδ' ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἔπων καθειστήκεσαν.*

the other Alexandrine critics on the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it has, indeed, been customary to regard those two (putting aside the Hymns, and a few other minor poems) as being the only genuine Homeric compositions: and the literary men called Chorizontes, or the Separators, at the head of whom were Xenôn and Hellenikus, endeavored still farther to reduce the number by disconnecting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and pointing out that both could not be the work of the same author. Throughout the whole course of Grecian antiquity, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the Hymns, have been received as Homeric: but if we go back to the time of Herodotus, or still earlier, we find that several other epics also were ascribed to Homer, — and there were not wanting<sup>1</sup> critics, earlier than the Alexandrine age, who regarded the whole Epic Cycle, together with the satirical poem called *Margitês*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and other smaller pieces, as Homeric works. The cyclic *Thebais* and the *Epigoni* (whether they be two separate poems, or the latter a second part of the former) were in early days currently ascribed to Homer: the same was the case with the Cyprian Verses: some even attributed to him several other poems,<sup>2</sup> the Capture of *Æchalia*, the Lesser *Iliad*, the *Phokæ's*, and the *Amazonia*. The title of the poem called *Thebais* to be styled Homeric, depends upon evidence more ancient than any which can be produced to authenticate the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: for Kallinus, the ancient elegiac poet (B. C. 640), mentioned Homer as the author of it, — and his opinion was shared by many other competent judges.<sup>3</sup> From the

<sup>1</sup> See the extract of Proclus, in Photius Cod. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, v. *Ὅμηρος*; Eustath. ad *Iliad.* ii. p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ix. 9, 3. The name of Kallinus in that passage seems certainly correct: *Τὰ δὲ ἐπη ταῦτα (the Thebais) Καλλίνος, ὑφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐκ μνήμης, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγον κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγνώσαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποιήσιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.*

To the same purpose the author of the *Certamen* of Hesiod and Homer, and the pseudo-Herodotus (*Vit. Homer.* c. 9). The *Ἀμφιαρῶ ἐξελασία*, alluded to in Suidas as the production of Homer, may be reasonably identified with the *Thebais* (Suidas, v. *Ὅμηρος*).

The cyclographer Dionysius, who affirmed that Homer had lived both in the Theban and the Trojan wars, must have recognized that poet as author of the *Thebais* as well as of the *Iliad* (*ap. Procl. ad Hesiod.* p. 3).

remarkable description given by Herodotus, of the expulsion of the rhapsodes from Sikyôn, by the despot Kleisthenês, in the time of Solôn (about B. C. 580), we may form a probable judgment that the Thebais and the Epigoni were then rhapsodized at Sikyôn as Homeric productions.<sup>1</sup> And it is clear from the language

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. v. 67. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας — τοῦτο μὲν, βαρβάρους ἐπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἰνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνεῖται — τοῦτο δὲ, ἥρῃον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ὅντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. Herodotus then goes on to relate how Kleisthenês carried into effect his purpose of banishing the hero Adrastus: first, he applied to the Delphian Apollo, for permission to do so directly, and avowedly; next, on that permission being refused, he made application to the Thebans, to allow him to introduce into Sikyôn their hero Melanippus, the bitter enemy of Adrastus in the old Theban legend; by their consent, he consecrated a chapel to Melanippus in the most commanding part of the Sikyonian agora, and then transferred to the newly-imported hero the rites and festivals which had before been given to Adrastus.

Taking in conjunction all the points of this very curious tale, I venture to think that the rhapsodes incurred the displeasure of Kleisthenês by reciting, not the Homeric *Iliad*, but the *Homeric Thebais and Epigoni*. The former does not answer the conditions of the narrative: the latter fulfils them accurately.

1. It cannot be said, even by the utmost latitude of speech, that, in the *Iliad*, "Little else is sung except Argos and the Argeians," — ("in illis ubique fere nonnisi Argos et Argivi celebrantur,") — is the translation of Schweighäuser: Argos is rarely mentioned in it, and never exalted into any primary importance: the Argeians, as inhabitants of Argos separately, are never noticed at all: that name is applied in the *Iliad*, in common with the *Achæans* and *Danaans*, only to the general body of Greeks, — and even applied to them much less frequently than the name of *Achæans*.

2. Adrastus is twice, and only twice, mentioned in the *Iliad*, as master of the wonderful horse Areion, and as father-in-law of Tydeus; but he makes no figure in the poem, and attracts no interest.

Wherefore, though Kleisthenês might have been ever so much incensed against Argos and Adrastus, there seems no reason why he should have interdicted the rhapsodes from reciting the *Iliad*. On the other hand, the Thebais and Epigoni could not fail to provoke him especially. For,

1. Argos and its inhabitants were the grand subject of the poem, and the proclaimed assailants in the expedition against Thêbes. Though the poem itself is lost, the first line of it has been preserved (Leutsch, *Theb. Cycl. Reliq.* p. 5; compare Sophoclês, *CEd.* Col. 380 with Scholia), —

Ἄργος ἔειδε, θεὰ, πολυδίψιον, ἐνθεν ἄνακτες, etc.

of Herodotus, that in his time the general opinion ascribed to Homer both the Cyprian Verses and the Epigoni, though he himself dissents.<sup>1</sup> In spite of such dissent, however, that historian must have conceived the names of Homer and Hesiod to be nearly coextensive with the whole of the ancient epic; otherwise, he would hardly have delivered his memorable judgment, that they two were the framers of Grecian theogony.

The many different cities which laid claim to the birth of Homer (seven is rather below the truth, and Smyrna and Chios are the most prominent among them,) is well known, and most of them had legends to tell respecting his romantic parentage, his alleged blindness, and his life of an itinerant bard, acquainted with poverty and sorrow.<sup>2</sup> The discrepancies of statement re-

2. Adrastus was king of Argos, and the chief of the expedition.

It is therefore literally true, that Argos and the Argeians were "the burden of the song" in these two poems.

To this we may add —

1. The rhapsodes would have the strongest motive to recite the Thebais and Epigoni at Sikyôn, where Adrastus was worshipped and enjoyed so vast a popularity, and where he even attracted to himself the choric solemnities which in other towns were given to Dionysus.

2. The means which Kleisthenês took to get rid of Adrastus indicates a special reference to the Thebais: he invited from Thêbes the hero Melanippus, the *Hector* of Thêbes, in that very poem.

For these reasons, I think we may conclude that the *Ὀμήρεια ἐπη*, alluded to in this very illustrative story of Herodotus, are the Thebais and the Epigoni, not the Iliad.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 117; iv. 32. The words in which Herodotus intimates his own dissent from the reigning opinion, are treated as spurious by F. A. Wolf, and vindicated by Schweighhäuser: whether they be admitted or not, the general currency of the opinion adverted to is equally evident.

<sup>2</sup> The Life of Homer, which passes falsely under the name of Herodotus, contains a collection of these different stories: it is supposed to have been written about the second century after the Christian era, but the statements which it furnishes are probably several of them as old as Ephorus (compare also Proclus ap. Photium, c. 239).

The belief in the blindness of Homer is doubtless of far more ancient date, since the circumstance appears mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, where the bard of Chios, in some very touching lines, recommends himself and his strains to the favor of the Delian maidens employed in the worship of Apollo. This hymn is cited by Thucydides as unquestionably authentic, and he doubtless accepted the lines as a description of the personal condition and relations of the author of the Iliad and



specting the date of his reputed existence are no less worthy of remark; for out of the eight different epochs assigned to him, the oldest differs from the most recent by a period of four hundred and sixty years.

Thus conflicting would have been the answers returned in different portions of the Grecian world to any questions respecting the person of Homer. But there were a poetical gens (fraternity, or guild) in the Ionic island of Chios, who, if the question had been put to them, would have answered in another manner. To them, Homer was not a mere antecedent man, of kindred nature with themselves, but a divine or semi-divine eponymus and progenitor, whom they worshipped in their gentile sacrifices, and in whose ascendent name and glory the individuality of every member of the gens was merged. The compositions of each separate Homêrid, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer: the name of the individual bard perishes and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile

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*Odyssey* (Thucyd. iii. 104): Simonidês of Keôs also calls Homer a Chian (Frag. 69, Schneidewin).

There were also tales which represented Homer as the contemporary, the cousin, and the rival in recited composition, of Hesiod, who (it was pretended) had vanquished him. See the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, annexed to the works of the latter (p. 314, ed. Götting; and Plutarch, *Conviv. Sept. Sapient.* c. 10), in which also various stories respecting the Life of Homer are scattered. The emperor Hadrian consulted the Delphian oracle to know who Homer was: the answer of the priestess reported him to be a native of Ithaca, the son of Telemachus and Epikastê, daughter of Nestôr (*Certamen Hom. et Hes.* p. 314). The author of this *Certamen* tells us that the authority of the Delphian oracle deserves implicit confidence.

Hellankus, Damastes, and Pherekydês traced both Homer and Hesiod up to Orpheus, through a pedigree of ten generations (see Sturz, *Fragment. Hellanic.* fr. 75-144; compare also Lobeck's remarks — *Aglaophamus*, p. 322 — on the subject of these genealogies). The computations of these authors earlier than Herodotus are of value, because they illustrate the habits of mind in which Grecian chronology began: the genealogy might be easily continued backward to any length in the past. To trace Homer up to Orpheus, however, would not have been consonant to the belief of the Homêrids.

The contentions of the different cities which disputed for the birth of Homer, and, indeed, all the legendary anecdotes circulated in antiquity respecting the poet, are copiously discussed in Welcker, *Der Epische Kyklos* (pp. 194-199).

father lives and grows in renown, from generation to generation, by the genius of his self-renewing sons.

Such was the conception entertained of Homer by the poetical gens called Homêride, or Homêrids; and in the general obscurity of the whole case, I lean towards it as the most plausible conception. Homer is not only the reputed author of the various compositions emanating from the gentile members, but also the recipient of the many different legends and of the divine genealogy, which it pleases their imagination to confer upon him. Such manufacture of fictitious personality, and such perfect incorporation of the entities of religion and fancy with the real world, is a process familiar, and even habitual, in the retrospective vision of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be remarked, that the poetical gens here brought to view, the Homêrids, are of indisputable authenticity. Their existence and their considerations were maintained down to the historical times in the island of Chios.<sup>2</sup> If the Homêrids were still conspicuous, even in the days of Akusilaus, Pindar, Hellanikus, and Plato, when their productive invention had ceased, and when they had become only guardians and distributors, in common with others, of the treasures bequeathed by their predecessors,—far more exalted must their position have been three centuries before, while they were still the inspired creators of epic novelty, and when the absence of writing assured to them the undisputed monopoly of their own compositions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even Aristotle ascribed to Homer a divine parentage: a damsel of the isle of Ios, pregnant by some god, was carried off by pirates to Smyrna, at the time of the Ionic emigration, and there gave birth to the poet (Aristotel. ap. Plutarch. Vit. Homer. p. 1059).

Plato seems to have considered Homer as having been an itinerant rhapsode, poor and almost friendless (Republ. p. 600).

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, Nem. ii. 1, and Scholia; Akusilaus, Fragm. 31, Didot; Harpokration, v. *Ὀμήριδας*; Hellanic. Fr. 55, Didot; Strabo, xiv. p. 645.

It seems by a passage of Plato (Phædrus, p. 252), that the Homêrids professed to possess unpublished verses of their ancestral poet — *ἐπη ἀποθέτα*. Compare Plato, Republic. p. 599, and Isocrat. Helen. p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Nitzsch (De Historiâ Homeri, Fascic. 1, p. 128, Fascic. 2, p. 71), and Ulrici (Geschichte der Episch. Poesie, vol. i. pp. 240–381) question the antiquity of the Homêrid gens, and limit their functions to simple reciters, denying that they ever composed songs or poems of their own. Yet these gens,

Homer, then, is no individual man, but the divine or heroic father (the ideas of worship and ancestry coalescing, as they constantly did in the Grecian mind) of the gentile Homêridæ, and he is the author of the Thebais, the Epigoni, the Cyprian Verses, the Procems, or Hymns, and other poems, in the same sense in which he is the author of the Iliad and Odyssey,—assuming that these various compositions emanate, as perhaps they may, from different individuals numbered among the Homêridæ. But this disallowance of the historical personality of Homer is quite distinct from the question, with which it has been often confounded, whether the Iliad and Odyssey are originally entire poems, and whether by one author or otherwise. To us, the name of Homer means these two poems, and little else: we desire to know as much as can be learned respecting their date, their original composition, their preservation, and their mode of communication to the public. All these questions are more or less complicated one with the other.

Concerning the date of the poems, we have no other information except the various affirmations respecting the age of Homer,

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such as the Euneidæ, the Lykomidæ, the Butadæ, the Talthybiadæ, the descendants of Cheirôn at Pelîôn, etc., the Hesychidæ (Schol. Sophocl. *Œdip.* Col. 489), (the acknowledged parallels of the Homêridæ), may be surely all considered as belonging to the earliest known elements of Grecian history: rarely, at least, if ever, can such gens, with its tripartite character of civil, religious, and professional, be shown to have commenced at any recent period. And in the early times, composer and singer were one person: often at least, though probably not always, the bard combined both functions. The Homeric *αοιδὸς* sings his own compositions; and it is reasonable to imagine that many of the early Homêridæ did the same.

See Niebuhr, *Römisch. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 324; and the treatise, *Ueber die Sikeler in der Odyssee*,—in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1828, p. 257; and Boeckh, in the Index of Contents to his *Lectures* of 1834.

“The sage Vyasa (observes Professor Wilson, *System of Hindu Mythology*, Int. p. lxii.) is represented, not as the author, but as the arranger and compiler of the Vedas and the Purânas. His name denotes his character, meaning the *arranger* or *distributor* (Welcker gives the same meaning to the name *Homer*); and the recurrence of many Vyasas,—many individuals who new-modelled the Hindu scriptures,—has nothing in it that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labors are separated.” Individual authorship and the thirst of personal distinction, are in this case also buried under one great and common name, as in the case of Homer.

which differ among themselves (as I have before observed) by an interval of four hundred and sixty years, and which for the most part determine the date of Homer by reference to some other event, itself fabulous and unauthenticated,—such as the Trojan war, the Return of the Hêracleids, or the Ionic migration. Kratês placed Homer earlier than the Return of the Hêracleids, and less than eighty years after the Trojan war: Eratosthenês put him one hundred years after the Trojan war: Aristotle, Aristarchus, and Castor made his birth contemporary with the Ionic migration, while Apollodôrus brings him down to one hundred years after that event, or two hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy. Thucydîdês assigns to him a date much subsequent to the Trojan war.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Theopompus and Euphoriôn refer his age to the far more recent period of the Lydian king, Gyges, (Ol. 18–23, B. C. 708–688,) and put him five hundred years after the Trojan epoch.<sup>2</sup> What were the grounds of these various conjectures, we do not know; though in the statements of Kratês and Eratosthenês, we may pretty well divine. But the oldest dictum preserved to us respecting the date of Homer,—meaning thereby the date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,—appears to me at the same time the most credible, and the most consistent with the general history of the ancient epic. Herodotus places Homer four hundred years before himself; taking his departure, not from any fabulous event, but from a point of real and authentic time.<sup>3</sup> Four centuries

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See the statements and citations respecting the age of Homer, collected in Mr. Clinton's *Chronology*, vol. i. p. 146. He prefers the view of Aristotle, and places the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* a century earlier than I am inclined to do, — 940–927 B. C.

Kratês, probably placed the poet anterior to the Return of the Hêracleids, because the *Iliad* makes no mention of Dorians in Peloponnêsus: Eratosthenês may be supposed to have grounded his date on the passage of the *Iliad*, which mentions the three generations descended from Æneas. We should have been glad to know the grounds of the very low date assigned by Theopompus and Euphoriôn.

The pseudo-Herodotus, in his *life of Homer*, puts the birth of the poet one hundred and sixty-eight years after the Trojan war.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. ii. 53. Hêracleides Ponticus affirmed that Lykurgus had brought into Peloponnêsus the Homeric poems, which had before been

anterior to Herodotus would be a period commencing with 886 B.C. : so that the composition of the Homeric poems would thus fall in a space between 850 and 800 B.C. We may gather from the language of Herodotus that this was his own judgment, opposed to a current opinion, which assigned the poet to an earlier epoch.

To place the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* at some periods between 850 B.C. and 776 B.C., appears to me more probable than any other date, anterior or posterior, — more probable than the latter, because we are justified in believing these two poems to be older than Arktinus, who comes shortly after the first Olympiad ; — more probable than the former, because, the farther we push the poems back, the more do we enhance the wonder of their preservation, already sufficiently great, down from such an age and society to the historical times.

The mode in which these poems, and indeed all poems, epic as well as lyric, down to the age (probably) of Peisistratus, were circulated and brought to bear upon the public, deserves particular attention. They were not read by individuals alone and apart, but sung or recited at festivals or to assembled companies. This seems to be one of the few undisputed facts with regard to the great poet : for even those who maintain that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were preserved by means of writing, seldom contend that they were read.

In appreciating the effect of the poems, we must always take account of this great difference between early Greece and our own times, — between the congregation mustered at a solemn festival, stimulated by community of sympathy, listening to a measured and musical recital from the lips of trained bards or rhapsodes, whose matter was supposed to have been inspired by the Muse, — and the solitary reader, with a manuscript before him ; such manuscript being, down to a very late period in Greek literature, indifferently written, without division into parts, and without marks of punctuation. As in the case of dramatic per-

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unknown out of Ionia. The supposed epoch of Lykurgus has sometimes been employed to sustain the date here assigned to the Homeric poems ; but everything respecting Lykurgus is too doubtful to serve as evidence in other inquiries.

formances, in all ages, so in that of the early Grecian epic, — a very large proportion of its impressive effect was derived from the talent of the reciter and the force of the general accompaniments, and would have disappeared altogether in solitary reading. Originally, the bard sung his own epical narrative, commencing with a proemium or hymn to one of the gods:<sup>1</sup> his profession was separate and special, like that of the carpenter, the leech, or the prophet: his manner and enunciation must have required particular training no less than his imaginative faculty. His character presents itself in the *Odyssey* as one highly esteemed; and in the *Iliad*, even Achilles does not disdain to touch the lyre with his own hands, and to sing heroic deeds.<sup>2</sup> Not only did the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the poems embodied in the Epic Cycle, produce all their impression and gain all their renown by this process of oral delivery, but even the lyric and choric poets who succeeded them were known and felt in the same way by the general public, even after the full establishment of habits of reading among lettered men. While in the case of the epic, the recitation or singing had been extremely simple, and the measure comparatively little diversified, with no other accompaniment than that of the four-stringed harp, — all the variations superinduced upon the original hexameter, beginning with the pentameter and iambus, and proceeding step by step to the com-

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric hymns are proems of this sort, some very short, consisting only of a few lines, — others of considerable length. The Hymn (or, rather, one of the two hymns) to Apollo is cited by Thucydides as the Proem of Apollo.

The Hymns to Aphroditê, Apollo, Hermês, Dêmêtêr, and Dionysus, are genuine epical narratives. Hermann (*Præf. ad Hymn. p. lxxxix.*) pronounces the Hymn to Aphroditê to be the oldest and most genuine: portions of the Hymn to Apollo (*Herm. p. xx.*) are also very old, but both that hymn and the others are largely interpolated. His opinion respecting these interpolations, however, is disputed by Franke (*Præfat. ad Hymn. Homeric. p. ix-xix.*); and the distinction between what is genuine and what is spurious, depends upon criteria not very distinctly assignable. Compare Ulrici, *Gesch. der Ep. Poes. pp. 385-391.*

<sup>2</sup> Phemius, Demodokus, and the nameless bard who guarded the fidelity of Klytæmnêstra, bear out this position (*Odys. i. 155; iii. 267; viii. 490; xxi. 330; Achilles in Iliad, ix. 190*).

A degree of inviolability seems attached to the person of the bard as well as to that of the herald (*Odys. xxii. 355-357*).

plicated strophæ of Pindar and the tragic writers, still left the general effect of the poetry greatly dependent upon voice and accompaniments, and pointedly distinguished from mere solitary reading of the words. And in the dramatic poetry, the last in order of time, the declamation and gesture of the speaking actor alternated with the song and dance of the chorus, and with the instruments of musicians, the whole being set off by imposing visible decorations. Now both dramatic effect and song are familiar in modern times, so that every man knows the difference between reading the words and hearing them under the appropriate circumstances: but poetry, as such, is, and has now long been, so exclusively enjoyed by reading, that it requires an especial memento to bring us back to the time when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were addressed only to the ear and feelings of a promiscuous and sympathizing multitude. Readers there were none, at least until the century preceding Solon and Peisistratus: from that time forward, they gradually increased both in number and influence; though doubtless small, even in the most literary period of Greece, as compared with modern European society. So far as the production of beautiful epic poetry was concerned, however, the select body of instructed readers, furnished a less potent stimulus than the unlettered and listening crowd of the earlier periods. The poems of Chærilus and Antimachus, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, though admired by erudite men, never acquired popularity; and the emperor Hadrian failed in his attempt to bring the latter poet into fashion at the expense of Homer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spartian. Vit. Hadrian. p. 8; Dio Cass. lxi. 4: Plut. Tim. c. 36.

There are some good observations on this point in Nâke's comments on Chærilus, ch. viii. p. 59:—

"Habet hoc epica poesis, vera illa, cujus perfectissimam normam agnoscimus Homericam—habet hoc proprium, ut non in possessione virorum eruditorum, sed quasi viva sit et coram populo recitanda: ut cum populo crescat, et si populus Deorum et antiquorum heroum facinora, quod præcipuum est epicæ poeseos argumentum, audire et secum repetere dediticerit, obmutescat. Id vero tum factum est in Græciâ, quum populus eâ ætate, quam pueritiam dicere possis, peractâ, partim ad res serias tristesque, politicas maxime—easque multo, quam antea, impeditiores—abstrahebatur: partim epicæ poeseos pertæsus, ex aliis poeseos generibus, quæ tum nascebantur, novum et diversum oblectamenti genus primo præagire, sibi, deinde haurire, cœpit."

It will be seen by what has been here stated, that that class of men, who formed the medium of communication between the verse and the ear, were of the highest importance in the ancient world, and especially in the earlier periods of its career,—the bards and rhapsodes for the epic, the singers for the lyric, the actors and singers jointly with the dancers for the chorus and drama. The lyric and dramatic poets taught with their own lips the delivery of their compositions, and so prominently did this business of teaching present itself to the view of the public, that the name *Didaskalia*, by which the dramatic exhibition was commonly designated, derived from thence its origin.

Among the number of rhapsodes who frequented the festivals at a time when Grecian cities were multiplied and easy of access, for the recitation of the ancient epic, there must have been of course great differences of excellence; but that the more considerable individuals of the class were elaborately trained and highly accomplished in the exercise of their profession, we may assume as certain. But it happens that Socrates, with his two pupils Plato and Xenophon, speak contemptuously of their merits; and many persons have been disposed, somewhat too readily, to admit this sentence of condemnation as conclusive, without taking account of the point of view from which it was delivered.<sup>1</sup> These

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Näke remarks, too, that the "*splendidissima et propria Homericæ pœseos ætas, ea quæ sponte quasi suâ inter populum et quasi cum populo viveret,*" did not reach below Peisistratus. It did not, I think, reach even so low as that period.

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. *Memorab.* iv. 2, 10; and *Sympos.* iii. 6. *Ολοῦθα τι οὖν ἔθνος ἡλιθιώτερον βαψῶν;* ..... *Δῆλον γάρ ἐτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται.* Σὺ δὲ Στρησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδὲν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λείληθε.

These *ὑπονοίαι* are the hidden meanings, or allegories, which a certain set of philosophers undertook to discover in Homer, and which the rhapsodes were no way called upon to study.

The Platonic dialogue, called *Iōn*, ascribes to *Iōn* the double function of a rhapsode, or impressive reciter, and a critical expositor of the poet (*Isokrates* also indicates the same double character, in the rhapsodes of his time, — *Panathenaic*, p. 240); but it conveys no solid grounds for a mean estimate of the class of rhapsodes, while it attests remarkably the striking effect produced by their recitation (c. 6, p. 535). That this class of men came to combine the habit of expository comment on the poet with their original profession of reciting, proves the tendencies of the age; probably, it also brought them into rivalry with the philosophers.



philosophers considered Homer and other poets with a view to instruction, ethical doctrine, and virtuous practice: they analyzed the characters whom the poet described, sifted the value of the lessons conveyed, and often struggled to discover a hidden meaning, where they disapproved that which was apparent. When they found a man like the rhapsode, who professed to impress the Homeric narrative upon an audience, and yet either never meddled at all, or meddled unsuccessfully, with the business of exposition, they treated him with contempt; indeed, Socrates depreciates the poets themselves, much upon the same principle, as dealing with matters of which they could render no rational account.<sup>1</sup> It was also the habit of Plato and Xenophôn to disparage generally professional exertion of talent for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, contrasting it often in an indelicate manner with the gratuitous teaching and ostentatious poverty of their master. But we are not warranted in judging the rhapsodes by such a standard. Though they were not philosophers or moralists, it was their province — and it had been so, long before the philosophical point of view was opened — to bring their poet home to the bosoms and emotions of an assembled crowd, and to penetrate themselves with his meaning so far as was suitable for that purpose, adapting to it the appropriate graces of action and intonation. In this their genuine task they were valuable members of the Grecian community, and seem to have possessed all the qualities necessary for success.

These rhapsodes, the successors of the primitive *acædi*, or bards, seem to have been distinguished from them by the discontinuance of all musical accompaniment. Originally, the bard sung, enlivening the song with occasional touches of the simple four-stringed harp: his successor, the rhapsode, recited, holding

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The grounds taken by Aristotle (*Problem.* xxx. 10; compare *Aul. Gellius*, xx. 14) against the actors, singers, musicians, etc. of his time, are more serious, and have more the air of truth.

If it be correct in *Lehrs* (*de Studiis Aristarchi*, Diss. ii. p. 46) to identify those early glossographers of Homer, whose explanations the Alexandrine critics so severely condemned, with the rhapsodes, this only proves that the rhapsodes had come to undertake a double duty, of which their predecessors before Solôn would never have dreamed.

<sup>1</sup> *Plato*, *Apolog.* *Socrat.* p. 22. c. 7.

in his hand nothing but a branch of laurel and depending for effect upon voice and manner,—a species of musical and rhythmical declamation,<sup>1</sup> which gradually increased in vehement

<sup>1</sup> Aristotel. *Poetic.* c. 47; Welcker, *Der Episch. Kyklos*; Ueber den Vortrag der Homerischen Gedichte, pp. 340–406, which collects all the facts respecting the aodi and the rhapsodes. Unfortunately, the ascertained points are very few.

The laurel branch in the hand of the singer or reciter (for the two expressions are often confounded) seems to have been peculiar to the recitation of Homer and Hesiod (*Hesiod*, *Theog.* 30; *Schol. ad Aristophan. Nub.* 1367. *Pausan.* x. 7, 2). “*Poemata omne genus* (says *Apuleius*, *Florid.* p. 122, *Bipont.*) *apta virgæ, lyre, socco, cothurno.*”

Not only Homer and Hesiod, but also Archilochus, were recited by rhapsodes (*Athenæ.* xii. 620; also *Plato*, *Legg.* ii. p. 658). Consult, besides, *Nitzsch*, *De Historiâ Homeri*, Fascic. 2, p. 114, seq., respecting the rhapsodes; and *O. Müller*, *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, ch. iv. s. 3.

The ideas of singing and speech are, however, often confounded, in reference to any verse solemnly and emphatically delivered (*Thucyd.* ii. 53) — *φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι βδεσθαί*, *Ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἡμῖν αὐτῶν*. And the rhapsodes are said to sing Homer (*Plato*, *Eryxias*, c. 13; *Hesych.* v. *Βραυρωνίους*); *Strabo* (i. p. 18) has a good passage upon song and speech.

*William Grimm* (*Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 373) supposes the ancient German heroic romances to have been recited or declaimed in a similar manner with a simple accompaniment of the harp, as the Servian heroic lays are even at this time delivered.

*Fauriel* also tells us, respecting the French Carlovingian Epic (*Romans de Chevalerie*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiii. p. 559): “The romances of the 12th and 13th centuries were really sung: the *jongleur* invited his audience to hear a *belle chanson d'histoire*, — ‘le mot chanter ne manque jamais dans la formule initiale,’ — and it is to be understood literally: the music was simple and intermittent, more like a recitative; the *jongleur* carried a rebek, or violin with three strings, an Arabic instrument; when he wished to rest his voice, he played an air or *ritournelle* upon this; he went thus about from place to place, and the romances had no existence among the people, except through the aid and recitation of these *jongleurs*.”

It appears that there had once been rhapsodic exhibitions at the festivals of *Dionysus*, but they were discontinued (*Klearchus ap. Athenæ.* vii. p. 275), — probably superseded by the *dithyramb* and the *tragedy*.

The etymology of *ῥαψῳδός* is a disputed point: *Welcker* traces it to *ῥάβδος*, most critics derive it from *ῥάπτειν* *ἑωδῆν*, which *O. Müller* explains “to denote the coupling together of verses without any considerable divisions or pauses, — the even, unbroken, continuous flow of the epic poem,” as contrasted with the *strophic* or *choric* periods (*l. c.*).

emphasis and gesticulation until it approached to that of the dramatic actor. At what time this change took place, or whether the two different modes of enunciating the ancient epic may for a certain period have gone on simultaneously, we have no means of determining. Hesiod receives from the Muse a branch of laurel, as a token of his ordination into their service, which marks him for a rhapsode; while the ancient bard with his harp is still recognized in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, as efficient and popular at the Panionic festivals in the island of Delos.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the improvements made in the harp, to which three strings, in addition to the original four, were attached by Terpander (B. C. 660), and the growing complication of instrumental music generally, may have contributed to discredit the primitive accompaniment; and thus to promote the practice of recital: the story, that Terpander himself composed music, not only for hexameter poems of his own, but also for those of Homer, seems to indicate that the music which preceded him was ceasing to find favor.<sup>2</sup> By whatever steps the change from the bard to the rhapsode took place, certain it is that before the time of Solon, the latter was the recognized and exclusive organ of

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<sup>1</sup> Homer, Hymn to Apoll. 170. The *κίθαρις*, *ἀοιδή*, *ὀρχηθμός*, are constantly put together in that hymn: evidently, the instrumental accompaniment was essential to the hymns at the Ionic festival. Compare also the Hymn to Hermēs (430), where the function ascribed to the Muses can hardly be understood to include non-musical recitation. The Hymn to Hermēs is more recent than Terpander, inasmuch as it mentions the seven strings of the lyre, v. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Terpander, — see Plutarch. de Musica, c. 3-4; the facts respecting him are collected in Plehn's *Lesbiaca*, pp. 140-160; but very little can be authenticated.

Stesander at the Pythian festivals sang the Homeric battles, with a harp accompaniment of his own composition (*Athenæ*. xiv. p. 638).


The principal testimonies respecting the rhapsodizing of the Homeric poems at Athens, chiefly at the Panathenæic festival, are Isokratēs, *Panegyric*. p. 74; Lycurgus contra Leocrat. p. 161; Plato, *Hipparch*. p. 228; Diogen. Laërt. Vit. Solon. i. 57.

Inscriptions attest that rhapsodizing continued in great esteem, down to a late period of the historical age, both at Chios and Teos, especially the former: it was the subject of competition by trained youth, and of prizes for the victor, at periodical religious solemnities: see Corp. Inscript. Boeckh, No 3214-3088.

the old Epic; sometimes in short fragments before private companies, by single rhapsodes,—sometimes several rhapsodes in continuous succession at a public festival.

Respecting the mode in which the Homeric poems were preserved, during the two centuries (or as some think, longer interval) between their original composition and the period shortly preceding Solón,—and respecting their original composition and subsequent changes,—there are wide differences of opinion among able critics. Were they preserved with or without being written? Was the *Iliad* originally composed as one poem, and the *Odyssey* in like manner, or is each of them an aggregation of parts originally self-existent and unconnected? Was the authorship of each poem single-headed or many-headed?

Either tacitly or explicitly, these questions have been generally coupled together and discussed with reference to each other, by inquiries into the Homeric poems; though Mr. Payne Knight's *Prolegomena* have the merit of keeping them distinct. Half a century ago, the acute and valuable *Prolegomena* of F. A. Wolf, turning to account the Venetian *Scholia* which had then been recently published, first opened philosophical discussion as to the history of the Homeric text. A considerable part of that dissertation (though by no means the whole) is employed in vindicating the position, previously announced by Bentley, among others, that the separate constituent portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had not been cemented together into any compact body and unchangeable order until the days of Peisistratus, in the sixth century before Christ. As a step towards that conclusion, Wolf maintained that no written copies of either poem could be shown to have existed during the earlier times to which their composition is referred,—and that without writing, neither the perfect symmetry of so complicated a work could have been originally conceived by any poet, nor, if realized by him, transmitted with assurance to posterity. The absence of easy and convenient writing, such as must be indispensably supposed for long manuscripts, among the early Greeks, was thus one of the points in Wolf's case against the primitive integrity of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. By Nitzsch and other leading opponents of Wolf, the connection of the one with the other seems to have been accepted as he originally put it; and it has been considered



incumbent on these, who defended the ancient aggregate character of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, to maintain that they were written poems from the beginning.

To me it appears that the architectonic functions ascribed by Wolf to Peisistratus and his associates, in reference to the Homeric poems, are nowise admissible. But much would undoubtedly be gained towards that view of the question, if it could be shown that, in order to controvert it, we were driven to the necessity of admitting long written poems in the ninth century before the Christian era. Few things, in my opinion, can be more improbable: and Mr. Payne Knight, opposed as he is to the Wolfian hypothesis, admits this no less than Wolf himself.<sup>1</sup> The traces of writing in Greece, even in the seventh century before the Christian era, are exceedingly trifling. We have no remaining inscription earlier than the 40th Olympiad, and the early inscriptions are rude and unskilfully executed: nor can we even assure ourselves whether Archilochus, Simonidēs of Amorgus, Kallinus, Tyrtæus, Xanthus, and the other early elegiac and lyric

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<sup>1</sup> Knight, *Prolegom. Hom. c. xxxviii-xl*. "Haud tamen ullum Homericorum carmism exemplar Pisistrati seculo antiquius extitisse, aut sexcentesimo prius anno ante C. N. scriptum fuisse, facile credam: rara enim et perdifficilis erat iis temporibus scriptura ob penuriam materiam scribendo idoneam, quum literas aut lapidibus exarare, aut tabulis ligneis aut laminis metalli alicujus insculpere oporteret. . . . Atque ideo memoriter retenta sunt, et hæc et alia veterum poetarum carmina, et per urbes et vicos et in principum virorum ædibus, decantata a rhapsodiis. Neque mirandum est, ea per tot sæcula sic integra conservata esse, quoniam — per eos tradita erant, qui ab omnibus Græciæ et coloniarum regibus et civitatibus mercede satis amplâ conducti, omnia sua studia in iis ediscendis, retinendis, et rite recitandis, conferebant." Compare Wolf, *Prolegom. xxiv-xxv*.

The evidences of early writing among the Greeks, and of written poems even anterior to Homer, may be seen collected in Kreuzer (*Vorfragen ueber Homeros*, pp. 127-159, Frankfort, 1828). His proofs appear to me altogether inconclusive. Nitzsch maintains the same opinion (*Histor. Homeri*, Fasc. i. sect. xi. xvii. xviii.), — in my opinion, not more successfully: nor does Franz (*Epigraphicæ Græc. Introd. s. iv.*) produce any new arguments.

I do not quite subscribe to Mr. Knight's language, when he says that *there is nothing wonderful* in the long preservation of the Homeric poems *unwritten*. It is enough to maintain that the existence, and practical use of long manuscripts, by all the rhapsodes, under the condition and circumstances of the 8th and 9th centuries among the Greeks, would be a greater wonder

poets, committed their compositions to writing, or at what time the practice of doing so became familiar. The first positive ground, which authorizes us to presume the existence of a manuscript of Homer, is in the famous ordinance of Solón with regard to the rhapsodes at the Panathenæa; but for what length of time, previously, manuscripts had existed, we are unable to say.

Those who maintain the Homeric poems to have been written from the beginning, rest their case, not upon positive proofs,—nor yet upon the existing habits of society with regard to poetry, for they admit generally that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not read, but recited and heard,—but upon the supposed necessity that there must have been manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> to insure the preservation of the poems,—the unassisted memory of reciters being neither sufficient nor trustworthy. But here we only escape a smaller difficulty by running into a greater; for the existence of trained bards, gifted with extraordinary memory, is far less astonishing than that of long manuscripts in an age essentially non-reading and non-writing, and when even suitable instruments and materials for the process are not obvious. Moreover, there is a strong positive reason for believing that the bard was under no necessity for refreshing his memory by consulting a manuscript. For if such had been the fact, blindness would have been a disqualification for the profession, which we know that it was not; as well from the example of Demodokus in the *Odyssey*, as from that of the blind bard of Chios, in the hymn to the Delian Apollo, whom Thucydides, as well as the general tenor of Grecian legend, identifies with Homer himself.<sup>2</sup> The author of that Hymn, be he who he may, could never have described a

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<sup>1</sup> See this argument strongly put by Nitzsch, in the prefatory remarks at the beginning of his second volume of Commentaries on the *Odyssey* (pp. x-xxix). He takes great pains to discard all idea that the poems were written in order to be read. To the same purpose, Franz (*Epigraphicæ Græc. Introd.* p. 32), who adopts Nitzsch's positions,—"Auditoris enim, non lecturis, carmina parabant."

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* viii. 65; *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 172; *Pseudo-Herodot. Vit. Homer.* c. 3; *Thucyd.* iii. 104.

Various commentators on Homer imagined that, under the misfortune of Demodokus, the poet in reality described his own (*Schol. ad Odys.* i. 1; *Maxim. Tyr.* xxxviii. 1).

blind man as attaining the utmost perfection in his art, if he had been conscious that the memory of the bard was only maintained by constant reference to the manuscript in his chest.

Nor will it be found, after all, that the effort of memory required, either from bards or rhapsodes, even for the longest of these old Epic poems, — though doubtless great, was at all superhuman. Taking the case with reference to the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we know that there were educated gentlemen at Athens who could repeat both poems by heart:<sup>1</sup> but in the professional

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Sympos. iii. 5. Compare, respecting the laborious discipline of the Gallic Druids, and the number of unwritten verses which they retained in their memories, Caesar, B. G. vi. 14; Mela. iii. 2; also Wolf, *Prolegg.* s. xxiv. and Herod. ii. 77, about the prodigious memory of the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis.

I transcribe, from the interesting Discours of M. Fauriel (prefixed to his *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, Paris 1824), a few particulars respecting the number, the mnemonic power, and the popularity of those itinerant singers or rhapsodes who frequent the festivals or *panegyris* of modern Greece: it is curious to learn that this profession is habitually exercised by *blind* men (p. xc. seq.).

“ Les aveugles exercent en Grèce une profession qui les rend non seulement agréables, mais nécessaires; le caractère, l'imagination, et la condition du peuple, étant ce qu'ils sont: c'est la profession de chanteurs ambulans. . . . Ils sont dans l'usage, tant sur le continent que dans les îles, de la Grèce, d'apprendre par cœur le plus grand nombre qu'ils peuvent de chansons populaires de tout genre et de toute époque. Quelques uns finissent par en savoir une quantité prodigieuse, et tous en savent beaucoup. Avec ce trésor dans leur mémoire, ils sont toujours en marche, traversent la Grèce en tout sens; ils s'en vont de ville en ville, de village en village, chantant à l'auditoire qui se forme aussitôt autour d'eux, partout où ils se montrent, celles de leurs chansons qu'ils jugent convenir le mieux, soit à la localité, soit à la circonstance, et reçoivent une petite rétribution qui fait tout leur revenu. Ils ont l'air de chercher de préférence, en tout lieu, la partie la plus inculte de la population, qui en est toujours la plus curieuse, la plus avide d'impressions, et la moins difficile dans le choix de ceux qui leur sont offertes. Les Turcs seuls ne les écoutent pas. C'est aux réunions nombreuses, aux fêtes de village connues sous le nom de *Panegyris*, que ces chanteurs ambulans accourent le plus volontiers. Ils chantent en s'accompagnant d'un instrument à cordes que l'on touche avec un archet, et qui est exactement l'ancienne lyre des Grecs, dont il a conservé le nom comme la forme.

“ Cette lyre, pour être entière, doit avoir cinq cordes: mais souvent elle n'en a que deux ou trois, dont les sons, comme il est aisé de présumer, n'ont rien de bien harmonieux. Les chanteurs aveugles vont ordinairement isolés

recitations, we are not to imagine that the same person did go through the whole: the recitation was essentially a joint undertaking, and the rhapsodes who visited a festival would naturally understand among themselves which part of the poem should devolve upon each particular individual. Under such circumstances, and with such means of preparation beforehand, the quantity of verse which a rhapsode could deliver would be measured, not so much by the exhaustion of his memory, as by the physical sufficiency of his voice, having reference to the sonorous, emphatic, and rhythmical pronunciation required from him.<sup>1</sup>

But what guarantee have we for the exact transmission of the text for a space of two centuries by simply oral means? It

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et chacun d'eux chante à part des autres: mais quelquefois aussi ils se réunissent par groupes de deux ou de trois, pour dire ensemble les mêmes chansons..... Ces modernes rhapsodes doivent être divisés en deux classes. Les uns (et ce sont, selon toute apparence, les plus nombreux) se bornent à la fonction de recueillir, d'apprendre par cœur, et de mettre en circulation, des pièces qu'ils n'ont point composées. Les autres (et ce sont ceux qui forment l'ordre le plus distingué de leur corps), à cette fonction de répétiteurs et de colporteurs des poésies d'autrui, joignent celle de poètes, et ajoutent à la masse des chansons apprises d'autres chants de leur façon..... Ces rhapsodes aveugles sont les novellistes et les historiens, en même temps que les poètes du peuple, en cela parfaitement semblables aux rhapsodes anciens de la Grèce."

To pass to another country — Persia, once the great rival of Greece: "The Kurroglou rhapsodes are called *Kurroglou-Khans*, from *khaunden*, to sing. Their duty is, to know by heart all the *mejliasses* (meets) of Kurroglou, narrate them, or sing them with the accompaniment of the favorite instrument of Kurroglou, the chungur, or sitar, a three-stringed guitar. Ferdousi has also his *Shah-nama-Khans*, and the prophet Mohammed his *Koran Khans*. The memory of those singers is truly astonishing. At every request, they recite in one breath for some hours, without stammering, beginning the tale at the passage or verse pointed out by the hearers." (Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as found in the Adventures and Improvements of Kurroglou, the Bandit Minstrel of Northern Persia, by Alexander Chodzko: London 1842, Introd. p. 13.)

"One of the songs of the Calmuck national bards sometimes lasts a whole day." (Ibid. p. 372.)

<sup>1</sup> There are just remarks of Mr. Mitford on the possibility that the Homeric poems might have been preserved without writing (History of Greece, vol. i. pp. 135-137).



may be replied, that oral transmission would hand down the text as exactly as in point of fact it was handed down. The great lines of each poem, — the order of parts, — the vein of Homeric feeling, and the general style of locution, and, for the most part, the true words, — would be maintained: for the professional training of the rhapsode, over and above the precision of his actual memory, would tend to Homerize his mind (if the expression may be permitted), and to restrain him within this magic circle. On the other hand, in respect to the details of the text, we should expect that there would be wide differences and numerous inaccuracies: and so there really were, as the records contained in the Scholia, together with the passages cited in ancient authors, but not found in our Homeric text, abundantly testify.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the state of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in respect to the letter called the Digamma, affords a proof that they were recited for a considerable period before they were committed to writing, insomuch that the oral pronunciation underwent during the interval a sensible change.<sup>2</sup> At the time when these poems were composed, the Digamma was an effective consonant, and figured as such in the structure of the verse: at the time when they were

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<sup>1</sup> Villoison, *Prolegomen.* pp. xxxiv-lvi; Wolf, *Prolegomen.* p. 37. Düntzer, in the *Epieor. Græc. Fragm.* pp. 27-29, gives a considerable list of the Homeric passages cited by ancient authors, but not found either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. It is hardly to be doubted, however, that many of these passages belonged to other epic poems which passed under the name of Homer. Welcker (*Der Episch. Kyklus*, pp. 20-133) enforces this opinion very justly, and it harmonizes with his view of the name of Homer as coextensive with the whole Epic cycle.

<sup>2</sup> See this argument strongly maintained in Giese (*Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt*, sect. 14. p. 160, *seqq.*). He notices several other particulars in the Homeric language, — the plenitude and variety of interchangeable grammatical forms, — the numerous metrical licenses, set right by appropriate oral intonations, — which indicate a language as yet not constrained by the fixity of written authority.

The same line of argument is taken by O. Müller (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, ch. iv. s. 5).

Giese has shown also, in the same chapter, that all the manuscripts of Homer mentioned in the Scholia, were written in the Ionic alphabet (with H and Ω as marks for the long vowels, and no special mark for the rough breathing), in so far as the special citations out of them enable us to verify

committed to writing, it had ceased to be pronounced, and therefore never found a place in any of the manuscripts, — insomuch that the Alexandrine critics, though they knew of its existence in the much later poems of Alkæus and Sapphō, never recognized it in Homer. The hiatus, and the various perplexities of metre, occasioned by the loss of the Digamma, were corrected by different grammatical stratagems. But the whole history of this lost letter is very curious, and is rendered intelligible only by the supposition that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belonged for a wide space of time to the memory, the voice, and the ear, exclusively.

At what period these poems, or, indeed, any other Greek poems, first began to be written, must be matter of conjecture, though there is ground for assurance that it was before the time of Solôn. If, in the absence of evidence, we may venture upon naming any more determinate period, the question at once suggests itself, what were the purposes which, in that stage of society, a manuscript at its first commencement must have been intended to answer? For whom was a written *Iliad* necessary? Not for the rhapsodes; for with them it was not only planted in the memory, but also interwoven with the feelings, and conceived in conjunction with all those flexions and intonations of voice, pauses, and other oral artifices, which were required for emphatic delivery, and which the naked manuscript could never reproduce. Not for the general public, — *they* were accustomed to receive it with its rhapsodic delivery, and with its accompaniments of a solemn and crowded festival. The only persons for whom the written *Iliad* would be suitable, would be a select few; studious and curious men, — a class of readers, capable of analyzing the complicated emotions which they had experienced as hearers in the crowd, and who would, on perusing the written words, realize in their imaginations a sensible portion of the impression communicated by the reciter.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nitzsch and Welcker argue, that because the Homeric poems were *heard* with great delight and interest, therefore the first rudiments of the art of writing, even while beset by a thousand mechanical difficulties, would be employed to record them. I cannot adopt this opinion, which appears to me to derive all its plausibility from our present familiarity with reading and writing. The first step from the recited to the written poem is really one of great violence, as well as useless for any want then actually felt. I

Incredible as the statement may seem in an age like the present, there is in all early societies, and there was in early Greece, a time when no such reading class existed. If we could discover at what time such a class first began to be formed, we should be able to make a guess at the time when the old Epic poems were first committed to writing. Now the period which may with the greatest probability be fixed upon as having first witnessed the formation even of the narrowest reading class in Greece, is the middle of the seventh century before the Christian era (B. C. 660 to B. C. 630),—the age of Terpander, Kallinus, Archilochus, Simonidēs of Amorgus, etc. I ground this supposition on the change then operated in the character and tendencies of Grecian poetry and music,—the elegiac and iambic measures having been introduced as rivals to the primitive hexameter, and poetical compositions having been transferred from the epical past to the affairs of present and real life. Such a change was important at a time when poetry was the only known mode of publication (to use a modern phrase not altogether suitable, yet the nearest approaching to the sense). It argued a new way of looking at the old epical treasures of the people, as well as a

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much more agree with Wolf when he says: “Diu enim illorum hominum vita et simplicitas nihil admodum habuit, quod scripturâ dignum videretur: in aliis omnibus occupati agunt illi, quæ posteri scribunt, vel (ut de quibusdam populis accepimus) etiam monstratam operam hanc spernunt tanquam indecori otii: carmina autem quæ pangunt, longo usu sic ore fundere et excipere consueverunt, ut cantu et recitatione cum maxime vigentia deducere ad mutas notas, ex illius ætatis sensu nihil aliud esset, quam perimere ea et vitali vi ac spiritu privare.” (Prolegom. s. xv. p. 59.)

Some good remarks on this subject are to be found in William Humboldt's Introduction to his elaborate treatise *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache*, in reference to the oral tales current among the Basques. He, too, observes how great and repulsive a proceeding it is, to pass at first from verse sung, or recited, to verse written; implying that the words are conceived detached from the *Vortrag*, the accompanying music, and the surrounding and sympathizing assembly. The Basque tales have no charm for the people themselves, when put in Spanish words and read (Introduction, sect. xx. p. 258-259).

Unwritten prose tales, preserved in the memory, and said to be repeated nearly in the same words from age to age, are mentioned by Mariner, in the *Tonga Islands* (Mariner's Account, vol. ii. p. 377).

The Druidical poems were kept unwritten by design, after writing was in established use for other purposes (Cæsar, B. G. vi. 13).

thirst for new poetical effect; and the men who stood forward in it may well be considered as desirous to study, and competent to criticize, from their own individual point of view, the written words of the Homeric rhapsodes, just as we are told that Kallinus both noticed and eulogized the Thebais as the production of Homer. There seems, therefore, ground for conjecturing, that (for the use of this newly-formed and important, but very narrow class) manuscripts of the Homeric poems and other old epics — the Thebais and the Cypria as well as the Iliad and the Odyssey — began to be compiled towards the middle of the seventh century B. C.:<sup>1</sup> and the opening of Egypt to Grecian commerce, which took place about the same period, would furnish increased facilities for obtaining the requisite papyrus to write upon. A reading class, when once formed, would doubtless slowly increase, and the number of manuscripts along with it; so that before the time of Solon, fifty years afterwards, both readers and manuscripts, though still comparatively few, might have attained a certain recognized authority, and formed a tribunal of reference, against the carelessness of individual rhapsodes.

We may, I think, consider the Iliad and Odyssey to have been preserved without the aid of writing, for a period near upon two centuries.<sup>2</sup> But is it true, as Wolf imagined, and as other able

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fynes Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. pp. 368–373) treats it as a matter of *certainly* that Archilochus and Alkman wrote their poems. I am not aware of any evidence for announcing this as positively known, — except, indeed, an admission of Wolf, which is, doubtless, good as an *argumentum ad hominem*, but is not to be received as proof (Wolf, *Proleg.* p. 50). The evidences mentioned by Mr. Clinton (p. 368) certainly cannot be regarded as proving anything to the point.

Giese (*Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt*, p. 172) places the first writing of the separate rhapsodies composing the Iliad in the seventh century B. C.

<sup>2</sup> The songs of the Icelandic Skalds were preserved orally for a period longer than two centuries, — P. A. Müller thinks very much longer, — before they were collected, or embodied in written story by Snorro and Sæmund (Lange, *Untersuchungen über die Gesch. der Nördischen Helden-sage*, p. 98; also, *Introduct.* pp. xx–xxviii). He confounds, however, often, the preservation of the songs from old time, — with the question, whether they have or have not an historical basis.

And there were, doubtless, many old bards and rhapsodes in ancient Greece, of whom the same might be said which Saxo Grammaticus affirms of an Englishman named Lucas, that he was “*litteris quidem tenuiter in-*

critics have imagined, also, that the separate portions of which these two poems are composed were originally distinct epical ballads, each constituting a separate whole and intended for separate recitation? Is it true, that they had not only no common author, but originally, neither common purpose nor fixed order, and that their first permanent arrangement and integration was delayed for three centuries, and accomplished at last only by the taste of Peisistratus conjoined with various lettered friends?<sup>1</sup>

This hypothesis—to which the genius of Wolf first gave celebrity, but which has been since enforced more in detail by others, especially by William Müller and Lachmann—appears to me not only unsupported by any sufficient testimony, but also opposed to other testimony as well as to a strong force of internal probability. The authorities quoted by Wolf are Josephus, Cicero, and Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> Josephus mentions nothing about Pēi-

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structus, sed historiarum scientiā apprime eruditus." (Dahlmann, *Historische Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 176.)

<sup>1</sup> "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the *Iliad* he made for the men, the *Odysseus* for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together into the form of an epic poem until 500 years after."

Such is the naked language in which Wolf's main hypothesis had been previously set forth by Bentley, in his "Remarks on a late Discourse of Freethinking, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," published in 1713: the passage remained unaltered in the seventh edition of that treatise published in 1737. See Wolf's Proleg. xxvii. p. 115.

The same hypothesis may be seen more amply developed, partly in the work of Wolf's pupil and admirer, William Müller, *Homerische Vorrede* (the second edition of which was published at Leipsic, 1836, with an excellent introduction and notes by Baumgarten-Crusius, adding greatly to the value of the original work by its dispassionate review of the whole controversy), partly in two valuable Dissertations of Lachmann, published in the *Philological Transactions of the Berlin Academy* for 1837 and 1841.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 2; Cicero de Orator. iii. 34; Pausan. vii. 26, 6: compare the Scholion on Plantus in Ritschl, *Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek*, p. 4. Ælian (V. H. xiii. 14), who mentions both the introduction of the Homeric poems into Peloponnesus by Lykurgus, and the compilation by Peisistratus, can hardly be considered as adding to the value of the testimony: still less, Libanius and Suidas. What we learn is, that some literary and critical men of the Alexandrine age (more or fewer, as the case may

**sis**tratus, but merely states (what we may accept as the probable fact) that the Homeric poems were originally unwritten, and preserved only in songs or recitations, from which they were at a subsequent period put into writing: hence many of the discrepancies in the text. On the other hand, Cicero and Pausanias go farther, and affirm that Peisistratus both collected, and arranged in the existing order, the rhapsodies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, (implied as poems originally entire, and subsequently broken into pieces,) which he found partly confused and partly isolated from each other, — each part being then remembered only in its own portion of the Grecian world. Respecting Hipparchus the son of Peisistratus, too, we are told in the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue which bears his name, that he was the first to introduce into Attica, the poetry of Homer, and that he prescribed to the rhapsodes to recite the parts of the Panathenaic festival in regular sequence.<sup>1</sup>

Wolf and William Müller occasionally speak as if they admitted something like an *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as established aggregates prior to Peisistratus; but for the most part they represent him or his associates as having been the first to put together Homeric poems which were before distinct and self-existent compositions. And Lachmann, the recent expositor of the same theory, ascribes to Peisistratus still more unequivocally this original integration of parts in reference to the *Iliad*, — distributing the first twenty-two books of the poem into sixteen separate songs, and treating it as ridiculous to imagine that the fusion of these songs, into an order such as we now read, belongs to any date earlier than Peisistratus.<sup>2</sup>

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be; but Wolf exaggerates when he talks of an *unanimous* conviction) spoke of Peisistratus as having first put together the fractional parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into entire poems.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Hipparch. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> "Doch ich komme mir bald lächerlich vor, wenn ich noch immer die Möglichkeit gelten lasse, dass unsere *Ilias* in dem gegenwärtigen Zusammenhang der bedeutenden Theile, und nicht blos der wenigen bedeutendsten, jemals vor der Arbeit des Peisistratus gedacht worden sey." (Lachmann, *Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias*, sect. xxviii. p. 32; *Abhandlungen Berlin. Academ.* 1841.) How far this admission — that for the *few most important* portions of the *Iliad*, there *did* exist an established order of succession prior to Peisistratus — is intended to reach, I do not know; but the language

Upon this theory we may remark, first, that it stands opposed to the testimony existing respecting the regulations of Solon; who, before the time of Peisistratus, had enforced a fixed order of recitation on the rhapsodes of the Iliad at the Panathenaic festival; not only directing that they should go through the rhapsodies *seriatim*, and without omission or corruption, but also establishing a prompter or censorial authority to insure obedience,<sup>1</sup>

of Lachmann goes farther than either Wolf or William Müller. (See Wolf, Prolegomen. pp. cxli-cxlii, and W. Müller, Homerische Vorschule, Abschnitt. vii. pp. 96, 98, 100, 102.) The latter admits that neither Peisistratus nor the Diaskeuasts could have made any considerable changes in the Iliad and Odyssey, either in the way of addition or of transposition; the poems as aggregates being too well known, and the Homeric vein of invention too completely extinct, to admit of such novelties.

I confess, I do not see how these last-mentioned admissions can be reconciled with the main doctrine of Wolf, in so far as regards Peisistratus.

<sup>1</sup> Diogen. Laërt. i. 57. — Τὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε (Σόλων) ραψωδίσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἀρχόμενον, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς.

Respecting Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, the Pseudo-Plato tells us (in the dialogue so called, p. 228), — καὶ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνὴν, καὶ ἡνάγκασε τοὺς ραψωδοὺς Παναθηναίους ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥς περ νῦν ἐτι οἶδε ποιοῦσι.

These words have provoked multiplied criticisms from all the learned men who have touched upon the theory of the Homeric poems, — to determine what was the practice which Solon found existing, and what was the change which he introduced. Our information is too scanty to pretend to certainty, but I think the explanation of Hermann the most satisfactory ("Quid sit ὑποβολὴ καὶ ὑποβλήδην." — *Opuscula*, tom. v. p. 300, tom. vii. p. 162).

Ὑποβολὴς is the technical term for the prompter at a theatrical representation (Plutarch, Præcept. gerend. Reip. p. 813); ὑποβολὴ and ὑποβάλλειν have corresponding meanings, of aiding the memory of a speaker and keeping him in accordance with a certain standard, in possession of the prompter: see the words ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, Xenophon. Cyropsed. iii. 3, 37. Ὑποβολὴ, therefore, has no necessary connection with a *series* of rhapsodes, but would apply just as much to one alone; although it happens in this case to be brought to bear upon several in succession. Ὑπόληψις, again, means "the taking up in succession of one rhapsode by another:" though the two words, therefore, have not the same meaning, yet the proceeding described in the two passages, in reference both to Solon and Hipparchus, appears to be in substance the same, — i. e. to insure, by compulsory supervision, a correct

— which implies the existence (at the same time that it proclaims the occasional infringement) of an orderly aggregate, as well as of manuscripts professedly complete. Next, the theory ascribes to Peisistratus a character not only materially different from what is indicated by Cicero and Pausanias,—who represent him, not as having put together atoms originally distinct, but as the renovator of an ancient order subsequently lost,—but also in itself unintelligible, and inconsistent with Grecian habit and feeling. That Peisistratus should take pains to repress the license, or make up for the unfaithful memory, of individual rhapsodes, and to ennoble the Panathenaic festival by the most correct recital of a great and venerable poem, according to the

and orderly recitation by the successive rhapsodes who went through the different parts of the poem.

There is good reason to conclude from this passage that the rhapsodes before Solôn were guilty both of negligence and of omission in their recital of Homer, but no reason to imagine either that they transposed the books, or that the legitimate order was not previously recognized.

The appointment of a systematic *ὑποβολεὺς*, or prompter, plainly indicates the existence of complete manuscripts.

The direction of Solôn, that Homer should be rhapsodized under the security of a prompter with his manuscript, appears just the same as that of the orator Lykurgus in reference to *Æschylus*, *Sophoklēs*, and *Euripidēs* (*Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. x. Rhetor. Lycurgi Vit.*)—*εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους—ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἀισχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραφαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματεῖα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· ὁ γὰρ ἔξῃν αὐτὰς (ἄλλως) ὑποκρίνεσθαι.* The word *ἄλλως*, which occurs last but one, is introduced by the conjecture of Grysar, who has cited and explained the above passage of the *Pseudo-Plutarch* in a valuable dissertation—*De Græcorum Tragediâ, qualis fuit circa tempora Demosthenis* (Cologne, 1830). All the critics admit the text as it now stands to be unintelligible, and various corrections have been proposed, among which that of Grysar seems the best. From his Dissertation, I transcribe the following passage, which illustrates the rhapsodizing of Homer *ἐξ ὑποβολῆς*:—

“Quum histriones fabulis interpolandis ægre abstinere, Lycurgus legem supra indicatam eo tulit consilio, ut recitationes histrionum cum publico illo exemplo omnino congruas redderet. Quod ut assequeretur, constituit, ut dum fabulæ in scenâ recitarentur, scriba publicus simul exemplum civitatis inspiceret, juxta sive in theatro sive in postscenio sedens. Hæc enim verbi *παραναγιγνώσκειν* est significatio, posita præcipue in præpositione *παρὰ*, ut idem sit, quod *contra* sive *juxta* legere; id quod faciunt ii, qui *lecta ab alijs vel recitata cum suis conferre cupiunt.*” (Grysar, p. 7.)



standard received among the best judges in Greece,—this is a task both suitable to his position, and requiring nothing more than an improved recension, together with exact adherence to it on the part of the rhapsodes. But what motive had he to string together several poems, previously known only as separate, into one new whole? What feeling could he gratify by introducing the extensive changes and transpositions surmised by Lachmann, for the purpose of binding together sixteen songs, which the rhapsodes are assumed to have been accustomed to recite, and the people to hear, each by itself apart? Peisistratus was not a poet, seeking to interest the public mind by new creations and combinations, but a ruler, desirous to impart solemnity to a great religious festival in his native city. Now such a purpose would be answered by selecting, amidst the divergences of rhapsodes in different parts of Greece, that order of text which intelligent men could approve as a return to the pure and pristine *Iliad*; but it would be defeated if he attempted large innovations of his own, and brought out for the first time a new *Iliad* by blending together, altering, and transposing, many old and well-known songs. A novelty so bold would have been more likely to offend than to please both the critics and the multitude. And if it were even enforced, by authority, at Athens, no probable reason can be given why all the other towns, and all the rhapsodes throughout Greece, should abnegate their previous habits in favor of it, since Athens at that time enjoyed no political ascendancy such as she acquired during the following century. On the whole, it will appear that the character and position of Peisistratus himself go far to negative the function which Wolf and Lachmann put upon him. His interference presupposes a certain foreknown and ancient aggregate, the main lineaments of which were familiar to the Grecian public, although many of the rhapsodes in their practice may have deviated from it both by omission and interpolation. In correcting the Athenian recitations conformably with such understood general type, he might hope both to procure respect for Athens, and to constitute a fashion for the rest of Greece. But this step of “collecting the torn body of sacred Homer,” is something generically different from the composition of a new *Iliad* out of preëxisting songs.

the former is as easy, suitable, and promising, as the latter is violent and gratuitous.<sup>1</sup>

To sustain the inference, that Peisistratus was the first architect of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it ought at least to be shown that no other long and continuous poems existed during the earlier centuries. But the contrary of this is known to be the fact. The *Æthiopis* of Arktinus, which contained nine thousand one hundred verses, dates from a period more than two centuries earlier than Peisistratus: several other of the lost cyclic epics, some among them of considerable length, appear during the century succeeding Arktinus; and it is important to notice that three or four at least of these poems passed currently under the name of Homer.<sup>2</sup> There is no greater intrinsic difficulty in

<sup>1</sup> That the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* were ever recited with all the parts entire, at any time anterior to Solón, is a point which Ritschl denies (*Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek*. pp. 67-70). He thinks that before Solón, they were always recited in parts, and without any fixed order among the parts. Nor did Solón determine (as he thinks) the order of the parts: he only checked the license of the rhapsodes as to the recitation of the separate books: it was Peisistratus, who, with the help of Onomakritus and others, first settled the order of the parts and bound each poem into a whole, with some corrections and interpolations. Nevertheless, he admits that the parts were originally composed by the same poet, and adapted to form a whole amongst each other: but this primitive entireness (he asserts) was only maintained as a sort of traditional belief, never realized in recitation, and never reduced to an obvious, unequivocal, and permanent fact, — until the time of Peisistratus.

There is no sufficient ground, I think, for denying all entire recitation previous to Solón, and we only interpose a new difficulty, both grave and gratuitous, by doing so.

<sup>2</sup> The *Æthiopis* of Arktinus contained nine thousand one hundred verses, as we learn from the *Tabula Iliaca*: yet Proklus assigns to it only four books. The *Ilias Minor* had four books, the *Cyprian Verses* eleven, though we do not know the number of lines in either.

Nitzsch states it as a certain matter of fact, that Arktinus recited his own poem *alone*, though it was too long to admit of his doing so without interruption. (See his *Vorrede* to the second vol. of the *Odyssey*, p. xxiv.) There is no evidence for this assertion, and it appears to me highly improbable.

In reference to the Romances of the Middle Ages, belonging to the Cycle of the Round Table, M. Fauriel tells us that the German *Perceval* has nearly twenty-five thousand verses (more than half as long again as the *Iliad*); the *Perceval* of Christian of Troyes, probably more; the German *Tristan*, of Godfrey of Strasburg, has more than twenty-three thousand; sometimes, the

supposing long epics to have begun with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, than with the *Æthiopis*: the ascendancy of the name of Homer, and the subordinate position of *Arktinus*, in the history of early Grecian poetry, tend to prove the former in preference to the latter.

Moreover, we find particular portions of the *Iliad*, which expressly pronounce themselves, by their own internal evidence, as belonging to a large whole, and not as separate integers. We can hardly conceive the Catalogue in the second book, except as a fractional composition, and with reference to a series of approaching exploits; for, taken apart by itself, such a barren enumeration of names could have stimulated neither the fancy of the poet, nor the attention of the listeners. But the Homeric Catalogue had acquired a sort of canonical authority even in the time of Solôn, insomuch that he interpolated a line into it, or was accused of doing so, for the purpose of gaining a disputed point against the Megarians, who, on their side, set forth another version.<sup>1</sup> No such established reverence could have been felt for this document, unless there had existed for a long time prior to Peisistratus, the habit of regarding and listening to the *Iliad* as a continuous poem. And when the philosopher Xenophanês, contemporary with Peisistratus, noticed Homer as the universal teacher, and denounced him as an unworthy describer of the gods, he must have connected this great mental sway, not with a number of unconnected rhapsodies, but with an aggregate *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; probably with other poems, also, ascribed to the same author, such as the *Cypria*, *Epigoni*, and *Thebais*.

We find, it is true, references in various authors to portions of the *Iliad*, each by its own separate name, such as the *Teichomachy*, the *Aristeia* (preëminent exploits) of *Diomedês*, or *Agamemnôn*, the *Doloneia*, or *Night-expedition* (of *Dolon* as well

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poem is begun by one author, and continued by another. (Fauriel, *Romans de Chevalerie*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. xiii. pp. 695-697.)

The ancient unwritten poems of the Icelandic *Skalds* are as much lyric as epic: the longest of them does not exceed eight hundred lines, and they are for the most part much shorter, (*Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Nördischen Heldensage*, aus P. A. Müller's *Sagabibliothek* von G. Lange, Frankf. 1832, *Introduct.* : xlii.)

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Solôn*, 10.

as of Odysseus and Diomedês), etc., and hence, it has been concluded, that these portions originally existed as separate poems, before they were cemented together into an Iliad. But such references prove nothing to the point; for until the Iliad was divided by Aristarchus and his colleagues into a given number of books, or rhapsodies, designated by the series of letters in the alphabet, there was no method of calling attention to any particular portion of the poem except by special indication of its subject-matter.<sup>1</sup> Authors subsequent to Peisistratus, such as Herodotus and Plato, who unquestionably conceived the Iliad as a whole, cite the separate fractions of it by designations of this sort.

The foregoing remarks on the Wolfian hypothesis respecting the text of the Iliad, tend to separate two points which are by no means necessarily connected, though that hypothesis, as set forth by Wolf himself, by W. Müller, and by Lachmann, presents the two in conjunction. First, was the Iliad originally projected and composed by one author, and as one poem, or were the different parts composed separately and by unconnected authors, and subsequently strung together into an aggregate? Secondly, assuming that the internal evidences of the poem negative the former supposition, and drive us upon the latter, was the construction of the whole poem deferred, and did the parts exist only in their separate state, until a period so late as the reign of Peisistratus? It is obvious that these two questions are essentially separate, and that a man may believe the Iliad to have been put together out of preëxisting songs, without recognizing the age of Peisistratus as the period of its first compilation. Now, whatever may be the steps through which the poem passed to its ultimate integrity, there is sufficient reason for believing that they had been accomplished long before that period: the friends of Peisistratus found an Iliad already existing and already ancient in their time, even granting that the poem had not been originally born in a state of unity. Moreover, the Alexandrine critics, whose remarks are preserved in the Scholia, do not even notice the Peisistratic recension among the many manuscripts

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<sup>1</sup> The Homeric Scholiast refers to Quintus Calaber *ἐν τῇ Ἀμαζονομαχίᾳ*, which was only one portion of his long poem—(Schol. ad Iliad. ii. 220).

which they had before them: and Mr. Payne Knight justly infers from their silence that either they did not possess it, or it was in their eyes of no great authority;<sup>1</sup> which could never have been the case if it had been the prime originator of Homeric unity.

The line of argument, by which the advocates of Wolf's hypothesis negative the primitive unity of the poem, consists in exposing gaps, incongruities, contradictions, etc., between the separate parts. Now, if in spite of all these incoherences, standing mementos of an antecedent state of separation, the component poems were made to coalesce so intimately as to appear as if they had been one from the beginning, we can better understand the complete success of the proceeding and the universal prevalence of the illusion, by supposing such coalescence to have taken place at a very early period, during the productive days of epical genius, and before the growth of reading and criticism. The longer the aggregation of the separate poems was deferred, the harder it would be to obliterate in men's minds the previous state of separation, and to make them accept the new aggregate as an original unity. The bards or rhapsodes might have found comparatively little difficulty in thus piecing together distinct songs, during the ninth or eighth century before Christ;

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<sup>1</sup> Knight, *Prolegg. Homer.* x̄x̄xii. xxxvi. xxxvii. That Peisistratus caused a corrected MS. of the Iliad to be prepared, there seems good reason to believe, and the Scholion on Plautus edited by Ritschl (see *Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek*, p. 4) specifies the four persons (Onomakritus was one) employed on the task. Ritschl fancies that it served as a sort of Vulgate for the text of the Alexandrine critics, who named specially other MSS. (of Chiôs, Sinôpê, Massalia, etc.) only when they diverged from this Vulgate: he thinks, also, that it formed the original from whence those other MSS. were first drawn, which are called in the Homeric Scholia *αὶ κοινὰ, κοινότερα* (pp. 59-60).

Welcker supposes the Peisistratic MS. to have been either lost or carried away when Xerxês took Athens (*Der Epische Kyklus*, pp. 382-388).

Compare Nitzsch, *Histor. Homer.* Fasc. i. pp. 165-167; also his commentary on *Odyss.* xi. 604, the alleged interpolation of Onomakritus; and Ulrici, *Geschichte der Hellen. Poes.* Part i. s. vii. pp. 252-255.

The main facts respecting the Peisistratic recension are collected and discussed by Gräfenhan, *Geschichte der Philologie*, sect. 54-64, vol. i. pp. 266-311. Unfortunately, we cannot get beyond mere conjecture and possibility.

but if we suppose the process to be deferred until the latter half of the sixth century,—if we imagine that Solón, with all his contemporaries and predecessors, knew nothing about any aggregate Iliad, but was accustomed to read and hear only those sixteen distinct epical pieces into which Lachmann would dissect the Iliad, each of the sixteen bearing a separate name of its own,—no compilation then for the first time made by the friends of Peisistratus could have effaced the established habit, and planted itself in the general convictions of Greece as the primitive Homeric production. Had the sixteen pieces remained disunited and individualized down to the time of Peisistratus, they would in all probability have continued so ever afterwards; nor could the extensive changes and transpositions which (according to Lachmann's theory) were required to melt them down into our present Iliad, have obtained at that late period universal acceptance. Assuming it to be true that such changes and transpositions did really take place, they must at least be referred to a period greatly earlier than Peisistratus or Solón.

The whole tenor of the poems themselves confirms what is here remarked. There is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savors of *modernism*, applying that term to the age of Peisistratus; nothing which brings to our view the alterations, brought about by two centuries, in the Greek language, the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved construction of ships, the Amphiktyonic convocations, the mutual frequentation of religious festivals, the Oriental and Egyptian veins of religion, etc., familiar to the latter epoch. These alterations Onomakritus and the other literary friends of Peisistratus, could hardly have failed to notice even without design, had they then for the first time undertaken the task of piecing together many self-existent epics into one large aggregate.<sup>1</sup> Everything in the two great Homeric poems, both in

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<sup>1</sup> Wolf allows both the uniformity of coloring, and the antiquity of coloring, which pervade the Homeric poems; also, the strong line by which they stand distinguished from the other Greek poets: "Immo congruunt in iis omnia ferme in idem ingenium, in eosdem morès, in eandem formam sentiendi et loquendi." (Prolegom. p. cclxv; compare p. cxxxviii.)

He thinks, indeed, that this harmony was restored by the ability and care

substance and in language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Peisistratus. Indeed, even the interpolations (or those passages which on the best grounds are pronounced to be such) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ, and may well have been heard by Archilochus and Kallinus, — in some cases even by Arktinus and Hesiod, — as genuine Homeric matter. As far as the evidences on the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited substantially as they now stand, (always allowing for partial divergences of text, and interpolations,) in 776 B. C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time. And this ancient date, — let it be added, — as it is the best-authenticated fact, so it is also the most important attribute of the Homeric poems, considered in reference to Grecian history. For they thus afford us an insight into the ante-historical character of the Greeks, — enabling us to trace the subsequent forward march of the nation, and to seize instructive contrasts between their former and their later condition.

Rejecting, therefore, the idea of compilation by Peisistratus, and referring the present state of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to a period more than two centuries earlier, the question still remains, by what process, or through whose agency, they reached that state? Is each poem the work of one author, or of several? If the latter, do all the parts belong to the same age? What ground is there for believing, that any or all of these parts existed before, as separate poems, and have been accommodated to the place in which they now appear, by more or less systematic alteration?

The acute and valuable Prolegomena of Wolf, half a century ago, powerfully turned the attention of scholars to the necessity of considering the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with reference to the age and society in which they arose, and to the material differences in this respect between Homer and more recent epic poets.<sup>1</sup>

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of Aristarchus, ("mirificum illud concentum revocatum Aristarcho imprimis debemus.") This is a very exaggerated estimate of the interference of Aristarchus: but at any rate the *concentus* itself was ancient and original, and Aristarchus only *restored* it, when it had been spoiled by intervening accidents; at least, if we are to construe *revocatum* strictly, which, perhaps, is hardly consistent with Wolf's main theory.

<sup>1</sup> See Wolf, Prolegg. c. xii. p. xliii. "Nondum enim prorsus ejecta et

Since that time, an elaborate study has been bestowed upon the early manifestations of poetry (Sagen-poësie) among other nations; and the German critics especially, among whom this description of literature has been most cultivated, have selected it as the only appropriate analogy for the Homeric poems. Such poetry, consisting for the most part of short, artless effusions, with little of deliberate or far-sighted combination, has been assumed by many critics as a fit standard to apply for measuring the capacities of the Homeric age; an age exclusively of speakers, singers, and hearers, not of readers or writers. In place of the unbounded admiration which was felt for Homer, not merely as a poet of detail, but as constructor of a long epic, at the time when Wolf wrote his *Prolegomena*, the tone of criticism passed to the opposite extreme, and attention was fixed entirely upon the defects in the arrangement of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Whatever was to be found in them of symmetry or pervading system, was pronounced to be decidedly post-Homeric. Under such preconceived anticipations, Homer seems to have been generally studied in Germany, during the generation succeeding Wolf, the negative portion of whose theory was usually admitted, though as to the positive substitute,—what explanation was to be given of the history and present constitution of the Homeric poems,—there was by no means the like agreement. During the last ten years, however, a contrary tendency has manifested itself; the Wolfian theory has been reëxamined and shaken by Nitzsch, who, as well as O. Müller, Welcker, and other scholars, have revived the idea of original Homeric unity, under certain modifications. The change in Göthe's opinion, coincident with this new direction, is recorded in one of his latest works.<sup>1</sup> On the

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explosa est eorum ratio, qui Homerum et Callimachum et Virgilium et Nonnum et Miltonum eodem animo legunt, nec quid uniuscujusque ætas ferat, expendere legendo et computare laborant," etc.

A similar and earlier attempt to construe the Homeric poems with reference to their age, is to be seen in the treatise called *Il Vero Omero* of Vico, — marked with a good deal of original thought, but not strong in erudition (*Opere di Vico*, ed. Milan, vol. v. pp. 437–497).

<sup>1</sup> In the forty-sixth volume of his collected works, in the little treatise "*Homer, noch einmal*:" compare G. Lange, *Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter* (Mainz 1837), Preface, p. vi.



other hand, the original opinion of Wolf has also been reproduced within the last five years, and fortified with several new observations on the text of the *Iliad*, by Lachmann.

The point is thus still under controversy among able scholars, and is probably destined to remain so. For, in truth, our means of knowledge are so limited, that no man can produce arguments sufficiently cogent to contend against opposing preconceptions; and it creates a painful sentiment of diffidence when we read the expressions of equal and absolute persuasion with which the two opposite conclusions have both been advanced.<sup>1</sup> We have nothing to teach us the history of these poems except the poems themselves. Not only do we possess no collateral information

<sup>1</sup> "Non esse totam *Iliadem* aut *Odysseam* unius poetæ opus, ita extra dubitationem positam puto, ut qui secus sentiat, eum non satis lectitasse illa carmina contendam." (Gödf. Hermann, *Præfat. ad Odysseam*, Lips. 1825, p. iv.) See the language of the same eminent critic in his treatise "*Ueber Homer und Sappho*," *Opuscula*, vol. v. p. 74.

Lachmann, after having dissected the two thousand two hundred lines in the *Iliad*, between the beginning of the eleventh book, and line five hundred and ninety of the fifteenth, into four songs, "in the highest degree different in their spirit," ("ihrem Geiste nach höchst verschiedene Lieder,") tells us that whosoever thinks this difference of spirit inconsiderable, — whosoever does not feel it at once when pointed out, — whosoever can believe that the parts as they stand now belong to one artistically constructed Epos, — "will do well not to trouble himself any more either with my criticisms or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand anything about it," ("weil er zu schwach ist etwas darin zu verstehen:") *Fernere Betrachtungen Ueber die Ilias*: Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, p. 18, § xxiii.

On the contrary, Ulrici, after having shown (or tried to show) that the composition of Homer satisfies perfectly, in the main, all the exigencies of an artistic epic, — adds, that this will make itself at once evident to all those who have any sense of artistical symmetry; but that, for those to whom that sense is wanting, no conclusive demonstration can be given. He warns the latter, however, that they are not to deny the existence of that which their shortsighted vision cannot distinguish, for everything cannot be made clear to children, which the mature man sees through at a glance (Ulrici, *Geschichte des Griechischen Epos*, Part i. ch. vii. pp. 260–261). Read also Payne Knight, *Proleg. c. xxvii*, about the insanity of the Wolfian school, obvious even to the "homunculus e trivio."

I have the misfortune to dissent from both Lachmann and Ulrici; for it appears to me a mistake to put the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the same footing, as Ulrici does, and as is too frequently done by others.

respecting them or their authors, but we have no one to describe to us the people or the age in which they originated; our knowledge respecting contemporary Homeric society, is collected exclusively from the Homeric compositions themselves. We are ignorant whether any other, or what other, poems preceded them, or divided with them the public favor; nor have we anything better than conjecture to determine either the circumstances under which they were brought before the hearers, or the conditions which a bard of that day was required to satisfy. On all these points, moreover, the age of Thucydides<sup>1</sup> and Plato seems to have been no better informed than we are, except in so far as they could profit by the analogies of the cyclic and other epic poems, which would doubtless in many cases have afforded valuable aid.

Nevertheless, no classical scholar can be easy without *some* opinion respecting the authorship of these immortal poems. And the more defective the evidence we possess, the more essential is it that all that evidence should be marshalled in the clearest order, and its bearing upon the points in controversy distinctly understood beforehand. Both these conditions seem to have been often neglected, throughout the long-continued Homeric discussion.

To illustrate the first point: Since two poems are comprehended in the problem to be solved, the natural process would be, first, to study the easier of the two, and then to apply the conclusions thence deduced as a means of explaining the other. Now, the *Odyssey*, looking at its aggregate character, is incomparably more easy to comprehend than the *Iliad*. Yet most Homeric critics apply the microscope at once, and in the first instance, to the *Iliad*.

To illustrate the second point: What evidence is sufficient to negative the supposition that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* is a poem originally and intentionally one? Not simply particular gaps and

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<sup>1</sup> Plato, Aristotle, and their contemporaries generally, read the most suspicious portions of the Homeric poems as genuine (Nitzsch, *Plan und Gang der Odyssee*, in the Preface to his second vol. of *Comments on the Odyssey*, pp. lx-lxiv).

Thucydides accepts the Hymn to Apollo as a composition by the author of the *Iliad*.

contradictions, though they be even gross and numerous; but the preponderance of these proofs of mere unprepared coalescence over the other proofs of designed adaptation scattered throughout the whole poem. For the poet (or the coöperating poets, if more than one) may have intended to compose an harmonious whole, but may have realized their intention incompletely, and left partial faults; or, perhaps, the contradictory lines may have crept in through a corrupt text. A survey of the whole poem is necessary to determine the question; and this necessity, too, has not always been attended to.

If it had happened that the *Odyssey* had been preserved to us alone, without the *Iliad*, I think the dispute respecting Homeric unity would never have been raised. For the former is, in my judgment, pervaded almost from beginning to end by marks of designed adaptation; and the special faults which Wolf, W. Müller, and B. Thiersch,<sup>1</sup> have singled out for the purpose of disproving such unity of intention, are so few, and of so little importance, that they would have been universally regarded as mere instances of haste or unskilfulness on the part of the poet, had they not been seconded by the far more powerful battery opened against the *Iliad*. These critics, having laid down their general presumptions against the antiquity of the long epopee, illustrate their principles by exposing the many flaws and fissures in the *Iliad*, and then think it sufficient if they can show a few similar defects in the *Odyssey*,—as if the breaking up of Homeric unity in the former naturally entailed a similar necessity with regard to the latter; and their method of proceeding, contrary to the rule above laid down, puts the more difficult problem in the foreground, as a means of solution for the easier. We can hardly wonder, however, that they have applied their observations in the first instance to the *Iliad*, because it is in every man's esteem the more marked, striking, and impressive poem of the two,—and the character of Homer is more intimately identified with it than with the *Odyssey*. This may serve as an explanation of the course pursued; but be the case as it may in respect to comparative poetical merit, it is not the less true, that, as an

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Thiersch, *Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer* (Halberstadt, 1832), Einleitung, pp. 4–18.

aggregate, the *Odyssey* is more simple and easily understood, and, therefore, ought to come first in the order of analysis.

Now, looking at the *Odyssey* by itself, the proofs of an unity of design seem unequivocal and everywhere to be found. A premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero, under well-defined circumstances, may be traced from the first book to the twenty-third. *Odysseus* is always either directly or indirectly kept before the reader, as a warrior returning from the fulness of glory at *Troy*, exposed to manifold and protracted calamities during his return home, on which his whole soul is so bent that he refuses even the immortality offered by *Calypsô*; — a victim, moreover, even after his return, to mingled injury and insult from the suitors, who have long been plundering his property, and dishonoring his house; but at length obtaining, by valor and cunning united, a signal revenge, which restores him to all that he had lost. All the persons and all the events in the poem are subsidiary to this main plot: and the divine agency, necessary to satisfy the feeling of the Homeric man, is put forth by *Poseidôn* and *Athênê*, in both cases from dispositions directly bearing upon *Odysseus*. To appreciate the unity of the *Odyssey*, we have only to read the objections taken against that of the *Iliad*, — especially in regard to the long withdrawal of *Achilles*, not only from the scene, but from the memory, — together with the independent prominence of *Ajax*, *Diomédês*, and other heroes. How far we are entitled from hence to infer the want of premeditated unity in the *Iliad*, will be presently considered; but it is certain that the constitution of the *Odyssey*, in this respect, everywhere demonstrates the presence of such unity. Whatever may be the interest attached to *Penelopê*, *Telemachus*, or *Eumæus*, we never disconnect them from their association with *Odysseus*. The present is not the place for collecting the many marks of artistical structure dispersed throughout this poem; but it may be worth while to remark, that the final catastrophe realized in the twenty-second book, — the slaughter of the suitors in the very house which they were profaning, — is distinctly and prominently marked out in the first and second books, promised by *Teiresias* in the eleventh, by *Athênê* in the thirteenth, and by *Helen* in the fifteenth, and gradually matured by a series of

suitable preliminaries, throughout the eight books preceding its occurrence.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, what is principally evident, and what has been often noticed, in the *Odyssey*, is, the equable flow both of the narrative and the events; the absence of that rise and fall of interest which is sufficiently conspicuous in the *Iliad*.

To set against these evidences of unity, there ought, at least, to be some strong cases produced of occasional incoherence or contradiction. But it is remarkable how little of such counter-evidence is to be found, although the arguments of Wolf, W. Müller, and B. Thiersch stand so much in need of it. They have discovered only one instance of undeniable inconsistency in the parts,—the number of days occupied by the absence of *Telemachus* at *Pylus* and *Sparta*. That young prince, though represented as in great haste to depart, and refusing pressing invitations to prolong his stay, must, nevertheless, be supposed to have continued for thirty days the guest of *Menelaus*, in order to bring his proceedings into chronological harmony with those of *Odysseus*, and to explain the first meeting of father and son in the swinefold of *Eumæus*. Here is undoubtedly an inaccuracy, (so *Nitzsch*<sup>2</sup> treats it, and I think justly) on the part of the poet, who did not anticipate, and did not experience in ancient times, so strict a scrutiny; an inaccuracy certainly not at all wonderful; the matter of real wonder is, that it stands almost alone, and that there are no others in the poem.

Now, this is one of the main points on which W. Müller and

<sup>1</sup> Compare i. 295; ii. 145 (*νηπινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὀλοισθε*); xi. 118; xiii. 395; xv. 178; also xiv. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Nitzsch*, *Plan und Gang der Odyssee*, p. xliii, prefixed to the second vol. of his *Commentary on the Odysseis*.

"At carminum primi auditores non adeo curiosi erant (observes Mr. Payne Knight, *Proleg. c. xxiii.*), ut ejusmodi rerum rationes aut exquirent aut expenderent; neque eorum fides e subtilioribus congruentiis omnino pendeat. Monendi enim sunt etiam atque etiam Homericorum studiosi, veteres illos *δοιδότες* non lingua professoria inter viros criticos et grammaticos, aut alios quoscunque argutiarum captatores, carmina cantasse, sed inter eos qui sensibus animorum libere, incaute, et effuse indulgerent," etc Chap. xxii-xxvii. of Mr. Knight's *Prolegomena*, are valuable to the same purpose, showing the "homines rudes et agrestes," of that day, as excellent judges of what fell under their senses and observation, but careless, credulous, and unobservant of contradiction, in matters which came only under the mind's eye.

B. Thiersch rest their theory, — explaining the chronological confusion by supposing that the journey of Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta, constituted the subject of an epic originally separate (comprising the first four books and a portion of the fifteenth), and incorporated at second-hand with the remaining poem. And they conceive this view to be farther confirmed by the double assembly of the gods, (at the beginning of the first book as well as of the fifth,) which they treat as an awkward repetition, such as could not have formed part of the primary scheme of any epic poet. But here they only escape a small difficulty by running into another and a greater. For it is impossible to comprehend how the first four books and part of the fifteenth can ever have constituted a distinct epic; since the adventures of Telemachus have no satisfactory termination, except at the point of confluence with those of his father, when the unexpected meeting and recognition takes place under the roof of Eumæus, — nor can any epic poem ever have described that meeting and recognition without giving some account how Odysseus came thither. Moreover, the first two books of the *Odyssey* distinctly lay the ground, and carry expectation forward, to the final catastrophe of the poem, — treating Telemachus as a subordinate person, and his expedition as merely provisional towards an ulterior result. Nor can I agree with W. Müller, that the real *Odyssey* might well be supposed to begin with the fifth book. On the contrary, the exhibition of the suitors and the Ithakesian agora, presented to us in the second book, is absolutely essential to the full comprehension of the books subsequent to the thirteenth. The suitors are far too important personages in the poem to allow of their being first introduced in so informal a manner as we read in the sixteenth book: indeed, the passing allusions of Athênê (xiii. 310, 375) and Eumæus (xiv. 41, 81) to the suitors, presuppose cognizance of them on the part of the hearer.

Lastly, the twofold discussion of the gods, at the beginning of the first and fifth books, and the double interference of Athênê, far from being a needless repetition, may be shown to suit perfectly both the genuine epical conditions and the unity of the poem.<sup>1</sup> For although the final consummation, and the organiza-

<sup>1</sup> W. Müller is not correct in saying that, in the first assembly of the gods, Zeus promises something which he does not perform: Zeus does not promise

tion of measures against the suitors, was to be accomplished by Odysseus and Telemachus jointly, yet the march and adventures of the two, until the moment of their meeting in the dwelling of Eumæus, were essentially distinct. But, according to the religious ideas of the old epic, the presiding direction of Athênê was necessary for the safety and success of both of them. Her first interference arouses and inspires the son, her second produces the liberation of the father,—constituting a point of union and common origination for two lines of adventures, in both of which she takes earnest interest, but which are necessarily for a time kept apart in order to coincide at the proper moment.

It will thus appear that the twice-repeated agora of the gods in the *Odyssey*, bringing home, as it does to one and the same divine agent, that double start which is essential to the scheme of the poem, consists better with the supposition of premeditated unity than with that of distinct self-existent parts. And, assuredly, the manner in which Telemachus and Odysseus, both by different roads, are brought into meeting and conjunction at the dwelling of Eumæus, is something not only contrived, but very skilfully contrived. It is needless to advert to the highly interesting character of Eumæus, rendered available as a rallying-point, though in different ways, both to the father and the son, over and above the sympathy which he himself inspires.

If the *Odyssey* be not an original unity, of what self-existent parts can we imagine it to have consisted? To this question it is difficult to imagine a satisfactory reply: for the supposition that Telemachus and his adventures may once have formed the subject of a separate epos, apart from Odysseus, appears inconsistent with the whole character of that youth as it stands in the poem, and with the events in which he is made to take part. We could better imagine the distribution of the adventures of Odysseus himself into two parts,—one containing his wanderings and return, the other handling his ill-treatment by the suitors, and his

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to send Hermês as messenger to Kalypsô, in the first book, though Athênê urges him to do so. Zeus, indeed, requires to be urged twice before he dictates to Kalypsô the release of Odysseus, but he had already intimated, in the first book, that he felt great difficulty in protecting the hero, because of the wrath manifested against him by Poseidôn.

final triumph. But though either of these two subjects might have been adequate to furnish out a separate poem, it is nevertheless certain that, as they are presented in the *Odyssey*, the former cannot be divorced from the latter. The simple return of Odysseus, as it now stands in the poem, could satisfy no one as a final close, so long as the suitors remain in possession of his house, and forbid his reunion with his wife. Any poem which treated his wanderings and return separately, must have represented his reunion with Penelopê and restoration to his house, as following naturally upon his arrival in Ithaka,—thus taking little or no notice of the suitors. But this would be a capital mutilation of the actual epical narrative, which considers the suitors at home as an essential portion of the destiny of the much-suffering hero, not less than his shipwrecks and trials at sea. His return (separately taken) is foredoomed, according to the curse of Polyphemus, executed by Poseidôn, to be long deferred, miserable, solitary, and ending with destruction in his house to greet him;<sup>1</sup> and the ground is thus laid, in the very recital of his wanderings, for a new series of events which are to happen to him after his arrival in Ithaka. There is no tenable halting-place between the departure of Odysseus from Troy, and the final restoration to his house and his wife. The distance between these two events may, indeed, be widened, by accumulating new distresses and impediments, but any separate portion of it cannot be otherwise treated than as a fraction of the whole. The beginning and the end are here the data in respect to epical genesis, though the intermediate events admit of being conceived as variables, more or less numerous: so that the conception of the whole may be said without impropriety both to precede and to govern that of the constituent parts.

The general result of a study of the *Odyssey* may be set down as follows: 1. The poem, as it now stands, exhibits unequivocally adaptation of parts and continuity of structure, whether by one or by several consentient hands: it may, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* ix. 534. —

Ὅφρ' ἐκὼς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἀπὸ πάντας ἑταίρους,

Νῆδς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, εἴροι δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ —

Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος (the Cyclops to Poseidôn) τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Κλυνοχαίτης.



be a secondary formation, out of a preëxisting Odyssey of smaller dimensions; but, if so, the parts of the smaller whole must have been so far recast as to make them suitable members of the larger, and are noway recognizable by us. 2. The subject-matter of the poem not only does not favor, but goes far to exclude, the possibility of the Wolfian hypothesis. Its events cannot be so arranged as to have composed several antecedent substantive epics, afterwards put together into the present aggregate. Its authors cannot have been mere compilers of preëxisting materials, such as Peisistratus and his friends: they must have been poets, competent to work such matter as they found, into a new and enlarged design of their own. Nor can the age in which this long poem, of so many thousand lines, was turned out as a continuous aggregate, be separated from the ancient, productive, inspired age of Grecian epic.

Arriving at such conclusions from the internal evidence of the Odyssey,<sup>1</sup> we can apply them by analogy to the Iliad. We learn something respecting the character and capacities of that early age which has left no other mementos except these two poems. Long continuous epics (it is observed by those who support the views of Wolf), with an artistical structure, are inconsistent with the capacities of a rude and non-writing age. Such epics (we may reply) are *not inconsistent* with the early age of the Greeks, and the Odyssey is a proof of it; for in that poem the integration of the whole, and the composition of the parts, must have been simultaneous. The analogy of the Odyssey enables us to rebut that preconception under which many ingenious critics sit down to the study of the Iliad, and which induces them to explain all the incoherences of the latter by breaking it up into smaller unities, as if short epics were the only manifestation of poetical

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<sup>1</sup> Wolf admits, in most unequivocal language, the compact and artful structure of the Odyssey. Against this positive internal evidence, he sets the general presumption, that no such constructive art can possibly have belonged to a poet of the age of Homer: "*De Odysseâ maxime, cujus admirabilis summa et compages pro præclarissimo monumento Græci ingenii habenda est. . . . Unde fit ut Odysseâm nemo, cui omnino priscus vates placeat, nisi perlectam e manu deponere queat. At illa ars id ipsum est, quod vir ac ne vir quidem cadere videtur in vatem, singulas tantum rhapsodias decantantem,*" etc. (Prolegomen. pp. cxviii-cxx; compare cxii.)

power which the age admitted. There ought to be no reluctance in admitting a presiding scheme and premeditated unity of parts, in so far as the parts themselves point to such a conclusion.

That the *Iliad* is not so essentially one piece as the *Odyssey*, every man agrees. It includes a much greater multiplicity of events, and what is yet more important, a greater multiplicity of prominent personages: the very indefinite title which it bears, as contrasted with the speciality of the name, *Odyssey*, marks the difference at once. The parts stand out more conspicuously from the whole, and admit more readily of being felt and appreciated in detached recitation. We may also add, that it is of more unequal execution than the *Odyssey*, — often rising to a far higher pitch of grandeur, but also, occasionally, tamer: the story does not move on continuously; incidents occur without plausible motive, nor can we shut our eyes to evidences of incoherence and contradiction.

To a certain extent, the *Iliad* is open to all these remarks, though Wolf and William Müller, and above all Lachmann, exaggerate the case in degree. And from hence has been deduced the hypothesis which treats the parts in their original state as separate integers, independent of, and unconnected with, each other, and forced into unity only by the afterthought of a subsequent age; or sometimes, not even themselves as integers, but as aggregates grouped together out of fragments still smaller, — short epics formed by the coalescence of still shorter songs. Now there is some plausibility in these reasonings, so long as the discrepancies are looked upon as the whole of the case. But in point of fact they are not the whole of the case: for it is not less true, that there are large portions of the *Iliad* which present positive and undeniable evidences of coherence as antecedent and consequent, though we are occasionally perplexed by inconsistencies of detail. To deal with these latter, is a portion of the duties of the critic. But he is not to treat the *Iliad* as if inconsistency prevailed everywhere throughout its parts; for coherence of parts — symmetrical antecedence and consequence — is discernible throughout the larger half of the poem.

Now the Wolfian theory explains the gaps and contradictions throughout the narrative, but it explains nothing else. If (as Lachmann thinks) the *Iliad* originally consisted of sixteen songs,

or little substantive epics, (Lachmann's sixteen songs cover the space only as far as the 22d book, or the death of Hector, and two more songs would have to be admitted for the 23d and 24th books),—not only composed by different authors, but by each<sup>1</sup> without any view to conjunction with the rest,—we have then no right to expect any intrinsic continuity between them; and all that continuity which we now find must be of extraneous origin. Where are we to look for the origin? Lachmann follows Wolf, in ascribing the whole constructive process to Peisistratus and his associates, at a period when the creative epical faculty is admitted to have died out. But upon this supposition, Peisistratus (or his associates) must have done much more than omit, transpose, and interpolate, here and there; he must have gone far to rewrite the whole poem. A great poet might have recast preëxisting separate songs into one comprehensive whole, but no mere arrangers or compilers would be competent to do so: and we are thus left without any means of accounting for that degree of continuity and consistence which runs through so large a portion of the Iliad; though not through the whole. The idea that the poem, as we read it, grew out of atoms not originally designed for the places which they now occupy, involves us in new and inextricable difficulties, when we seek to elucidate either the mode of coalescence or the degree of existing unity.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lachmann seems to admit one case in which the composer of one song manifests cognizance of another song, and a disposition to give what will form a sequel to it. His fifteenth song (the Patrokleia) lasts from xv. 592 down to the end of the 17th book: the sixteenth song (including the four next books, from eighteen to twenty-two inclusive) is a continuation of the fifteenth, but by a different poet. (*Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias*, Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, sect. xxvi. xxviii. xxix. pp. 24, 34, 42.)

This admission of premeditated adaptation to a certain extent breaks up the integrity of the Wolfian hypothesis.

<sup>2</sup> The advocates of the Wolfian theory, appear to feel the difficulties which beset it; for their language is wavering in respect to these supposed primary constituent atoms. Sometimes Lachmann tells us, that the original pieces were much finer poetry than the Iliad as we now read it; at another time, that it cannot be now discovered what they originally were: nay, he farther admits, (as remarked in the preceding note,) that the poet of the sixteenth song had cognizance of the fifteenth.

But if it be granted that the original constituent songs were so composed, though by different poets, as that the more recent were adapted to the earlier,

Admitting then premeditated adaptation of parts to a certain extent as essential to the *Iliad*, we may yet inquire, whether it was produced all at once, or gradually enlarged, — whether by one author, or by several; and, if the parts be of different age, which is the primitive kernel, and which are the additions.

Welcker, Lange, and Nitzsch<sup>1</sup> treat the Homeric poems as representing a second step in advance, in the progress of popular poetry. First, comes the age of short narrative songs; next, when these have become numerous, there arise constructive minds, who recast and blend together many of them into a larger aggregate, conceived upon some scheme of their own. The age of the epos is followed by that of the epopee, — short, spontaneous effusions preparing the way, and furnishing materials, for the architectonic genius of the poet. It is farther presumed by the above-mentioned authors, that the pre-Homeric epic included a great abundance of such smaller songs, — a fact which admits of no proof, but which seems countenanced by some passages in Homer, and is in itself no way improbable. But the transition from such songs, assuming them to be ever so numerous, to a combined and continuous poem, forms an epoch in the intellectual history of the nation, implying mental qualities of a higher order than those upon which the songs themselves depend. Nor is it to be imagined that the materials pass unaltered from their first state of isolation into their second state of combination. They must of necessity be recast, and undergo an adapting process, in which

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with more or less dexterity and success, this brings us into totally different conditions of the problem. It is a virtual surrender of the Wolfian hypothesis, which, however, Lachmann both means to defend, and does defend with ability; though his vindication of it has, to my mind, only the effect of exposing its inherent weakness by carrying it out into something detailed and positive. I will add, in respect to his Dissertations, so instructive as a microscopic examination of the poem, — 1. That I find myself constantly dissenting from that critical feeling, on the strength of which he cuts out parts as interpolations, and discovers traces of the hand of distinct poets; 2. That his objections against the continuity of the narrative are often founded upon lines which the ancient scholiasts and Mr. Payne Knight had already pronounced to be interpolations; 3. That such of his objections as are founded upon lines undisputed, admit in many cases of a complete and satisfactory reply.

<sup>1</sup> Lange, in his *Letter to Goethe, Ueber die Einheit der Iliade*, p. 33 (1826); Nitzsch, *Historia Homeri, Fasciculus 2, Præfat.* p. x.

the genius of the organizing poet consists; nor can we hope, by simply knowing them as they exist in the second stage, ever to divine how they stood in the first. Such, in my judgment, is the right conception of the Homeric epoch,—an organizing poetical mind, still preserving that freshness of observation and vivacity of details which constitutes the charm of the ballad.

Nothing is gained by studying the Iliad as a congeries of fragments once independent of each other: no portion of the poem can be shown to have ever been so, and the supposition introduces difficulties greater than those which it removes. But it is not necessary to affirm that the whole poem as we now read it, belonged to the original and preconceived plan.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, the Iliad produces, upon my mind, an impression totally different from the Odyssey. In the latter poem, the characters and incidents are fewer, and the whole plot appears of one projection, from the beginning down to the death of the suitors: none of the parts look as if they had been composed separately, and inserted by way of addition into a preëxisting smaller poem. But the Iliad, on the contrary, presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow, and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second, inclusive, seem to form the primary organization of the poem, then properly an Achillêis: the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are, perhaps, additions at the tail of this primitive poem, which still leave it nothing more than an enlarged Achillêis. But the books from the second to the seventh, inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem

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<sup>1</sup> Even Aristotle, the great builder-up of the celebrity of Homer as to epical aggregation, found some occasions (it appears) on which he was obliged to be content with simply excusing, without admiring, the poet (Poet. 44 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ ποιητὴς ἡδύνων ἀφανίζει τὸ ἄσπονν.)

And Hermann observes justly, in his acute treatise *De Interpolationibus Homeri* (Opuscula, tom. v. p. 53),—"Nisi admirabilis illa Homericorum carminum suavitas lectorum animos quasi incantationibus quibusdam captos teneret, non tam facile delitescerent, quæ accuratius considerata, et multo minus apte quam quis jure postulet composita esse apparere necesse est."

This treatise contains many criticisms on the structure of the Iliad, some of them very well founded, though there are many from which I dissent.

from an Achillêis into an Iliad.<sup>1</sup> inscribed with the anger of Achilles, yet remains, after it has ceased to be. The parts added, however, are not the original poem: so far is this from them are comprehended some of the epic. Nor are they more recent: speaking, they must be a little of the same generation and state of. These qualifications are necessities, which, in discussions of Iliad, confounded.

If we take those portions which constituted the original Achilles of events contained in them more intimately knit together in the other books. Heyne objecting critics, complain much crowded and hurried of the eleventh book to the sensible halt in the march journey. Lachmann, li' into which he imagines cannot be severed with quotient to the eleventh,

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<sup>1</sup> In reference to the Iliad, agree with the observation of Schnitzler, viii. pp. 116-118.

<sup>2</sup> Lachmann, *Fernere* Acad. 1841, p. 4.

After having pointed out the different composing Iliad, not to regard the single distinct and separable all with one accord reference to the story of Achilles, viz. that of the battles of the Iliad, and Diomedes the battles."

Important for Iliad

real halting-place from the eleventh book to the twenty-second, the death of Patroclus; and this can never be conceived as the end of a separate poem,<sup>1</sup> though it is a capital step in the development of the Achilleis, and brings about that entire revolution in the temper of Achilles which was essential for the purpose of the poet. It would be a mistake to imagine that there ever could have existed a separate poem called Patrocleia, though a part of the Iliad was designated by that name. For Patroclus has no substantive position: he is the attached friend and second of Achilles, but nothing else,—standing to the latter in a relation of dependence resembling that of Telemachus to Odysseus. And the way in which Patroclus is dealt with in the Iliad, is, (in our judgment,) the most dexterous and artistical contrivance in the poem,—that which approaches nearest to the neat tissue of the Odyssey.<sup>2</sup>

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*Iliad.* This remark of Lachmann is highly illustrative for the distinction between the original and the enlarged poem.

<sup>1</sup> I confess my astonishment that a man of so much genius and power, thought as M. Benjamin Constant, should have imagined the original Iliad to have concluded with the death of Patroclus, on the ground that Achilles then becomes reconciled with Agamemnon. See the review of B. Constant's work, *De la Religion*, etc., by O. Müller, in the *Kleine Schriften* of the late scholar, vol. ii. p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> He appears as the mediator between the insulted Achilles and the Grecian host, manifesting kindly sympathies for the latter without renouncing his fidelity to the former. The wounded Machaon, an object of interest to the Grecian camp, being carried off the field by Nestor,—Achilles, looking on from a distant ship, sends Patroclus to inquire whether it be really Machaon; and enables Nestor to lay before Patroclus the deplorable state of the Grecian host, as a motive to induce him and Achilles again to take arms. Patroclus, his compassionate feelings of Patroclus being powerfully touched, he is having to enforce upon Achilles the urgent necessity of giving help, when he meets Eurypylus crawling out of the field, helpless with a severe wound, and imploring his succor. He supports the wounded warrior to his tent, and ministers to his suffering; but before this operation is fully completed, the Grecian host has been totally driven back, and the Trojans are on the point of setting fire to the ships: Patroclus then hurries to Achilles to claim the desperate peril which hangs over them all, and succeeds in obtaining his permission to take the field at the head of the Myrmidons. The way in which Patroclus is kept present to the hearer, as a prelude to his brilliant but short-lived display, when he comes forth in arms,—the contrast between his characteristic gentleness and the ferocity of Achilles.

The great and capital misfortune which prostrates the strength of the Greeks, and renders them incapable of defending themselves without Achilles, is the disablement, by wounds, of Agamemnôn, Diomêdês, and Odysseus; so that the defence of the wall and of the ships is left only to heroes of the second magnitude (Ajax alone excepted), such as Idomeneus, Leonteus, Polyphêtês, Merionês, Menelaus, etc. Now, it is remarkable that all these three first-rate chiefs are in full force at the beginning of the eleventh book: all three are wounded in the battle which that book describes, and at the commencement of which Agamemnôn is full of spirits and courage.

Nothing can be more striking than the manner in which Homer concentrates our attention in the first book upon Achilles as the hero, his quarrel with Agamemnôn, and the calamities to the Greeks which are held out as about to ensue from it, through the intercession of Thetis with Zeus. But the incidents dwelt upon from the beginning of the second book down to the combat between Hector and Ajax in the seventh, animated and interesting as they are, do nothing to realize this promise. They are a splendid picture of the Trojan war generally, and eminently suitable to that larger title under which the poem has been immortalized,—but the consequences of the anger of Achilles do not appear until the eighth book. The tenth book, or Doloneia, is also a portion of the *Iliad*, but not of the *Achillêis*: while the ninth book appears to me a subsequent addition, nowise harmonizing with that main stream of the *Achillêis* which flows from the eleventh book to the twenty-second. The eighth book ought to be read in immediate connection with the eleventh, in order to see the structure of what seems the primitive *Achillêis*; for there are several passages in the eleventh and the following books, which prove that the poet who composed them could not have had present to his mind the main event of the ninth book,—the outpouring of profound humiliation by the Greeks, and from Agamemnôn, especially, before Achilles, coupled with formal

and the natural train of circumstances whereby he is made the vehicle of reconciliation on the part of his offended friend, and rescue to his imperiled countrymen,—all these exhibit a degree of epical skill, in the author of the primitive *Achillêis*, to which nothing is found parallel in the added books of the *Iliad*.



offers to restore Briseis, and pay the amplest compensation for past wrong.<sup>1</sup> The words of Achilles (not less than those of

<sup>1</sup> Observe, for example, the following passages:—

1. Achilles, standing on the prow of his ship, sees the general army of Greeks undergoing defeat by the Trojans, and also sees Nestor conveying in his chariot a wounded warrior from the field. He sends Patroclus to find out who the wounded man is: in calling forth Patroclus, he says (xi. 607),—

Διε Μενoitιάδῃ, τῷ μῶ κεχαρισμένῃ θυμῷ,  
Νῦν οἶω 'περὶ γούναρ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοῶς  
Αἰσσομένους· χρεῖω γὰρ ἰκάνεται οἶκετ' ἀνεκτός.

Heyne, in his comment, asks the question, not unnaturally, "*Poenitens igitur asperitatis erga priorem legationem, an homo arrogans expectavers alteram ad se missam iri?*" I answer, neither one nor the other: the word imply that he had received *no embassy* at all. He is still the same Achilles who in the first book paced alone by the seashore, devouring his own soul under a sense of bitter affront, and praying to Thetis to aid his revenge: the revenge is now about to be realised, and he hails its approach with delight. But if we admit the embassy of the ninth book to intervene, the passage becomes a glaring inconsistency: for that which Achilles anticipates in future, and even yet as contingent, *had actually occurred* on the previous evening; the Greeks *had supplicated* at his feet, — they *had proclaimed* their interable need, — and he had spurned them. The Scholiast, in his explanation of these lines, after giving the plain meaning, that "Achilles shows what has long been desiring, to see the Greeks in a state of supplication to him — seems to recollect that this is in contradiction to the ninth book, and tries to remove the contradiction, by saying "that he had been previously mollified by conversation with Phoenix," — *ἥδη δὲ προμαλαχθεὶς ἦν ἐκ τῶν Φοῖκος λόγων*, — a supposition neither countenanced by anything in the poem nor sufficient to remove the difficulty.

2. The speech of Poseidon (xiii. 115) to encourage the dispirited Greek heroes, in which, after having admitted the injury done to Achilles by Agamemnon, he recommends an effort to heal the sore, and intimates "that minds of good men admit of this healing process," (*Ἄλλ' ἀκεῶμεθα θᾶσσ ἀκεσται τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν*), is certainly not very consistent with the supposition that this attempt to heal *had been made* in the best possible way, that Achilles had manifested a mind implacable in the extreme on evening before, — while the mind of Agamemnon was already brought to proclaimed humiliation, and needed no farther healing.

3. And what shall we say to the language of Achilles and Patroclus at the beginning of the sixteenth book, just at the moment when the day has reached its maximum, and when Achilles is about to send forth his friend?

Neither Nestor, when he invokes and instructs Patroclus as intercessor with Achilles (xi. 654–790), nor Patroclus himself, though in the ext

Patroclus and Nestor) in the eleventh and in the following books, plainly imply that the humiliation of the Greeks before him, for

of anxiety to work upon the mind of Achilles, and reproaching him with hardness of heart, — ever bring to remembrance the ample atonement which had been tendered to him; while Achilles himself repeats the original ground of quarrel, the wrong offered to him in taking away Briseïs, continuing the language of the first book; then, without the least allusion to the atonement and restitution since tendered, he yields to his friend's proposition, just like a man whose wrong remained undressed, but who was, nevertheless, forced to take arms by necessity (xvi. 60-63): —

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετῆχθαι ἔαμεν, οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν  
Ἄσπερ' ἄρ' ἐκεῖ κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν· ἦτοι ἔφην γε  
Ὅτι πρὶν μνηστῆρ' ἀπαύσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν δὴ  
Νῆας ἐμὰς ἀφίκηται αὐτῇ τε Πτόλεμος τε.

I agree with the Scholiast and Heyne in interpreting *ἔφην γε* as equivalent to *διενοήθην*, — not as referring to any express antecedent declaration.

Again, farther on in the same speech, "The Trojans (Achilles says) now press boldly forward upon the ships, for they no longer see the blame of my helmet: but if Agamemnon were favorably disposed towards me, they would presently run away and fill the ditches with their dead bodies" (71): —

.....τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους  
Πλήσειαν νεκῶν, εἰ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
Ἦπια εἰδείη· νῦν δὲ σπράτον ἀμφιμάχονται.

Now here again, if we take our start from the first book, omitting the ninth, the sentiment is perfectly just. But assume the ninth book, and it becomes false and misplaced; for Agamemnon is then a prostrate and repentant man, not merely "favorably disposed" towards Achilles, but offering to pay any price for the purpose of appeasing him.

4. Again, a few lines farther, in the same speech, Achilles permits Patroclus to go forth, in consideration of the extreme peril of the fleet, but restricts him simply to avert this peril and do nothing more: "Obey my words, so that you may procure for me honor and glory from the body of Greeks, and that they may send back to me the damsel, giving me ample presents besides: when you have driven the Trojans from the ships, come back again" —

Ὡς ἂν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο  
Πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν· ὅτ' αὖ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρη  
Ἀψ' ἀπονάσσωσι, προτὶ δ' ἄγλαα δῶρα πόρωσιν·  
Ἐκ νηῶν ἐλάσας, ἵεναι πάλιν (84-87).

How are we to reconcile this with the ninth book, where Achilles declares that he does not care for being honored by the Greeks, ix. 604? In the mouth of the affronted Achilles, of the first book, such words are apt enough: he will grant succor, but only to the extent necessary for the emergency, and in such a way as to insure redress for his own wrong, — which redress

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which he thirsts, is as yet future and contingent; that no plenary apology has yet been tendered, nor any offer made of restoring

he has no reason as yet to conclude that Agamemnôn is willing to grant. But the ninth book *has actually* tendered to him everything which he here demands, and even more (the daughter of Agamemnôn in marriage, without the price usually paid for a bride, etc.): Briseïs, whom now he is so anxious to repossess, was then offered in restitution, and he disdained the offer. Mr. Knight, in fact, strikes out these lines as spurious; partly, because they contradict the ninth book, where Achilles has actually rejected what he here thirsts for ("Dona cum puellâ jam antea oblata aspernatus erat,") — partly because he thinks that they express a sentiment unworthy of Achilles; in which latter criticism I do not concur.

5. We proceed a little farther to the address of Patroclus to the Myrmidons, as he is conducting them forth to the battle: "Fight bravely, Myrmidons, that we may bring honor to Achilles; and that the wide-ruling Agamemnôn may know the mad folly which he committed, when he dishonored the bravest of the Greeks."

To impress this knowledge upon Agamemnôn was no longer necessary. The ninth book records his humiliating confession of it, accompanied by atonement and reparation. To teach him the lesson a second time, is to break the bruised reed, — to slay the slain. But leave out the ninth book and the motive is the natural one, — both for Patroclus to offer, and for Myrmidons to obey: Achilles still remains a dishonored man, and to humble the rival who has dishonored him is the first of all objects, as well with his friends as with himself.

6. Lastly, the time comes when Achilles, in deep anguish for the death of Patroclus, looks back with aversion and repentance to the past. To what point should we expect that his repentance would naturally turn? Not to his primary quarrel with Agamemnôn, in which he had been undeniably wronged, — but to the scene in the ninth book, where the maximum of atonement for the previous wrong is tendered to him and scornfully rejected. When we turn to xviii. 108, and xix. 55, 68, 270, we find him reverting to his primitive quarrel in the first book, just as if it had been the last incident in his relations with Agamemnôn: moreover, Agamemnôn (xix. 86), in his speech of reconciliation, treats the past just in the same way, — deplores his original insanity in wronging Achilles.

7. When we look to the prayers of Achilles and Thetis, addressed to Zeus in the first book, we find that the consummation prayed for is, — honor to Achilles, — redress for the wrong offered to him, — victory to the Trojans, until Agamemnôn and the Greeks shall be made bitterly sensible of the wrong which they have done to their bravest warrior (i. 409-509). No consummation is brought about in the ninth book. Achilles can get no more, nor does he ultimately get more, either in the way of redress to himself, or of remorseful humiliation of Agamemnôn, than what is here tendered. The defeat which the Greeks suffer in the battle of the eighth book (*Kôlos*)

Briseis; while both Nestor and Patroclus, with all their wish to induce him to take arms, never take notice of the offered atonement and restitution, but view him as one whose ground for

has brought about the consummation. The subsequent and much more destructive defeats which they undergo are thus causeless: yet Zeus is represented as inflicting them reluctantly, and only because they are necessary to honor Achilles (xiii. 350; xv. 75, 235, 598; compare also viii. 372 and 475).

If we reflect upon the constitution of the poem, we shall see that the fundamental sequence of ideas in it is, a series of misfortunes to the Greeks, brought on by Zeus for the special purpose of procuring atonement to Achilles and bringing humiliation on Agamemnon: the introduction of Patroclus superadds new motives of the utmost interest, but it is most harmoniously worked into the fundamental sequence. Now the intrusion of the ninth book breaks up the scheme of the poem by disuniting the sequence: Agamemnon is on his knees before Achilles, entreating pardon and proffering reparation, yet the calamities of the Greeks become more and more dreadful. The atonement of the ninth book comes at the wrong time and in the wrong manner.

There are four passages (and only four, so far as I am aware) in which the embassy of the ninth book is alluded to in the subsequent books: one in xviii. 444-456, which was expunged as spurious by Aristarchus (see the Scholia and Knight's commentary, *ad loc.*); and three others in the following book, wherein the gifts previously tendered by Odysseus as the envoy of Agamemnon are noticed as identical with the gifts actually given in the nineteenth book. I feel persuaded that these passages (vv. 140-141, 192-195, and 243) are specially inserted for the purpose of establishing a connection between the ninth book and the nineteenth. The four lines (192-195) are decidedly better away: the first two lines (140-141) are noway necessary; while the word *χθις* (which occurs in both passages) is only rendered admissible by being stretched to mean *nudius tertius* (Heyne, *ad loc.*).

I will only farther remark with respect to the ninth book, that the speech of Agamemnon (17-28), the theme for the rebuke of Diomedes and the obscure commonplace of Nestor, is taken verbatim from his speech in the second book, in which place the proposition, of leaving the place and flying, is made, not seriously, but as a stratagem (ii. 110, 118, 140).

The length of this note can only be excused by its direct bearing upon the structure of the Iliad. To show that the books from the eleventh downwards are composed by a poet who has no knowledge of the ninth book, is, in my judgment, a very important point of evidence in aiding us to understand what the original Achilleis was. The books from the second to the seventh inclusive are insertions into the Achilleis, and lie apart from its plot, but do not violently contradict it, except in regard to the agora of the gods at the beginning of the fourth book, and the almost mortal wound of Sarpêdon in his battle with Tlepolemus. But the ninth book overthrows the fundamental scheme of the poem.

quarrel stands still the same as it did at the beginning. Moreover, if we look at the first book,—the opening of the *Achillêis*,—we shall see that this prostration of Agamemnôn and the chief Grecian heroes before Achilles, would really be the termination of the whole poem; for Achilles asks nothing more from Thetis, nor Thetis anything more from Zeus, than that Agamemnôn and the Greeks may be brought to know the wrong they have done to their capital warrior, and humbled in the dust in expiation of it. We may add, that the abject terror in which Agamemnôn appears in the ninth book, when he sends the supplicatory message to Achilles, as it is not adequately accounted for by the degree of calamity which the Greeks have experienced in the preceding (eighth) book, so it is inconsistent with the gallantry and high spirit with which he shines at the beginning of the eleventh.<sup>1</sup> The situation of the Greeks only becomes desperate when the three great chiefs, Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, are disabled by wounds;<sup>2</sup> this is the irreparable calamity which works upon Patroclus, and through him upon Achilles. The ninth book, as it now stands, seems to me an addition, by a different hand, to the original *Achillêis*, framed so as both to forestall and to spoil the nineteenth book, which is the real reconciliation of the two inimical heroes: I will venture to add, that it carries the pride and egotism of Achilles beyond even the largest exigences of insulted honor, and is shocking to that sentiment of Nemesis which was so deeply seated in the Grecian mind. We forgive any excess of fury against the Trojans and Hector, after the death of Patroclus; but that he should remain unmoved by restitution, by abject supplications, and by the richest atoning

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<sup>1</sup> Helbig (Sittl. Zustände des Heldenalters, p. 30) says, "The consciousness in the bosom of Agamemnôn that he has offered atonement to Achill strengthens his confidence and valor," &c. This is the idea of the critic, not of the poet. It does not occur in the *Iliad*, though the critic not unnaturally imagines that it *must* occur. Agamemnôn never says, "I was wrong provoking Achilles, but you see I have done everything which man could do to beg his pardon." Assuming the ninth book to be a part of the original conception, this feeling is so natural, that we could hardly fail to find it, the beginning of the eleventh book, numbered among the motives of Agamemnôn.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 659; xiv. 128; xvi. 25.

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such as neither the first  
and seventeenth, con-

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Hector to Troy for the  
Andromachê, and his  
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Trojan war, and its  
of view, but leaving  
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day's battle, chiefly through the heroism of Diomédês. Instead of arming the Greeks forthwith, Agamemnôn convokes first a council of chiefs, and next an agora of the host. And though himself in a temper of mind highly elate with the deceitful assurances of Oneirus, he deliberately assumes the language of despair in addressing the troops, having previously prepared Nestor and Odysseus for his doing so, — merely in order to try the courage of the men, and with formal instructions, given to these two other chiefs, that they are to speak in opposition to him. Now this intervention of Zeus and Oneirus, eminently unsatisfactory when coupled with the incidents which now follow it, and making Zeus appear, but only appear, to realize his promise of honoring Achilles as well as of hurting the Greeks, — forms exactly the point of junction between the *Achillêis* and the *Iliad*.<sup>1</sup>

The freak which Agamemnôn plays off upon the temper of his army, though in itself childish, serves a sufficient purpose, not only because it provides a special matter of interest to be submitted to the Greeks, but also because it calls forth the splendid description, so teeming with vivacious detail, of the sudden breaking up of the assembly after Agamemnôn's harangue, and of the decisive interference of Odysseus to bring the men back as well as to put down Thersitês. This picture of the Greek in agora, bringing out the two chief speaking and counsellor heroes, was so important a part of the general Trojan war, that the poet has permitted himself to introduce it by assuming an inexplicable folly on the part of Agamemnôn; just as he has ushered in another fine scene in the third book, — the *Teichoskopy*, or conversation, between Priam and Helen on the wall of Troy, — by admitting the supposition that the old king, the tenth year of the war, did not know the persons of Agamemnôn and the other Grecian chiefs. This may serve as explanation of the delusion practised by Agamemnôn towards his assembled host; but it does not at all explain the tame and empty intervention of Oneirus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The intervention of Oneirus ought rather to come as an immediate liminary to book viii. than to book ii. The first forty-seven lines of book ii. would fit on and read consistently at the beginning of book viii, the end of which book forms a proper sequel to the mission of Oneirus.

<sup>2</sup> O. Müller, (*History of Greek Literature*, ch. v. § 8,) doubts whether

If the initial incident of the second book, whereby we pass out of the *Achilléis* into the *Iliad*, is awkward, so also the final incident of the seventh book, immediately before we come back into the *Achilléis*, is not less unsatisfactory, — I mean, the construction of the wall and ditch round the Greek camp. As the poem now stands, no plausible reason is assigned why this should be done. Nestor proposes it without any constraining necessity: for the Greeks are in a career of victory, and the Trojans are making offers of compromise which imply conscious weakness, — while Diomédês is so confident of the approaching ruin of Troy, that he dissuades his comrades from receiving even Helen herself, if the surrender should be tendered. "Many Greeks have been slain," it is true,<sup>1</sup> as Nestor observes; but an equal or greater number of Trojans have been slain, and all the Grecian heroes are yet in full force: the absence of Achilles is not even adverted to.

Now this account of the building of the fortification seems to

beginning of the second book was written "by the ancient Homer, or by one of the later Homerids:" he thinks the speech of Agamemnôn, wherein he plays off the deceit upon his army, is "a copious parody (of the same words used in the ninth book) composed by a later Homerid, and inserted in the room of an originally shorter account of the arming of the Greeks." He treats the scene in the Grecian agora as "an entire mythical comedy, full of fine irony and with an amusing plot, in which the deceiving and deceived Agamemnôn is the chief character."

The comic or ironical character which is here ascribed to the second book appears to me fanciful and incorrect; but Müller evidently felt the awkwardness of the opening incident, though his way of accounting for it is not successful. The second book seems to my judgment just as serious as any part of the poem.

I think also that the words alluded to by O. Müller in the ninth book are a transcript of those in the second, instead of the reverse, as he believes, — because it seems probable that the ninth book is an addition made to the poem after the books between the first and the eighth had been already inserted, — it is certainly introduced after the account of the fortification, contained in the seventh book, had become a part of the poem: see ix. 349. The author of the Embassy to Achilles fancied that that hero had been too long out of sight, and out of mind, — a supposition for which there was no room in the original *Achilléis*, when the eighth and eleventh books followed in immediate succession to the first, but which offers itself naturally to any one on reading our present *Iliad*.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vii. 327.



be an after-thought, arising out of the enlargement of the poem beyond its original scheme. The original Achillëis, passing once from the first to the eighth,<sup>1</sup> and from thence to the eleventh book, might well assume the fortification, — and talk of it as a thing existing, without adducing any special reason why it was erected. The hearer would naturally comprehend and follow the existence of a ditch and wall round the ships, as a matter of course, provided there was nothing in the previous narrative to make him believe that the Greeks had originally been without these bulwarks. And since the Achillëis, immediately after the promise of Zeus to Thetis, at the close of the first book, went on to describe the fulfilment of that promise and the ensuing disasters of the Greeks, there was nothing to surprise any one in hearing that their camp was fortified. But the case was altered when the first and the eighth books were parted asunder, in order to make room for descriptions of temporary success and glory on the part of the besieging army. The brilliant scenes sketched in the books, from the second to the seventh, mention no fortification, and even imply its nonexistence; yet, since notice of it occurs amidst the first description of Grecian disasters in the eighth book, the hearer, who had the earlier books present to his memory, might be surprised to find a fortification mentioned immediately afterwards, unless the construction of it were specialy announced to have intervened. But it will at once appear, that there was some difficulty in finding a good reason why it

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<sup>1</sup> Heyne treats the eighth book as decidedly a separate song, or epic; supposition which the language of Zeus and the agora of the gods at the beginning are alone sufficient to refute, in my judgment (Excursus 1, ad li. xi. vol. vi. p. 269). This Excursus, in describing the sequence of events in the Iliad, passes at once and naturally from book eighth to book eleventh.

And Mr. Payne Knight, when he defends book eleventh against Heyne, says, "*Quæ in undecimâ rhapsodiâ Iliadis narrata sunt, haud minus ex æ narratis pendent: neque rationem pugnae commissæ, neque rerum in eâ gestarum nexum atque ordinem, quisquam intelligere posset, nisi iram secessum Achillis, et victoriam quam Trojani inde consecuti erant, antea cognosset.*" (Prolegom. c. xxix.)

Perfectly true: to understand the eleventh book, we must have before us the first and the eighth (which are those that describe the anger and withdrawal of Achilles, and the defeat which the Greeks experience in consequence of it); we may dispense with the rest.

Greeks should begin to fortify at this juncture, and that the poet who discovered the gap might not be enabled to fill it up with success. As the Greeks have got on, up to this moment, without the wall, and as we have heard nothing but tales of their success, why should they now think farther laborious precautions for security necessary? We will not ask, why the Trojans should stand quietly by and permit a wall to be built, since the truce was concluded expressly for burying the dead.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> O. Müller (Hist. Greek Literat. ch. v. § 6) says, about this wall: "Nor is it until the Greeks are *taught by the experience of the first day's fighting*, that the Trojans can resist them in open battle, that the Greeks build the wall round their ships. . . . This appeared to Thucydides so little conformable to historical probability, that, without regard to the authority of Homer, he placed the building of these walls immediately after the landing."

It is to be lamented, I think, that Thucydides took upon him to determine the point at all as a matter of history; but when he once undertook this, the account in the *Iliad* was not of a nature to give him much satisfaction, nor does the reason assigned by Müller make it better. It is implied in Müller's reason that, before the first day's battle, the Greeks did not believe that the Trojans *could* resist them in open battle: the Trojans (according to him,) never had maintained the field, so long as Achilles was up and fighting on the Grecian side, and therefore the Greeks were quite astonished to find now, for the first time, that they *could* do so.

Now nothing can be more at variance with the tenor of the second and following books than this supposition. The Trojans come forth readily and fight gallantly; neither Agamemnon, nor Nestor, nor Odysseus consider them as enemies who cannot hold front; and the circuit of exhortation by Agamemnon (Epipolêsis), so strikingly described in the fourth book, proves that *he* does not anticipate a very easy victory. Nor does Nestor, in proposing the construction of the wall, give the smallest hint that the power of the Trojans to resist in the open field was to the Greeks an unexpected discovery.

The reason assigned by Müller, then, is a fancy of his own, proceeding from the same source of mistake as others among his remarks; because he tries to find, in the books between the first and eighth, a governing reference to Achilles (the point of view of the Achillêis), which those books distinctly refuse. The Achillêis was a poem of Grecian disasters up to the time when Achilles sent forth Patroclus; and during those disasters, it might suit the poet to refer by contrast to the past time when Achilles was active, and to say that *then* the Trojans did not dare even to present themselves in battle-array in the field, whereas *now* they were assailing the ships. But the author of books ii. to vii. has no wish to glorify Achilles: he gives us a picture of the Trojan war generally, and describes the Trojans, not only as brave and equal enemies, but well known by the Greeks themselves to be so.

The *teuth* book, or Doloneia, was considered by some of the ancient scholiasts,<sup>1</sup> and has been confidently set forth by modern *W. c.* critics, as originally a separate poem, inserted *Peisistratus* into the *Iliad*. How it can ever have been a separate poem, I do not understand. It is framed with great speciality to the antecedent circumstances under which it occurs, and would suit for no other place; though capable of being separately recited, inasmuch as it has a definite beginning and end, like the story of *Nisus* and *Euryalus* in the *Æneid*. But while distinct presupposing and resting upon the incidents in the eighth book and in line 88 of the ninth, (probably, the appointment of sentinels on the part of the Greeks, as well of the Trojans, formed the close of the battle described in the eighth book,) it has not the slightest bearing upon the events of the eleventh or the following books: it goes to make up the general picture of the Trojan war, but lies quite apart from the *Achilléis*. And this is one mark of a portion subsequently inserted, — that, though fitted to the parts which precede, it has no influence on those which follow.

If the proceedings of the combatants on the plain of Troy between the first and the eighth book, have no reference either to *Achilles*, or to an *Achilléis*, we find *Zeus* in *Olympus* still more completely putting that hero out of the question, at the beginning of the fourth book. He is in this last-mentioned passage the *Zeus* of the *Iliad*, not of the *Achilléis*. Forgetful of his promise to *Thetis*, in the first book, he discusses nothing but the question of continuance or termination of the war, and manifests anxiety only for the salvation of *Troy*, in opposition to the misadvised Trojan goddesses, who prevent him from giving effect to the victory of *Menelaus* over *Paris*, and the stipulated restitution of *Helen*, — in which case, of course, the wrong offered to *Achilles* would remain unexpiated. An attentive comparison will render it evident that the poet who composed the discussion among the gods, at the beginning of the fourth book, has not been careful to put himself in harmony either with the *Zeus* of the first book, or with the *Zeus* of the eighth.

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The building of the Grecian wall, as it now stands described, is an unexplained proceeding, which Müller's ingenuity does not render consistent.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. ad *Iliad*. x. 1.

So soon as we enter upon the eleventh book, the march of the poem becomes quite different. We are then in a series of events, each paving the way for that which follows, and all conducing to the result promised in the first book,—the reappearance of Achilles, as the only means of saving the Greeks from ruin,—preceded by ample atonement,<sup>1</sup> and followed by the maximum both of glory and revenge. The intermediate career of Patroclus introduces new elements, which, however, are admirably woven into the scheme of the poem, as disclosed in the first book. I shall not deny that there are perplexities in the detail of events, as described in the battles at the Grecian wall, and before the ships, from the eleventh to the sixteenth books, but they appear only cases of partial confusion, such as may be reasonably ascribed to imperfections of text: the main sequence remains coherent and intelligible. We find no considerable events which could be left out without breaking the thread, nor any incongruity between one considerable event and another. There is nothing between the eleventh and twenty-second books, which is at all comparable to the incongruity between the Zeus of the fourth book and the Zeus of the first and eighth. It may, perhaps, be true, that the shield of Achilles is a super-added amplification of that which was originally announced in general terms,—because the poet, from the eleventh to the twenty-second books, has observed such good economy of his materials, that he is hardly likely to have introduced one particular description of such disproportionate length, and having so little connection with the series of events. But I see no reason for believing that it is an addition materially later than the rest of the poem.

It must be confessed, that the supposition here advanced, in reference to the structure of the *Iliad*, is not altogether free from difficulties, because the parts constituting the original *Achilléis*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Agamemnôn, after deploring the misguiding influence of Atê, which induced him to do the original wrong to Achilles, says (xix. 88-137),—

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην καὶ μὲν φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς,

Ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι, δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The supposition of a smaller original *Iliad*, enlarged by successive additions to the present dimensions, and more or less interpolated (we must

have been more or less altered or interpolated, to suit the additions made to it, particularly in the eighth book. But it presents fewer difficulties than any other supposition, and it is the one means, so far as I know, of explaining the difference between one part of the Iliad and another; both the continuity of structure, and the conformity to the opening promise, which are manifest when we read the books in the order i. viii. xi. to xx: as contrasted with the absence of these two qualities in books i to vii. ix. and x. An entire organization, preconceived from the beginning, would not be likely to produce any such disparity nor is any such visible in the Odyssey;<sup>1</sup> still less would the result

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distinguish *enlargement* from *interpolation*, — the insertion of a new rhapsod from that of a new line), seems to be a sort of intermediate compromise towards which the opposing views of Wolf, J. H. Voës, Nitzsch, Hermann and Boeckh, all converge. Baumgarten-Crusius calls this smaller poem a *Achilléis*.

Wolf, Preface to the Göschen edit. of the Iliad, pp. xli-xxiii; Voës, *Ant Symbolik*, part ii. p. 234; Nitzsch, *Histor. Homeri*, Fasciculus i. p. 112; an Vorrede to the second volume of his *Comments on the Odyssey*, p. xxvi "In the Iliad (he there says) many single portions may very easily be imagined as parts of another whole, or as having been once separately sung. (See Baumgarten-Crusius, Preface to his edition of W. Müller's *Homerische Vorschule*, pp. xlv-xlix.)

Nitzsch distinguishes the Odyssey from the Iliad, and I think justly, in respect to this supposed enlargement. The reasons which warrant us in applying this theory to the Iliad have no bearing upon the Odyssey. If there ever was an *Ur-Odysee*, we have no means of determining what it contained.

<sup>1</sup> The remarks of O. Müller on the Iliad (in his *History of Greek Literature*) are highly deserving of perusal: with much of them I agree, but there is also much which seems to me unfounded. The range of combination, and the far-fetched narrative stratagem which he ascribes to the primitive authors are in my view inadmissible (chap. v. § 5-11:—

"The internal connection of the Iliad (he observes, § 6) rests upon the union of certain parts; and neither the interesting introduction, describing the defeat of the Greeks up to the burning of the ship of Protesilaus, nor the turn of affairs brought about by the death of Patroclus, nor the final pacification of the anger of Achilles, could be spared from the Iliad, when the fruitful seed of such a poem had once been sown in the soul of Homer, as had begun to develop its growth. But the plan of the Iliad is certainly very much extended beyond what was actually necessary; and in particular, the preparatory part, consisting of the *attempts* on the part of the other heroes *compensate for the absence of Achilles*, has, it must be owned, been drawn

be explained by supposing integers originally separate, and brought together without any designed organization. And it is

to a disproportionate length, so that the suspicion that there were later insertions of importance applies with greater probability to the first than to the last books. . . . . A design manifested itself at an early period to make this poem complete in itself, so that all the subjects, descriptions, and actions, which could alone give interest to a poem on the *entire war*, might find a place within the limits of its composition. For this purpose, it is not improbable that many lays of earlier bards, who had sung single adventures of the Trojan war, were laid under contribution, and the finest parts of them incorporated in the new poem."

These remarks of O. Müller intimate what is (in my judgment) the right view, inasmuch as they recognize an extension of the plan of the poem beyond its original limit, manifested by insertions in the first half; and it is to be observed that, in his enumeration of those parts, the union of which is necessary to the internal connection of the *Iliad*, nothing is mentioned except what is comprised in books i. viii. xi. to xxii. or xxiv. But his description of "the preparatory part," as "the attempts of the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles," is noway borne out by the poet himself. From the second to the seventh book, Achilles is scarcely alluded to; moreover, the Greeks do perfectly well without him. This portion of the poem displays, not "the insufficiency of all the other heroes without Achilles," as Müller had observed in the preceding section, but the perfect *sufficiency* of the Greeks under Diomêdês, Agamemnôn, etc. to make head against Troy; it is only in the eighth book that their *insufficiency* begins to be manifested, and only in the eleventh book that it is consummated by the wounds of the three great heroes. Diomêdês is, in fact, exalted to a pitch of glory in regard to contests with the gods, which even Achilles himself never obtains afterwards, and Helenus the Trojan puts him above Achilles (vi. 99) in terrific prowess. Achilles is mentioned two or three times as absent, and Agamemnôn, in his speech to the Grecian agora, regrets the quarrel (ii. 377), but we never hear any such exhortation as, "Let us do our best to make up for the absence of Achilles,"—not even in the *Epipôlêsis* of Agamemnôn, where it would most naturally be found. "Attempts to compensate for the absence of Achilles," must, therefore, be treated as the idea of the critic, not of the poet.

Though O. Müller has glanced at the distinction between the two parts of the poem (an original part, having chief reference to *Achilles and the Greeks*; and a superinduced part, having reference to *the entire war*), he has not conceived it clearly, nor carried it out consistently. If we are to distinguish these two points of view at all, we ought to draw the lines at the end of the first book and at the beginning of the eighth, thus regarding the intermediate six books as belonging to the picture of *the entire war* (or the *Iliad* as distinguished from the *Achillêis*): the point of view of the *Achillêis*, dropped at the end of the first book, is resumed at the beginning of the eighth.

between these three suppositions that our choice has to be made. A scheme, and a large scheme too, must unquestionably be admitted as the basis of any sufficient hypothesis. But the

The natural fitting together of these two parts is noticed in the comment of Heyne, ad viii. 1: "*Cæterum nunc Jupiter aperte solvit Thetidi promissum reddit causam Trojanorum bello superiorem, ut Achilles desiderium Achivos, et poenitentia injuriæ ei illatæ Agamemnonem incessat* (cf. i. 5) *Nam quæ adhuc narrata sunt, partim continebantur in fortunâ belli utrinque tentatâ.....partim valebant ad narrationem variandam,*" etc. The first and the eighth books belong to one and the same point of view, while all the intermediate books belong to the other. But O. Müller seeks to prove that a portion of these intermediate books belongs to one common point of view with the first and eighth, though he admits that they have been enlarged by insertions. Here I think he is mistaken. Strike out anything which can be reasonably allowed for enlargement in the books between the first and eighth, and the same difficulty will still remain in respect to the remainder; for *all* the incidents between those two points are brought out in a spirit altogether indifferent to Achilles or his anger. The Zeus of the fourth book, as contrasted with Zeus in the first or eighth, marks the difference; and this description of Zeus is absolutely indispensable as the connecting link between book iii. on the one side and books iv. and v. on the other. Moreover, the attempt of O. Müller, to force upon the larger portion of what is between the first and eighth books the point of view of the Achillæis, is never successful: the poet does not exhibit in those books "insufficient efforts of other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles" but a general and highly interesting picture of the Trojan war, with prominent reference to the original ground of quarrel. In this picture, the dispute between Paris and Menelaus forms naturally the foremost item, — but the far-fetched is the reasoning whereby O. Müller brings that striking recital within the scheme of the Achillæis! "The Greeks and Trojans are for the first time struck by an idea, which might have occurred in the previous years, if the Greeks, *when assisted by Achilles*, had not, from confidence in their superior strength, considered every compromise as unworthy of them, — namely to decide the war by a single combat between the authors of it." Here causality of Achilles is dragged in by main force, and unsupported either by any actual statement in the poem or by any reasonable presumption; for it is the Trojans who propose the single combat, and we are not told that they had ever proposed it before, though they would have had stronger reason for proposing it during the presence of Achilles than during his absence.

O. Müller himself remarks (§ 7), "that from the second to the seventh book Zeus appears as it were to have forgotten his resolution and his promise to Thetis." In other words, the poet, during this part of the poem, drops the point of view of the Achillæis to take up that of the more comprehensive Iliad: the Achillæis reappears in book viii, — again disappears in book ix — and is resumed from book xi. to the end of the poem.

Achillëis would have been a long poem, half the length of the present Iliad, and probably not less compact in its structure than the Odyssey. Moreover, being parted off only by an imaginary line from the boundless range of the Trojan war, it would admit of enlargement more easily, and with greater relish to hearers, than the adventures of one single hero; while the expansion would naturally take place by adding new Grecian victory, — since the original poem arrived at the exaltation of Achilles only through a painful series of Grecian disasters. That the poem under these circumstances should have received additions, is no very violent hypothesis: in fact, when we recollect that the integrity both of the Achillëis and of the Odyssey was neither guarded by printing nor writing, we shall perhaps think it less wonderful that the former was enlarged,<sup>1</sup> than that the latter was not. Any relaxation of the laws of epical unity is a small price to pay for that splendid poetry, of which we find so much between the first and the eighth books of our Iliad.

The question respecting unity of authorship is different, and more difficult to determine, than that respecting consistency of parts, and sequence in the narrative. A poem conceived on a comparatively narrow scale may be enlarged afterwards by its original author, with greater or less coherence and success: the

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<sup>1</sup> This tendency to insert new homogeneous matter by new poets into poems already existing, is noticed by M. Fauriel, in reference to the *Romans of the Middle Ages*: —

“C'est un phénomène remarquable dans l'histoire de la poésie épique, que cette disposition, cette tendance constante du goût populaire à amalgamer, à lier en une seule et même composition le plus possible des compositions diverses, — cette disposition persiste chez un peuple, tant que la poésie conserve un reste de vie; tant qu'elle s'y transmet par la tradition et qu'elle y circule à l'aide du chant ou des réceptions publiques. Elle cesse partout où la poésie est une fois fixée dans les livres, et n'agit plus que par la lecture, — cette dernière époque est pour ainsi dire, celle de la propriété poétique — celle où chaque poète prétend à une existence, à une gloire, personnelles; et où la poésie cesse d'être une espèce de trésor commun dont le peuple jouit et dispose à sa manière, sans s'inquiéter des individus qui le lui ont fait.” (Fauriel, *Sur les Romans Chevaleresques*, leçon 5<sup>me</sup>, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. xiii. p. 707.)

M. Fauriel thinks that the *Shah Nameh* of Ferdusi was an amalgamation of epic poems originally separate, and that probably the *Mahabharat* was so also (*ib.* 708).



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Faust of Goethe affords an example even in our own generation. On the other hand, a systematic poem may well have been conceived and executed by prearranged concert between several poets; among whom probably one will be the governing mind though the rest may be effective, and perhaps equally effective in respect to execution of the parts. And the age of the early Grecian epic was favorable to such fraternization of poets, of which the Gens called Homerids probably exhibited many specimens. In the recital or singing of a long unwritten poem, many bards must have conspired together, and in the earliest times the composer and the singer were one and the same person.<sup>1</sup> Now the individuals comprised in the Homerid Gens, though doubtless very different among themselves in respect of mental capacity were yet homogeneous in respect of training, means of observation and instruction, social experience, religious feelings and theories, etc., to a degree much greater than individuals in modern times. Fallible as our inferences are on this point where we have only internal evidence to guide us, without any contemporary points of comparison, or any species of collateral information respecting the age, the society, the poets, the hearer, or the language,—we must nevertheless, in the present case take coherence of structure, together with consistency in the tone of thought, feeling, language, customs, etc., as presumptions of one author; and the contrary as presumptions of severalty allowing, as well as we can, for that inequality of excellence which the same author may at different times present.

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<sup>1</sup> The remarks of Boeckh, upon the possibility of such coöperation of poets towards one and the same scheme are perfectly just:—

“Atqui quomodo componi a variis auctoribus successu temporum rhapsodiæ potuerint, quæ post prima initia directæ jam ad idem consilium et quæ vocant unitatem carminis sint. . . . missis istorum declamationibus et populi universi opus Homerum esse jactant. . . . tum potissimum intelligitur, ubi gentis civilis Homeridarum propriam et peculiarem Homerici poësin fuisse, veteribus ipsis si non testibus, at certe ducibus, concedet. . . . Quæ quum ita sint, non erit adeo difficile ad intelligendum, quomodo post prima initia ab egregio vate facta, in gente sacrorum et artis communi sociatâ, multæ rhapsodiæ ad unum potuerint consilium dirigi.” (Int. Llection. 1834, p. 12.)

I transcribe this passage from Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt 157), not having been able to see the essay of which it forms a part.

Now, the case made out against single-headed authorship of the *Odyssey*, appears to me very weak; and those who dispute it, are guided more by their *à priori* rejection of ancient epical unity, than by any positive evidence which the poem itself affords. It is otherwise with regard to the *Iliad*. Whatever presumptions a disjointed structure, several apparent inconsistencies of parts, and large excrescence of actual matter beyond the opening promise, can sanction, — may reasonably be indulged against the supposition that this poem all proceeds from a single author. There is a difference of opinion on the subject among the best critics, which is, probably, not destined to be adjusted, since so much depends partly upon critical feeling, partly upon the general reasonings, in respect to ancient epical unity, with which a man sits down to the study. For the champions of unity, such as Mr. Payne Knight, are very ready to strike out numerous and often considerable passages as interpolations, thus meeting the objections raised against unity of authorship, on the ground of special inconsistencies. Hermann and Boeckh, though not going the length of Lachmann in maintaining the original theory of Wolf, agree with the latter in recognizing diversity of authors in the poem, to an extent overpassing the limit of what can fairly be called interpolation. Payne Knight and Nitzsch are equally persuaded of the contrary. Here, then, is a decided contradiction among critics, all of whom have minutely studied the poems since the Wolfian question was raised. And it is such critics alone who can be said to constitute authority; for the cursory reader, who dwells upon the parts simply long enough to relish their poetical beauty, is struck only by that general sameness of coloring which Wolf himself admits to pervade the poem.<sup>1</sup>

Having already intimated that, in my judgment, no theory of the structure of the poem is admissible which does not admit an original and preconcerted *Achillêis*, — a stream which begins at the first book and ends with the death of Hector, in the twenty-second, although the higher parts of it now remain only in the condition of two detached lakes, the first book and the eighth, — I reason upon the same basis with respect to the authorship.

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<sup>1</sup> Wolf, *Prolegom.* p. cxxxviii. "*Quippe in universum idem sonus est omnibus libris; idem habitus sententiarum, orationis, numerorum,*" etc.

Assuming continuity of structure as a presumptive proof, the whole of this *Achillëis* must be treated as composed by one author. Wolf, indeed, affirmed, that he never read the poem continuously through without being painfully impressed with the inferiority<sup>1</sup> and altered style of the last six books,—and Lachmann carries this feeling farther back, so as to commence with the seventeenth book. If I could enter fully into this sentiment I should then be compelled, not to deny the existence of a preconceived scheme, but to imagine that the books from the eighteenth to the twenty-second, though forming part of that scheme, the *Achillëis*, had yet been executed by another and an inferior poet. But it is to be remarked, first, that inferiority of poetical merit, to a certain extent, is quite reconcilable with unity of authorship; and, secondly, that the very circumstances upon which Wolf's unfavorable judgment is built, seem to arise out of increase of difficulty in the poet's task, when he came to the crowning cantos of his designed *Achillëis*. For that which chiefly distinguishes these books, is, the direct, incessant, and manual intervention of the gods and goddesses, formerly permitted by Zeus,—and the repetition of vast and fantastic conceptions to which such supernatural human agency gives occasion; not omitting the battle of Achilles against Skamander and Simois, and the burning up of these rivers by Hêphæstus. Now, looking at this vein of ideas with the eyes of a modern reader, or even with those of a Grecian critic of the literary ages, it is certain that the effect is displeasing: the godlike sublime elements of poetry when kept in due proportion, are here somewhat vulgarized. But though the poet here has not succeeded, and probably success was impossible, in the task which he has prescribed to himself,—yet the mere fact of his undertaking it, and the manifest distinction between his employment of divine agency in these latter cantos as compared with the

<sup>1</sup> Wolf, *Prolegomen.* p. cxxxvii. "Equidem certe quoties in continenti lectione ad istas partes (i. e. the last six books) deveni, nunquam non iis talia quædam sensi, quæ nisi illæ tam mature cum ceteris coaluissent quovis pignore contendam, dudum ab eruditis detecta et animadversa fuissent immo multa ejus generis, ut cum nunc 'Ομηρικώτατα habeantur, si tantummodo in Hymnis legerentur, ipsa sola eos suspicionibus νοθεύας adspersæ essent." Compare the sequel, p. cxxxviii, "ubi nervi deficient et spiritus Homericus, — jejunum et frigidum in locis multis," etc.

preceding, seems explicable only on the supposition that they are the latter cantos, and come in designed sequence, as the continuance of a previous plan. The poet wishes to surround the coming forth of Achilles with the maximum of glorious and terrific circumstance; no Trojan enemy can for a moment hold out against him: the gods must descend to the plain of Troy and fight in person, while Zeus, who at the beginning of the eighth book, had forbidden them to take part, expressly encourages them to do so at the beginning of the twentieth. If, then, the nineteenth book (which contains the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnôn, a subject naturally somewhat tame) and the three following books (where we have before us only the gods, Achilles, and the Trojans, without hope or courage) are inferior in execution and interest to the seven preceding books (which describe the long-disputed and often doubtful death-struggle between the Greeks and Trojans without Achilles), as Wolf and other critics affirm,—we may explain the difference without supposing a new poet as composer; for the conditions of the poem had become essentially more difficult, and the subject more unpromising. The necessity of keeping Achilles above the level, even of heroic prowess, restricted the poet's means of acting upon the sympathy of his hearers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xx. 25. Zeus addresses the agora of the gods,—

Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἄρ' ἄγγετ', ὅπη νόος ἐστὶν ἐκάστω·  
 Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἷος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται,  
 Οὐδὲ μιννὺθ' ἔξουσιν ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα.  
 Καὶ δέ μιν καὶ πρόσθεν ὑποτρομέεσκον δρῶντες·  
 Νῦν δ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ θυμὸν ἐταίρου χέεται αἰνῶς,  
 Δεῖδω μὴ καὶ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ μῶρον ἐξαλαπάξῃ.

The formal restriction put upon the gods by Zeus at the beginning of the eighth book, and the removal of that restriction at the beginning of the twentieth, are evidently parts of one preconceived scheme.

It is difficult to determine whether the battle of the gods and goddesses in book xxi. (385–520) is to be expunged as spurious, or only to be blamed as of inferior merit (“improbanda tantum, non resecanda — hoc enim est illud, quo plerumque summa crisiōs Homericæ redit,” as Heyne observes in another place, Obs. Iliad. xviii. 444). The objections on the score of non-Homeric locution are not forcible (see P. Knight, *ad loc.*), and the scene belongs to that vein of conception which animates the poet in the closing act of his Achilleis.

<sup>2</sup> While admitting that these last books of the Iliad are not equal in

The last two books of the *Iliad* may have formed part of original Achilléis. But the probability rather is, that they are additions; for the death of Hector satisfies the exigencies of a coherent scheme, and we are not entitled to extend the old poem beyond the limit which such necessity prescribes. It has been argued on one side by Nitzsch and O. Müller, that the poem could not leave off with satisfaction at the moment in which Achilles sates his revenge, and while the bodies of Patroclus and Hector are lying unburied,—also, that the more merciful temper which he exhibits in the twenty-fourth book, must always have been an indispensable sequel, in order to create proper sympathy with his triumph. Other critics, on the contrary, have taken special grounds of exception against the last book, and have endeavored to set it aside as different from the other books, be-

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cause of its interest with those between the eleventh and eighteenth, we may add that they exhibit many striking beauties, both of plan and execution, and one particular may be noticed as an example of happy epical adaptation. The Trojans are on the point of ravishing from the Greeks the dead body of Patroclus, when Achilles (by the inspiration of Hêrê and Iris) shows himself unarmed on the Grecian mound, and by his mere figure and voice strikes such terror into the Trojans that they relinquish the dead body. As soon as night arrives, Polydamas proposes, in the Trojan agora, that the Trojans shall retire without farther delay from the ships to the town, and shut themselves within the walls, without awaiting the assault of Achilles on the next morning. Hector repels this counsel of Polydamas with strong expressions,—not merely of overweening confidence in his own force, even against Achilles,—but also of extreme contempt and harshness towards his adviser; whose wisdom, however, is proved by the utter discomfiture of the Trojans the next day. Now this angry deportment and mistake on the part of Hector is made to tell strikingly in the twenty-second book, just before his death. There yet remains a moment for him to retire within the walls and thus obtain shelter against the near approach of his irresistible enemy, but he is struck with the recollection of that fatal moment when he repels the counsel which would have saved his countrymen: "If I enter the town, Polydamas will be the first to reproach me, as having brought destruction upon Troy on that fatal night when Achilles came forth, and when I resisted his better counsel." (Compare xviii. 250-315; xxii. 100-110; Aristot. *Ethic.* iii. 8.)

In a discussion respecting the structure of the *Iliad*, and in reference to arguments which deny all designed concatenation of parts, it is not out of place to notice this affecting touch of poetry, belonging to those books which are reproached as the feeblest.

in tone and language. To a certain extent, the peculiarities of the last book appear to me undeniable, though it is plainly a designed continuance, and not a substantive poem. Some weight also is due to the remark about the twenty-third book, that Odysseus and Diomédês, who have been wounded and disabled during the fight, now reappear in perfect force, and contend in the games: here is no case of miraculous healing, and the inconsistency is more likely to have been admitted by a separate enlarging poet, than by the schemer of the Achillêis.

The splendid books from the second to v. 322 of the seventh,<sup>1</sup> are equal, in most parts, to any portion of the Achillêis, and are pointedly distinguished from the latter by the broad view which they exhibit of the general Trojan war, with all its principal personages, localities, and causes,—yet without advancing the result promised in the first book, or, indeed, any final purpose whatever. Even the desperate wound inflicted by Tlepolemus on Sarpêdon, is forgotten, when the latter hero is called forth in the subsequent Achillêis.<sup>2</sup> The arguments of Lachmann, who dissects these six books into three or four separate songs,<sup>3</sup> carry no conviction to my mind; and I see no reason why we should not consider all of them to be by the same author, bound together by the common purpose of giving a great collective picture which may properly be termed an Iliad. The tenth book, or Doloneia, though adapted specially to the place in which it stands, agrees with the books between the first and eighth in belonging only to the general picture of the war, without helping forward the march of the Achillêis; yet it seems conceived in a lower vein, in so far as we can trust our modern ethical sentiment. One is

<sup>1</sup> The latter portion of the seventh book is spoiled by the very unsatisfactory addition introduced to explain the construction of the wall and ditch: all the other incidents (the agora and embassy of the Trojans, the truce for burial, the arrival of wine-ships from Lemnos, etc.) suit perfectly with the scheme of the poet of these books, to depict the Trojan war generally.

<sup>2</sup> Unless, indeed, we are to imagine the combat between Tlepolemus and Sarpêdon, and that between Glaukus and Diomédês, to be separate songs; and they are among the very few passages in the Iliad which are completely separable, implying no special antecedents.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also Heyne, Excursus ii. sect. ii. ad Iliad. xxiv. vol. viii. p. 783.

unwilling to believe that the author of the fifth book, or Aristeid of Diomêdês, would condescend to employ the hero whom he there so brightly glorifies,—the victor even over Arês himself,—in slaughtering newly-arrived Thracian sleepers, without any large purpose or necessity.<sup>1</sup> The ninth book, of which I have already spoken at length, belongs to a different vein of conception and seems to me more likely to have emanated from a separat composer.

While intimating these views respecting the authorship of the *Iliad*, as being in my judgment the most probable, I must repeat that, though the study of the poem carries to my mind a sufficient conviction respecting its structure, the question between unity and plurality of authors is essentially less determinable. The poem consists of a part original, and other parts superadded; yet it is certainly not impossible that the author of the former may

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<sup>1</sup> Subsequent poets, seemingly thinking that the naked story, (of Diomêdês slaughtering Rhêsus and his companions in their sleep,) as it now stands in the *Iliad*, was too displeasing, adopted different ways of dressing it. Thus, according to Pindar (ap. Schol. *Iliad*. x. 435), Rhêsus fought one day as the ally of Troy, and did such terrific damage, that the Greeks had other means of averting total destruction from his hand on the next day except by killing him during the night. And the Euripidean drama, called *Rhêsus*, though representing the latter as a new-comer, yet puts into the mouth of Athênê the like overwhelming predictions of what he would do on the coming day, if suffered to live; so that to kill him in the night is the only way of saving the Greeks (*Eurip. Rhês.* 602): moreover, Rhêsus himself is there brought forward as talking with such overweening insolence that the sympathies of man, and the envy of the gods, are turned against him (*ib.* 458).

But the story is best known in the form and with the addition (equally unknown to the *Iliad*) which Virgil has adopted. It was decreed by fate that if the splendid horses of Rhêsus were permitted once either to taste Trojan provender, or to drink of the river Xanthus, nothing could prevent the Greeks from ruin (*Æneid*, i. 468, with Servius, *ad loc.*):—

“Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis  
Agnoscat lacrymans: primo quæ prodita somno  
Tydides multâ vastabat cæde cruentus:  
Ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam  
Pabula gustassent Trojæ, Xanthumque bibissent.”

All these versions are certainly improvements upon the story as it stands in the *Iliad*.

himself have composed the latter; and such would be my belief, if I regarded plurality of composers as an inadmissible idea. On this supposition, we must conclude that the poet, while anxious for the addition of new, and for the most part, highly interesting matter, has not thought fit to recast the parts and events in such manner as to impart to the whole a pervading thread of *consensus* and organization, such as we see in the *Odyssey*.

That the *Odyssey* is of later date than the *Iliad*, and by a different author, seems to be now the opinion of most critics, especially of Payne Knight<sup>1</sup> and Nitzsch; though O. Müller leans to a contrary conclusion, at the same time adding that he thinks the arguments either way not very decisive. There are considerable differences of statement in the two poems in regard to some of the gods: Iris is messenger of the gods in the *Iliad*, and Hermès in the *Odyssey*: Æolus, the dispenser of the winds in the *Odyssey*, is not noticed in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, but, on the contrary, Iris invites the winds, as independent gods, to come and kindle the funeral pile of Patroclus; and, unless we are to expunge the song of Demodokus in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, as spurious, Aphroditê there appears as the wife of Hêphæstus,—a relationship not known to the *Iliad*. There are also some other points of difference enumerated by Mr. Knight and others, which tend to justify the presumption that the author of the *Odyssey* is not identical either with the author of the *Achillêis* or his enlargers, which G. Hermann considers to be a point unquestionable.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the difficulty of supposing a long coherent poem to have been conceived, composed, and retained, without any aid of writing, appears to many critics even now, insurmountable, though the evidences on the other side, are, in my view, sufficient to outweigh any negative presumption thus suggested. But it is improbable that the same person should have powers of memorial combination sufficient for composing two such poems, nor is there any proof to force upon us such a supposition.

Presuming a difference of authorship between the two poems,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Knight places the *Iliad* about two centuries, and the *Odyssey* one century, anterior to Hesiod: a century between the two poems (*Prolegg.* c lxi.)

<sup>2</sup> Hermann, *Præfat. ad Odys.* p. vii.



I feel less convinced about the supposed juniority of the *Odyssey*. The discrepancies in manners and language in the one and the other, are so little important, that two different persons, in the same age and society, might well be imagined to exhibit as great or even greater. It is to be recollected that the subjects of the two are heterogeneous, so as to conduct the poet, even were he the same man, into totally different veins of imagination and illustration. The pictures of the *Odyssey* seem to delineate the same heroic life as the *Iliad*, though looked at from a distinct point of view: and the circumstances surrounding the residence of Odysseus, in Ithaka, are just such as we may suppose him to have left in order to attack Troy. If the scenes presented to us are for the most part pacific, as contrasted with the incessant fighting of the *Iliad*, this is not to be ascribed to any greater sociality or civilization in the real hearers of the *Odyssey*, but to the circumstances of the hero whom the poet undertakes to adorn: nor can we doubt that the poems of Arktinus and Leschês, of a later date than the *Odyssey*, would have given us as much combat and bloodshed as the *Iliad*. I am not struck by those proofs of improved civilization which some critics affirm to the *Odyssey* to present: Mr. Knight, who is of this opinion, nevertheless admits that the mutilation of Melanthius, and the hanging up of the female slaves by Odysseus, in that poem, indicate greater barbarity than any incidents in the fights before Troy. The more skilful and compact structure of the *Odyssey*, has been often considered as a proof of its juniority in age: and in the case of two poems by the same author, we might plausibly contend that practice would bring with it improvement in the combining faculty. But in reference to the poems before us, we must recollect, first, that in all probability the *Iliad* (with which comparison is taken) is not a primitive but an enlarged poem and that the primitive *Achillêis* might well have been quite as coherent as the *Odyssey*; secondly, that between different authors, superiority in structure is not a proof of subsequent composition, inasmuch as, on that hypothesis, we should be compelled to admit that the later poem of Arktinus would be an improvement upon the *Odyssey*; thirdly, that, even if it were

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<sup>1</sup> Knight, *Prolegg.* 1, c. *Odyss.* xxii. 465-478.

we could only infer that the author of the *Odyssey* had *heard* the *Achillëis* or the *Iliad*; we could not infer that he lived one or two generations afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems in favor of distinct authorship for the two poems, but the same age,—and that age a very early one, anterior to the first Olympiad. And they may thus be used as evidences, and contemporary evidences, for the phenomena of primitive Greek civilization; while they also show that the power of constructing long premeditated epics, without the aid of writing, is to be taken as a characteristic of the earliest known Greek mind. This was the point controverted by Wolf, which a full review of the case (in my judgment) decides against him; it is, moreover, a valuable result for the historian of the Greeks, inasmuch as it marks out to him the ground from which he is to start in appreciating their ulterior progress.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The arguments, upon the faith of which Payns Knight and other critics have maintained the *Odyssey* to be younger than the *Iliad*, are well stated and examined in Bernard Thiersch, — *Quæstio de Diversâ Iliadis et Odysseæ Ætate*, — in the *Anhang* (p. 306) to his work *Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer*.

He shows all such arguments to be very inconclusive; though the grounds upon which he himself maintains identity of age between the two appear to me not at all more satisfactory (p. 327): we can infer nothing to the point from the mention of *Telemachus* in the *Iliad*.

Welcker thinks that there is a great difference of age, and an evident difference of authorship, between the two poems (*Der Episch. Kyklos*, p. 295).

O. Müller admits the more recent date of the *Odyssey*, but considers it "difficult and hazardous to raise upon this foundation any definite conclusions as to the person and age of the poet." (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, ch. v. s. 13.)

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thirlwall has added to the second edition of his *History of Greece* a valuable Appendix, on the early history of the Homeric poems (vol. i. pp. 500–516); which contains copious information respecting the discrepant opinions of German critics, with a brief comparative examination of their reasons. I could have wished that so excellent a judge had superadded, to his enumeration of the views of others, an ampler exposition of his own. Dr. Thirlwall seems decidedly convinced upon that which appears to me the most important point in the Homeric controversy: "That before the appearance of the earliest of the poems of the Epic Cycle, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even if they did not exist precisely in their present form, had at least reached

Whatever there may be of truth in the different conjectures of critics respecting the authorship and structure of these unrivalled poems, we are not to imagine that it is the perfection of their epical symmetry which has given them their indissoluble hold upon the human mind, as well modern as ancient. There is some tendency in critics, from Aristotle downwards,<sup>1</sup> to invert the order of attributes in respect to the Homeric poems, so as to dwell most on recondite excellences which escape the unaided reader, and which are even to a great degree disputable. But it is given to few minds (as Goethe has remarked<sup>2</sup>) to appreciate fully the mechanism of a long poem; and many feel the beauty of the separate parts, who have no sentiment for the aggregate perfection of the whole.

Nor were the Homeric poems originally addressed to minds of the rarer stamp. They are intended for those feelings which the critic has in common with the unlettered mass, not for the enlarged range of vision and peculiar standard which he has acquired to himself. They are of all poems the most absolute and unreservedly popular: had they been otherwise, they could

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their present compass, and were regarded each as a complete and well-defined whole, not as a fluctuating aggregate of fugitive pieces." (p. 509.)

This marks out the Homeric poems as ancient both in the items and the total, and includes negation of the theory of Wolf and Lachmann, who contend that, as a total, they only date from the age of Peisistratus. It is then safe to treat the poems as unquestionable evidences of Grecian antiquity (meaning thereby 776 B. C.), which we could not do if we regarded all the fragments of parts in the poems as brought about through alterations by Peisistratus and his friends.

There is also a very just admonition of Dr. Thirlwall (p. 516) as to the difficulty of measuring what degree of discrepancy or inaccuracy might not have escaped the poet's attention, in an age so imperfectly known to us.

<sup>1</sup> There are just remarks on this point in Heyne's *Excursus*, ii. sect. 2 4, ad II. xxiv. vol. viii. pp. 771-800.

<sup>2</sup> "Wenig Deutsche, und vielleicht nur wenige Menschen aller Nationen, haben Gefühl für ein ästhetisches Ganzes: sie loben und tadeln nur stellenweise, sie entzücken sich nur stellenweise." (Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister*: I transcribe this from Welcker's *Æschyl. Trilogie*, p. 306.)

What ground there is for restricting this proposition to *modern* as contrasted with *ancient* nations, I am unable to conceive.

not have lived so long in the mouth of the rhapsodes, and the ear and memory of the people: and it was *then* that their influence was first acquired, never afterwards to be shaken. Their beauties belong to the parts taken separately, which revealed themselves spontaneously to the listening crowd at the festival,—far more than to the whole poem taken together, which could hardly be appreciated unless the parts were dwelt upon and suffered to expand in the mind. The most unlettered hearer of those times could readily seize, while the most instructed reader can still recognize, the characteristic excellence of Homeric narrative,—its straightforward, unconscious, unstudied simplicity,—its concrete forms of speech<sup>1</sup> and happy alternation of action

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<sup>1</sup> The *κινούμενα ὀνόματα* of Homer were extolled by Aristotle; see Schol. ad *Iliad*. i. 481; compare Dionys. Halicarn. De Compos. Verbor. c. 20. ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὀρᾶν. Respecting the undisguised bursts of feeling by the heroes, the Scholiast ad *Iliad*. i. 349 tells us,—*ἐτοιμον τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν πρὸς δάκρυα*,—compare Euripid. *Helen*. 959, and the severe censures of Plato, *Republ.* ii. p. 388.

The Homeric poems were the best understood, and the most widely popular of all Grecian composition, even among the least instructed persons, such (for example) as the semibarbarians who had acquired the Greek language in addition to their own mother tongue. (Dio Chrysost. Or. xviii. vol. i. p. 478; Or. liii. vol. ii. p. 277, Reisk.) Respecting the simplicity and perspicuity of the narrative style, implied in this extensive popularity, Porphyry made a singular remark: he said, that the sentences of Homer *really* presented much difficulty and obscurity, but that ordinary readers fancied they understood him, “because of the general clearness *which appeared* to run through the poems.” (See the Prolegomena of Villoison’s edition of the *Iliad*, p. xli.) This remark affords the key to a good deal of the Homeric criticism. There doubtless were real obscurities in the poems, arising from altered associations, customs, religion, language, etc., as well as from corrupt text; but while the critics did good service in elucidating these difficulties, they also introduced artificially many others, altogether of their own creating. Refusing to be satisfied with the plain and obvious meaning, they sought in Homer hidden purposes, elaborate innuendo, recondite motives even with regard to petty details, deep-laid rhetorical artifices (see a specimen in Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhetor.* c. 15, p. 316, Reiske; nor is even Aristotle exempt from similar tendencies, Schol. ad *Iliad*. iii. 441, x. 198), or a substratum of philosophy allegorized. No wonder that passages, quite perspicuous to the vulgar reader, seemed difficult to them.

There could not be so sure a way of missing the real Homer as by searching for him in these devious recesses. He is essentially the poet of the

with dialogue,—its vivid pictures of living agents, always clearly and sharply individualized, whether in the commanding proportions of Achilles and Odysseus, in the graceful presence of Helen and Penelope, or in the more humble contrast of Eumæus and Melanthius; and always, moreover, animated by the frankness with which his heroes give utterance to all their transient emotions and even all their infirmities,—its constant reference to those coarser veins of feeling and palpable motives which belong to all men in common,—its fulness of graphic details, freshly drawn from the visible and audible world, and though often homely, never tame, nor trenching upon that limit of satiety to which the Greek mind was so keenly alive,—lastly its perpetual junction of gods and men in the same picture, and familiar appeal to ever-present divine agency, in harmony with the interpretation of nature at that time universal.

It is undoubtedly easier to feel than to describe the impressive influence of Homeric narrative: but the time and circumstance under which that influence was first, and most powerfully felt, preclude the possibility of explaining it by comprehensive and elaborate comparisons, such as are implied in Aristotle's remarks upon the structure of the poems. The critic who seeks the explanation in the right place will not depart widely from the point of view of those rude auditors to whom the poems were originally addressed, or from the susceptibilities and capacities common to the human bosom in every stage of progressive culture. And though the refinements and delicacies of the poems as well as their general structure, are a subject of highly interesting criticism,—yet it is not to these that Homer owes his widespread and imperishable popularity. Still less is it true, as well-known observations of Horace would lead us to believe

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broad highway and the market-place, touching the common sympathies satisfying the mental appetencies of his countrymen with unrivalled effect but exempt from ulterior views, either selfish or didactic, and immerse the same medium of practical life and experience, religiously construe his auditors. No nation has ever yet had so perfect and touching an exhibition of its early social mind as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* exhibit.

In the verbal criticism of Homer, the Alexandrine literati seem to have made a very great advance, as compared with the glossographers who preceded them. (See *Lehrs, De Studiis Aristarchi, Dissert. ii. p. 42.*)

that Homer is a teacher of ethical wisdom akin and superior to Chrysippus or Crantor.<sup>1</sup> No didactic purpose is to be found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; a philosopher may doubtless extract, from the incidents and strongly marked characters which it contains, much illustrative matter for his exhortations, — but the ethical doctrine which he applies must emanate from his own reflection. The homeric hero manifests virtues or infirmities, fierceness or compassion, with the same straightforward and simple-minded vivacity, unconscious of any ideal standard by

<sup>1</sup> Horat. Epist. i. 2, v. 1-26: —

“Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nosti:  
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,  
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.”

Horace contrasts the folly and greediness of the companions of Ulysses, in accepting the refreshments tendered to them by Circe, with the self-command of Ulysses himself in refusing them. But in the incident as described in the original poem, neither the praise nor the blame, here implied, finds any countenance. The companions of Ulysses follow the universal practice in accepting hospitality tendered to strangers, the fatal consequences of which, in their particular case, they could have no ground for suspecting; while Ulysses is preserved from a similar fate, not by any self-command of his own, but by a previous divine warning and a special antidote, which had not been vouchsafed to the rest (see *Odyss.* x. 285). And the incident of the Sirens, if it is to be taken as evidence of anything, indicates rather the absence, than the presence, of self-command on the part of Ulysses.

Of the violent mutations of text, whereby the *Grammatici* or critics tried to efface from Homer bad ethical tendencies (we must remember that many of these men were lecturers to youth), a remarkable specimen is afforded by Venet. Schol. ad *Iliad.* ix. 453; compare Plutarch, de Audiendis Poetis, p. 95. Phoenix describes the calamitous family tragedy in which he himself had been partly the agent, partly the victim. Now that an Homeric hero should confess guilty proceedings, and still more guilty designs, without any expression of shame or contrition, was insupportable to the feelings of the critics. One of them, Aristodemus, thrust two negative particles into one of the lines; and though he thereby ruined not only the sense but the metre, his emendation procured for him universal applause, because he had maintained the innocence of the hero (*καὶ οὐ μόνον ηὐδοκίμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτιμήθη, ὡς εὐσεβῆ τήρηςας τὸν ἥρωα*). And Aristarchus thought the case so alarming, that he struck out from the text four lines, which have only been preserved to us by Plutarch (*Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐξεῖλε τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, φοβηθεὶς*). See the Fragment of Dioscorides (*περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Νόμων*) in Didot's *Fragmenta Historicor. Græcor.* vol. ii. p. 193.

which his conduct is to be tried;<sup>1</sup> nor can we trace in the poet any ulterior function beyond that of the inspired organ of the Muse, and the nameless, but eloquent, herald of lost adventures out of the darkness of the past.

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<sup>1</sup> "C'est un tableau idéal, à coup sûr, que celui de la société Grecque dans les chants qui portent le nom d'Homère: et pourtant cette société y est toute entière reproduite, avec la rusticité, la férocité de ses mœurs, ses bonnes et ses mauvaises passions, sans dessein de faire particulièrement ressortir, de célébrer tel ou tel de ses mérites, de ses avantages, ou de laisser dans l'ombre ses vices et ses maux. Ce mélange du bien et du mal, du fort et du faible, — cette simultanéité d'idées et de sentimens en apparence contraires, — cette variété, cette incohérence, ce développement inégal de la nature et de la destinée humaine, — c'est précisément là ce qu'il y a de plus poétique, car c'est le fond même des choses, c'est la vérité sur l'homme et le monde: et dans les peintures idéales qu'en veulent faire la poésie, le roman et même l'histoire, cet ensemble, si divers et pourtant si harmonieux, doit se retrouver: sans quoi l'idéal véritable y manque aussi bien que la réalité." (Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Leçon 7<sup>me</sup>, vol. i. p. 285.)

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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

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## PART II. HISTORICAL GREECE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### GENERAL GEOGRAPHY AND LIMITS OF GREECE.

GREECE Proper lies between the 36th and 40th parallels of north latitude, and between the 21st and 26th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length, from Mount Olympus to Cape Tænarus, may be stated at 250 English miles; its greatest breadth, from the western coast of Akarnania to Marathon in Attica, at 180 miles; and the distance eastward from Ambrakia across Pindus to the Magnesian mountain Homolê and the mouth of the Peneius is about 120 miles. Altogether, its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal.<sup>1</sup> In regard, however, to all attempts at determining the exact limits of Greece proper, we may remark, first, that these limits seem not to have been very precisely defined even among the Greeks themselves; and next, that so large a proportion of the Hellens were distributed among islands and colonies, and so much of their influence upon the world in general produced through their colonies, as to

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Strong, *Statistics of the Kingdom of Greece*, p. 2; and Kruse, *Hellas*, vol. i. ch. 3, p. 196.

render the extent of their original domicile a matter of comparatively little moment to verify.

The chain called Olympus and the Cambunian mountains, ranging from east and west, and commencing with the Ægean sea or the gulf of Therma, near the 40th degree of north latitude, is prolonged under the name of Mount Lingon, until it touches the Adriatic at the Akrokeraunian promontory. The country south of this chain comprehended all that in ancient times was regarded as Greece, or Hellas proper, but it also comprehended something more. Hellas proper,<sup>1</sup> (or continuous Hellas, to use the language of Skylax and Dikæarchus) was understood to begin with the town and gulf of Ambrakia: from thence, northward to the Akrokeraunian promontory, lay the land called by the Greeks Epirus, — occupied by the Chaonians, Molossians, and Thesprotians, who were termed Epirots, and were not esteemed to belong to the Hellenic aggregate. This at least was the general understanding, though Ætolians and Akarnanians, in their more distant sections, seem to have been not less widely removed from the full type of Hellenism than the Epirots were; while Herodotus is inclined to treat even Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellenes.<sup>2</sup>

At a point about midway between the Ægean and Ionian seas, Olympus and Lingon are traversed nearly at right angles by the still longer and vaster chain called Pindus, which stretches in a line rather west of north from the northern side of the range of Olympus: the system to which these mountains belong seems to begin with the lofty masses of greenstone comprised under the name of Mount Scardus, or Scordus, (Schardagh),<sup>3</sup> which is divided only

<sup>1</sup> Dikæarch, 31, p. 460, ed. Fuhr: —

Ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμβρακίας εἶναι δοκεῖ  
Μάλιστα συνεχῆς τὸ πέρασ· αὐτῇ δ' ἔρχεται  
Ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Πηνειὸν, ὡς Φιλέας γράφει,  
Ὅρος τε Μαγνήτων Ὀμόλην κεκλημένον.

Skylax, c. 35. — Ἀμβρακία — ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς συνεχῆς εἶναι μέχρι Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ Ὀμόλιον Μαγνητικῆς πόλεως, ἥ ἐστι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 146: ii. 56. The Molossian Alkôn passes for a Hellen (Herod. vi. 127).

<sup>3</sup> The mountain systems in the ancient Macedonia and Illyricum, north

by the narrow cleft, containing the river Drin, from the limestone of the Albanian Alps. From the southern face of Olympus, Pindus strikes off nearly southward, forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, and sending forth about the 89th degree of latitude the lateral chain of Othrys,— which latter takes an easterly course, forming the southern boundary of Thessaly, and reaching the sea between Thessaly and the northern coast of Eubœa. Southward of Othrys, the chain of Pindus, under the name of Tymphrêstus, still continues, until another lateral chain, called Ceta, projects from it again towards the east,— forming the lofty coast immediately south of the Maliac gulf, with the narrow road of Thermopylæ between the two,— and terminating at the Eubœan strait. At the point of junction with Ceta, the chain of Pindus forks into two branches; one striking to the westward of south, and reaching across Ætolia, under the names of Arakynthus, Kurius, Korax, and Taphiassus, to the promontory called Antirrhion, situated on the northern side of the narrow entrance of the Corinthian gulf, over against the corresponding promontory of Rhion in Peloponnesus; the other tending south-east, and forming Parnassus, Helicon, and Kithærôn; indeed, Ægaleus and Hymettus, even down to the southernmost cape of Attica, Sunium, may be treated as a continuance of this chain. From the eastern extremity of Ceta, also, a range of hills, inferior in height to the preceding, takes its departure in a south-easterly direction, under the various names of Knêmis, Ptôon, and Teumêssus. It is joined with Kithærôn by the lateral communication, ranging from west to east, called Parnês; while

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of Olympus, have been yet but imperfectly examined: see Dr. Griesebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*, vol. ii. ch. 13, p. 112, *seqq.* (Götting. 1841), which contains much instruction respecting the real relations of these mountains as compared with the different ideas and representations of them. The words of Strabo (lib. vii. Excerpt. 3, ed. Tzschucke), that Scardus, Orbêlus, Rhodopê, and Hæmus extend in a straight line from the Adriatic to the Euxine, are incorrect.

See Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. i. p. 335: the pass of Tschangon, near Castoria (through which the river Devol passes from the eastward to fall into the Adriatic on the westward), is the only cleft in this long chain from the river Drin in the north down to the centre of Greece.

the celebrated Pentelikus, abundant in marble quarries, constitutes its connecting link, to the south of Parnês with the chain from Kithærôn to Sunium.

From the promontory of Antirrhion, the line of mountains crosses into Peloponnesus, and stretches in a southerly direction down to the extremity of the peninsula called Tænarus, now Cape Matapan. Forming the boundary between Elis with Messenia on one side, and Arcadia with Laconia on the other, it bears the successive names of Olenus, Panachaïkus, Pholoë, Erymanthus, Lykæus, Parrhasius, and Taygetus. Another series of mountains strikes off from Kithærôn towards the south-west, constituting, under the names of Geraneia and Oneia, the rugged and lofty Isthmus of Corinth, and then spreading itself into Peloponnesus. On entering that peninsula, one of its branches tends westward along the north of Arkadia, comprising the Akrokorinthus, or citadel of Corinth, the high peak of Kyllênê, the mountains of Aroanii and Lampeia, and ultimately joining Erymanthus and Pholoë, — while the other branch strikes southward towards the south-eastern cape of Peloponnesus, the formidable Cape Malea, or St. Angelo, — and exhibits itself under the successive names of Apesæ, Artemisium, Parthenium, Parnôn, Thornax, and Zarêx.

From the eastern extremity of Olympus, in a direction rather to the eastward of south, stretches the range of mountains first called Ossa, and afterwards Pelion, down to the south-eastern corner of Thessaly. The long, lofty, and naked back-bone of the island of Eubœa, may be viewed as a continuance both of this chain and of the chain of Othrys: the line is farther prolonged by a series of islands in the Archipelago, Andros, Tênos, Mykonos, and Naxos, belonging to the group called the Cyclades, or islands encircling the sacred centre of Delos. Of these Cyclades, others are in like manner a continuance of the chain which reaches to Cape Sunium, — Keôs, Kythnos, Seriphos, and Siphnos join on to Attica, as Andros does to Eubœa. And we might even consider the great island of Krete as a prolongation of the system of mountains which breasts the winds and waves at Cape Malea, the island of Kythêra forming the intermediate link between them. Skiathus, Skopelus, and Skyrus, to the north-east of Eubœa, also

mark themselves out as outlying peaks of the range comprehending Pelion and Eubœa.<sup>1</sup>

By this brief sketch, which the reader will naturally compare with one of the recent maps of the country, it will be seen that Greece proper is among the most mountainous territories in Europe. For although it is convenient, in giving a systematic view of the face of the country, to group the multiplicity of mountains into certain chains, or ranges, founded upon approximate uniformity of direction; yet, in point of fact, there are so many ramifications and dispersed peaks,—so vast a number of hills and crags of different magnitude and elevation,—that a comparatively small proportion of the surface is left for level ground. Not only few continuous plains, but even few continuous valleys, exist throughout all Greece proper. The largest spaces of level ground are seen in Thessaly, in Ætolia, in the western portion of Peloponnesus, and in Bœotia; but irregular mountains, valleys frequent but isolated, land-locked basins and declivities, which often occur, but seldom last long, form the character of the country.<sup>2</sup>

The islands of the Cyclades, Eubœa, Attica, and Laconia, consist for the most part of micaceous schist, combined with and often covered by crystalline granular limestone.<sup>3</sup> The centre

<sup>1</sup> For the general sketch of the mountain system of Hellas, see Kruse, *Hellas*, vol. i. ch. 4, pp. 280–290; Dr. Cramer, *Geog. of An. Greece*, vol. i. pp. 3–8.

Respecting the northern regions, Epirus, Illyria, and Macedonia, O. Müller, in his short but valuable treatise *Ueber die Makedoner*, p. 7 (Berlin, 1825), may be consulted with advantage. This treatise is annexed to the English translation of his *History of the Dorians* by Mr. G. C. Lewis.

<sup>2</sup> Out of the 47,600,000 stremas (= 12,000,000 English acres) included in the present kingdom of Greece, 26,500,000 go to mountains, rocks, rivers, lakes, and forests, — and 21,000,000 to arable land, vineyards, olive and currant grounds, etc. By arable land is meant, land fit for cultivation; for a comparatively small portion of it is actually cultivated at present (Strong, *Statistics of Greece*, p. 2, London, 1842).

The modern kingdom of Greece does not include Thessaly. The epithet *κοιλός* (hollow) is applied to several of the chief Grecian states, — *κοιλὴ Ἥλις*, *κοιλὴ Λακεδαιμῶν*, *κοιλὸν Ἄργος*, etc.

*Κόρινθος δὲρὺν τε καὶ κοίλαιναται*, Strabo, viii. p. 381.

The fertility of Bœotia is noticed in Strabo, ix. p. 400, and in the valuable fragment of Dicaearchus, *Βίος Ἑλλάδος*, p. 140, ed. Fuhr.

<sup>3</sup> For the geological and mineralogical character of Greece, see the survey

and west of Peloponnesus, as well as the country north of the Corinthian gulf from the gulf of Ambrakia to the strait of Euboea, present a calcareous formation, varying in different localities as to color, consistency, and hardness, but, generally, belonging or approximating to the chalk: it is often very compact, but is distinguished in a marked manner from the crystalline limestone above mentioned. The two loftiest summits in Greece<sup>1</sup> (both, however, lower than Olympus, estimated at nine thousand seven hundred feet) exhibit this formation,—Parnassus, which attains eight thousand feet, and the point of St. Elias in Taygetus, which is not less than seven thousand eight hundred feet. Clay-slate, and conglomerates of sand, lime, and clay, are found in many parts: a close and firm conglomerate of lime composes the Isthmus of Corinth: loose deposits of pebbles, and calcareous breccia, occupy also some portions of the territory. But the most important and essential elements of the Grecian soil, consist of the diluvial and alluvial formations, with which the troughs and basins are filled up, resulting from the decomposition of the older adjoining rocks. In these reside the productive powers of the country, and upon these the grain and vegetables for the subsistence of the people depend. The mountain regions are to a great degree barren, destitute at present of wood or any useful vegetation, though there is reason to believe that they were better wooded in antiquity: in many parts, however, and especially in Ætolia and Akarnania, they afford plenty of timber, and in all parts, pasture for the cattle during summer, at a time when the plains are thoroughly burnt up.<sup>2</sup> For other articles of food,

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undertaken by Dr. Fiedler, by orders of the present government of Greece, in 1834 and the following years (*Reise durch alle Theile des Königreichs Griechenland in Auftrag der K. G. Regierung in den Jahren 1834 bis 1837*, especially vol. ii. pp. 512–530).

Professor Ross remarks upon the character of the Greek limestone, — hard and intragtable to the mason, — jagged and irregular in its fracture, — as having first determined in early times the polygonal style of architecture, which has been denominated (he observes) Cyclopian and Pelasgic, without the least reason for either denomination (*Reise in den Griech. Inseln*, vol. i. p. 15).

<sup>1</sup> Griesbach, *Reisen durch Rumelien*, vol. ii. ch. 13, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> In passing through the valley between Ceta and Parnassus, going towards Elateia, Fiedler observes the striking change in the character of the

dependence must be had on the valleys, which are occasionally of singular fertility. The low ground of Thessaly, the valley of the Kephissus, and the borders of the lake Kopais, in Bœotia, the western portion of Elis, the plains of Stratus on the confines of Akarnania and Ætolia, and those near the river Pamisus in Messenia, both are now, and were in ancient times, remarkable for their abundant produce.

Besides the scarcity of wood for fuel, there is another serious inconvenience to which the low grounds of Greece are exposed, — the want of a supply of water at once adequate and regular.<sup>1</sup> Abundance of rain falls during the autumnal and winter months, little or none during the summer; while the naked limestone of the numerous hills, neither absorbs nor retains moisture, so that the rain runs off as rapidly as it falls, and springs are rare.<sup>2</sup> Most of the rivers of Greece are torrents in early spring, and dry before the end of the summer: the copious combinations of the ancient language, designated the winter torrent by a special and separate word.<sup>3</sup> The most considerable rivers in the country are, the Peneius, which carries off all the waters of Thessaly, finding an exit into the Ægean through the narrow defile which parts Ossa from Olympus, — and the Achelôus, which flows from Pinus in a south-westerly direction, separating Ætolia from Akarnania, and emptying itself into the Ionian sea: the Euênus also

country: "Romelia (i. e. Akarnania, Ætolia, Ozolian Lokris, etc.), woody, well-watered, and covered with a good soil, ceases at once and precipitously: while craggy limestone mountains, of a white-grey color, exhibit the cold character of Attica and the Morea." (Fiedler, Reise, i. p. 213.)

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo conceives even the *πέδιον πυρήφορον* of Thebes as having in its primitive state been covered with wood (v. 227).

The best timber used by the ancient Greeks came from Macedonia, the Euxine, and the Propontis: the timber of Mount Parnassus and of Eubœa was reckoned very bad; that of Arcadia better (Theophrast. v. 2, 1; iii. 9).

<sup>1</sup> See Fiedler, Reise, etc. vol. i. pp. 84, 219, 362, etc.

Both Fiedler and Strong (Statistics of Greece, p. 169) dwell with great reason upon the inestimable value of Artesian wells for the country.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, Reise auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i. letter 2, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek language seems to stand singular in the expression *χειμαρ-βοῦς*, — the *Wadys* of Arabia manifest the like alternation, of extreme temporary fulness and violence, with absolute dryness (Kriegk, Schriften zur allgemeinen Erdkunde, p. 201, Leipzig, 1840).

takes its rise at a more southerly part of the same mountain chain, and falls into the same sea more to the eastward. The rivers more to the southward are unequal and inferior. Kephissus and Asôpus, in Boeotia, Alpheius, in Elis and Arcadia, Pamisus in Messenia, maintain each a languid stream throughout the summer; while the Inachus near Argos, and the Kephissus and Ilissus near Athens, present a scanty reality which falls short still more of their great poetical celebrity. Of all those rivers which have been noticed, the Achelôus is by far the most important. The quantity of mud which its turbid stream brought down and deposited, occasioned a sensible increase of the land at its embouchure, within the observation of Thucydides.<sup>1</sup>

But the disposition and properties of the Grecian territory, though not maintaining permanent rivers, are favorable to the multiplication of lakes and marshes. There are numerous hollows and inclosed basins, out of which the water can find no superficial escape, and where, unless it makes for itself a subterranean passage through rifts in the mountains, it remains either as a marsh or a lake according to the time of year. In Thessaly, we find the lakes Nessônis and Boëbêis; in Ætolia, between the Achelôus and Euênus, Strabo mentions the lake of Trichônis, besides several other lakes, which it is difficult to identify individually, though the quantity of ground covered by lake and marsh is, as a whole, very considerable. In Boeotia, are situated the lakes Kopais, Hylikê, and Harma; the first of the three formed chiefly by the river Kephissus, flowing from Parnassus on the north-west, and shaping for itself a sinuous course through the mountains of Phokis. On the north-east and east, the lake Kopais is bounded by the high land of Mount Ptôon, which intercepts its communication with the strait of Eubœa. Through the limestone of this mountain, the water has either found or forced several subterraneous cavities, by which it obtains a partial progress on the other side of the rocky hill, and then flows into the strait. The Katabothra, as they were termed in antiquity, yet exist, but in an imperfect and half-obstructed condition. Even in antiquity, however, they never fully sufficed to carry off the surplus waters of the Kephissus; for the remains are still found

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. ii. 102.



of an artificial tunnel, pierced through the whole breadth of the rock, and with perpendicular apertures at proper intervals to let in the air from above. This tunnel—one of the most interesting remnants of antiquity, since it must date from the prosperous days of the old Orchomenus, anterior to its absorption into the Bœotian league, as well as to the preponderance of Thebes,—is now choked up and rendered useless. It may, perhaps, have been designedly obstructed by the hand of an enemy, and the scheme of Alexander the Great, who commissioned an engineer from Chalkis to reopen it, was defeated, first, by discontents in Bœotia, and ultimately by his early death.<sup>1</sup>

The Katabothra of the lake Kopais, are a specimen of the phenomenon so frequent in Greece,—lakes and rivers finding for themselves subterranean passages through the cavities in the limestone rocks, and even pursuing their unseen course for a considerable distance before they emerge to the light of day. In Arcadia, especially, several remarkable examples of subterranean water communication occur; this central region of Peloponnesus presents a cluster of such completely inclosed valleys, or basins.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Leake observes (Travels in Morea, vol. iii. pp. 45, 153–155), “The plain of Tripolitza (anciently that of Tegea and Mantinea) is by far the greatest of that cluster of valleys in the centre of Peloponnesus, each of which is so closely shut in by the intersecting mountains, that no outlet is afforded to the waters except through the mountains themselves,” etc. Respecting the Arcadian Orchomenus, and its inclosed lake with Katabothra, see the same work, p. 103; and the mountain plains near Corinth, p. 263.

This temporary disappearance of the rivers was familiar to the ancient observers — *οἱ καταπνόμενοι τῶν ποτάμων*. (Aristot. Meteorolog. i. 13. Diódor. xv. 49. Strabo, vi. p. 271; viii. p. 389, etc.)

Their familiarity with this phenomenon was in part the source of some geographical suppositions, which now appear to us extravagant, respecting the long subterranean and submarine course of certain rivers, and their re-appearance at very distant points. Sophokles said that the Inachus of Akarnania joined the Inachus of Argolis: Ibykus the poet affirmed that the Asôpus, near Sikyon, had its source in Phrygia; the river Inôpus of the little island of Delos was alleged by others to be an effluent from the mighty Nile; and the rhetor Zôilus, in a panegyric oration to the inhabitants of Tenedos, went the length of assuring them that the Alpheus in Elis had its source in their island (Strabo, vi. p. 271). Not only Pindar and other poets (Antigon. Caryst. c. 155), but also the historian Timæus (Timæi Frag. 127,

It will be seen from these circumstances, that Greece, considering its limited total extent, offers but little motive, and still less of convenient means, for internal communication among its various inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Each village, or township, occupying its

ed. Göller), and Pausanias, also, with the greatest confidence (v. 7, 2), believed that the fountain Arethusa, at Syracuse, was nothing else but the reappearance of the river Alpheius from Peloponnesus: this was attested by the actual fact that a goblet or cup (*φιάλη*), thrown into the Alpheius, had come up at the Syracusan fountain, which Timæus professed to have verified, — but even the arguments by which Strabo justifies his disbelief of this tale, show how powerfully the phenomena of the Grecian rivers acted upon his mind. “If (says he, *l. c.*) the Alpheius, instead of flowing into the sea, fell into some chasm in the earth, there would be some plausibility in supposing that it continued its subterranean course as far as Sicily without mixing with the sea: but since its junction with the sea is matter of observation, and since there is no aperture visible near the shore to absorb the water of the river (*στόμα τὸ κατανίον τὸ βεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ*), so it is plain that the water cannot maintain its separation and its sweetness, whereas the spring Arethusa is perfectly good to drink.” I have translated here the sense rather than the words of Strabo; but the phenomena of “rivers falling into chasms and being drunk up,” for a time, is exactly what happens in Greece. It did not appear to Strabo impossible that the Alpheius might traverse this great distance underground; nor do we wonder at this, when we learn that a more able geographer than he (Eratosthenés) supposed that the marshes of Rhinokolura, between the Mediterranean and the Red sea, were formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, which flowed underground for the length of 6000 stadia or furlongs (Strabo, xvi. p. 741; Seidel. *Fragm. Eratosth.* p. 194): compare the story about the Euphrates passing underground, and reappearing in Ethiopia as the river Nile (Pausan. ii. 5, 3). This disappearance and reappearance of rivers connected itself, in the minds of ancient physical philosophers, with the supposition of vast reservoirs of water in the interior of the earth, which were protruded upwards to the surface by some gaseous force (see Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* vi. 8). Pomponius Mela mentions an idea of some writers, that the source of the Nile was to be found, not in our (*οἰκουμένη*) habitable section of the globe, but in the Antichthon, or southern continent, and that it flowed under the ocean to rise up in Ethiopia (Mela, i. 9, 55).

These views of the ancients, evidently based upon the analogy of Grecian rivers, are well set forth by M. Letronne, in a paper on the situation of the Terrestrial Paradise, as represented by the Fathers of the Church; cited in A. von Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie*, etc., vol. iii. pp. 118–130.

<sup>1</sup> “Upon the arrival of the king and regency in 1833 (observes Mr. Strong), no carriage-roads existed in Greece; nor were they, indeed, much wanted previously, as down to that period not a carriage, waggon, or cart, or any

plain with the inclosing mountains,<sup>1</sup> supplied its own main wants whilst the transport of commodities by land was sufficiently difficult to discourage greatly any regular commerce with neighbors. In so far as the face of the interior country was concerned, it seemed as if nature had been disposed, from the beginning, to keep the population of Greece socially and politically disunited,—by providing so many hedges of separation, and so many boundaries, generally hard, sometimes impossible, to overleap. One special motive to intercourse, however, arose out of this very geographical constitution of the country, and its endless alternation of mountain and valley. The difference of climate and temperature between the high and low grounds is very great; the harvest is secured in one place before it is ripe in another, and the cattle find during the heat of summer shelter and pasture on the hills, at a time when the plains are burnt up.<sup>2</sup> The practice of transferring them from the mountains to the plain according to the change of season, which subsists still as it

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other description of vehicles, was to be found in the whole country. The traffic in general was carried on by means of boats, to which the long indented line of the Grecian coast and its numerous islands afforded every facility. Between the seaports and the interior of the kingdom, the communication was effected by means of beasts of burden, such as mules, horses, and camels." (Statistics of Greece, p. 33.)

This exhibits a retrograde march to a point lower than the description of the Odyssey, where Telemachus and Peisistratus drive their chariot from Pylus to Sparta. The remains of the ancient roads are still seen in many parts of Greece (Strong, p. 34).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clarke's description deserves to be noticed, though his warm eulogies on the fertility of the soil, taken generally, are not borne out by later observers: "The physical phenomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone; resembling, although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products, the craters of the Phlegrean fields. Everywhere, their level surfaces seems to have been deposited by water, gradually retired or evaporated; they consist for the most part of the richest soil, and their produce is yet proverbially abundant. In this manner, stood the cities of Argos, Sikyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, Athens, Thebes, Amphissa, Orchomenus, Chæroneia, Lebæda, Larissa, Pella, and many others." (Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. ch. 4, p. 74.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Gell found, in the month of March, summer in the low plains of Messenia, spring in Laconia, winter in Arcadia (Journey in Greece, pp 355-359).

did in ancient times, is intimately connected with the structure of the country, and must from the earliest period have brought about communication among the otherwise disunited villages.<sup>1</sup>

Such difficulties, however, in the internal transit by land, were to a great extent counteracted by the large proportion of coast, and the accessibility of the country by sea. The prominences and indentations in the line of Grecian coast, are hardly less remarkable than the multiplicity of elevations and depressions which everywhere mark the surface.<sup>2</sup> The shape of Peloponnesus, with its three southern gulfs, (the Argolic, Laconian, and Messenian,) was compared by the ancient geographers to the leaf of a plane-tree: the Pagasæan gulf on the eastern side of Greece, and the Ambrakian gulf on the western, with their narrow entrances and considerable area, are equivalent to internal

<sup>1</sup> The cold central region (or mountain plain, — *βορπέδιον*) of Tripolitza, differs in climate from the maritime regions of Peloponnesus, as much as the south of England from the south of France. . . . . No appearance of spring on the trees near Tegea, though not more than twenty-four miles from Argos. . . . . Cattle are sent from thence every winter to the maritime plains of Elos in Laconia (Leake, Trav. in Morea, vol. i. pp. 88, 98, 197). The pasture on Mount Olono (boundary of Elis, Arcadia, and Achaia) is not healthy until June (Leake, vol. ii. p. 119); compare p. 348, and Fiedler, Reise, i. p. 314.

See also the Instructive Inscription of Orchomenus, in Boeckh, Staats haushaltung der Athener, t. ii. p. 380.

The transference of cattle, belonging to proprietors in one state, for temporary pasturage in another, is as old as the Odyssey, and is marked by various illustrative incidents: see the cause of the first Messenian war (Diodor. Fragm. viii. vol. iv. p. 23, ed. Wess; Pausan. iv. 4, 2).

<sup>2</sup> "Universa autem (Peloponnesus); velut pensante æquorum incurtus naturâ, in montes 76 extollitur." (Plin. H. N. iv. 6.)

Strabo touches, in a striking passage (ii. pp. 121-122), on the influence of the sea in determining the shape and boundaries of the land: his observations upon the great superiority of Europe over Asia and Africa, in respect of intersection and interpenetration of land by the sea-water are remarkable: *ἡ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώπη πολυσχημονεσάτη πασῶν ἐστι*, etc. He does not especially name the coast of Greece, though his remarks have a more exact bearing upon Greece than upon any other country. And we may copy a passage out of Tacitus (Agricol. c. 10), written in reference to Britain, which applies far more precisely to Greece: "*nusquam latius dominari mare. . . . . nec litore tenuis accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus et ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.*"

lakes: Xenophon boasts of the double sea which embraces so large a proportion of Attica, Ephorus of the triple sea, by which Bœotia was accessible from west, north, and south, — the Eubœan strait, opening a long line of country on both sides to coasting navigation.<sup>1</sup> But the most important of all Grecian gulfs are the Corinthian and the Saronic, washing the northern and north-eastern shores of Peloponnesus, and separated by the narrow barrier of the Isthmus of Corinth. The former, especially, lays open Ætolia, Phokis, and Bœotia, as well as the whole northern coast of Peloponnesus, to water approach. Corinth, in ancient times, served as an entrepôt for the trade between Italy and Asia Minor, — goods being unshipped at Lechæum, the port on the Corinthian gulf, and carried by land across to Cenchreæ, the port on the Saronic: indeed, even the merchant-vessels themselves, when not very large,<sup>2</sup> were conveyed across by the same route. It was accounted a prodigious advantage to escape the necessity of sailing round Cape Malea: and the violent winds and currents which modern experience attests to prevail around that formidable promontory, are quite sufficient to justify the apprehensions of the ancient Greek merchant, with his imperfect apparatus for navigation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *De Vectigal.* c. 1; Ephor. *Frag.* 67, ed. Marx; Stephan. *Byz. Boiaria.*

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 5, about the Isthmus of Corinth: "*Lechææ hinc, Cenchreæ illinc, angustiarum termini, longo et ancipiti navium ambitu (i. e. round Cape Malea), quas magnitudo plaustri transvehi prohibet: quam ob causam perfodere navigabili alveo angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, — infausto (ut omnium exitu patuit) incepto.*"

The *διολκός*, less than four miles across, where ships were drawn across, if their size permitted, stretched from Lechæum on the Corinthian gulf, to Schœnus, a little eastward of Cenchreæ, on the Saronic gulf (Strabo, viii. p. 380). Strabo (viii. p. 335) reckons the breadth of the *διολκός* at forty stadia (about 4½ English miles); the reality, according to Leake, is 3½ English miles (*Travels in Morea*, vol. iii. ch. xxix. p. 297).

<sup>3</sup> The north wind, the Etesian wind of the ancients, blows strong in the Ægean nearly the whole summer, and with especially dangerous violence at three points, — under Karystos, the southern cape of Eubœa, near Cape Malea, and in the narrow strait between the islands of Tênos, Mykonos, and Dêlos (Ross, *Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln*, vol. i. p. 20). See also Colonel Leake's account of the terror of the Greek boatmen, from the

It will thus appear that there was no part of Greece proper which could be considered as out of reach of the sea, while most parts of it were convenient and easy of access: in fact, the Arcadians were the only large section of the Hellenic name, (we may add the Doric, Tetrapolis, and the mountaineers along the chain of Pindus and Tymphrêstus,) who were altogether without a seaport.<sup>1</sup> But Greece proper constituted only a fraction of the entire Hellenic world, during the historical age: there were the numerous islands, and still more numerous continental colonies, all located as independent intruders on distinct points of the coast,<sup>2</sup> in the Euxine, the Ægean, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic; and distant from each other by the space which separates Trebizond from Marseilles. All these various cities were comprised in the name *Hellas*, which implied no geographical continuity: all prided themselves on Hellenic blood, name, religion, and mythical ancestry. As the only communication

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gales and currents round Mount Athos: the canal cut by Xerxes through the isthmus was justified by sound reasons (*Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. iii. c. 24, p. 145).

<sup>1</sup> The *Periplus* of Skylax enumerates every section of the Greek name, with the insignificant exceptions noticed in the text, as partaking of the line of coast; it even mentions Arcadia (c. 45), because at that time Lepreum had shaken off the supremacy of Elis, and was confederated with the Arcadians (about 360 B. C.): Lepreum possessed about twelve miles of coast, which therefore count as Arcadian.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (*De Republicâ*, ii. 2-4, in the *Fragments* of that lost treatise, ed. Maii) notices emphatically both the general maritime accessibility of Grecian towns, and the effects of that circumstance on Grecian character: "*Quod de Corintho dixi, id haud scio an liceat de cunctâ Græciâ verissime dicere. Nam et ipsa Peloponnesus fere tota in mari est: nec præter Phliuntios ulli sunt, quorum agri non contingant mare: et extra Peloponnesum Ænians et Doreæ et Dolopes soli absunt a mari. Quid dicam insulas Græciæ, quæ fluctibus cinctæ natant pæne ipsæ simul cum civitatibus institutis et moribus? Atque hæc quidem, ut supra dixi, veteris sunt Græciæ. Coloniarum vero quæ est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, præter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non alluat? Ita barbarorum agris quasi adtexta quædam videtur ora esse Græciæ.*"

Compare Cicero, *Epistol. ad Attic.* vi. 2, with the reference to Dikæarchus, who agreed to a great extent in Plato's objections against a maritime site (*De Legg.* iv. p. 705; also, *Aristot. Politic.* vii. 5-6). The sea (says Plato) is indeed a salt and bitter neighbor (*μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα*), though convenient for purposes of daily use.

between them was maritime, so the sea, important, even if we look to Greece proper exclusively, was the sole channel for transmitting ideas and improvements, as well as for maintaining sympathies — social, political, religious, and literary — throughout these outlying members of the Hellenic aggregate.

The ancient philosophers and legislators were deeply impressed with the contrast between an inland and a maritime city: in the former, simplicity and uniformity of life, tenacity of ancient habits, and dislike of what is new or foreign, great force of exclusive sympathy, and narrow range both of objects and ideas; in the latter, variety and novelty of sensations, expansive imagination, toleration, and occasional preference for extraneous customs, greater activity of the individual, and corresponding mutability of the state. This distinction stands prominent in the many comparisons instituted between the Athens of Periklēs and the Athens of the earlier times down to Solōn. Both Plato and Aristotle dwell upon it emphatically, — and the former especially, whose genius conceived the comprehensive scheme of prescribing beforehand and insuring in practice the whole course of individual thought and feeling in his imaginary community, treats maritime communication, if pushed beyond the narrowest limits, as fatal to the success and permanence of any wise scheme of education. Certain it is, that a great difference of character existed between those Greeks who mingled much in maritime affairs, and those who did not. The Arcadian may stand as a type of the pure Grecian landsman, with his rustic and illiterate habits,<sup>1</sup> — his diet of sweet chestnuts, barley-cakes, and pork (as contrasted with the fish which formed the chief seasoning for the bread of an Athenian,) — his superior courage and endurance, — his reverence for Lacedæmonian headship as

<sup>1</sup> Hekataeus, *Fragm.* Ἀρκαδικὸν δεῖπνον . . . μύζας καὶ θεία κρέα. Herodot. i. 66. Βαλανήφαγοι ἄνδρες. Theocrit. *Id.* vii. 106. —

Κῆρν μὲν ταῦθ' ἐρῶς, ὦ Πᾶν φίλε, μή τί τοι παῖδες  
Ἀρκαδιοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευρᾷς τε καὶ ὤμων  
Τανίκα μαστίσδοιεν ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη·  
Εἰ δ' ἄλλως νεύσαις κατὰ μὲν χροᾷ πάντ' ὀνύχεσσι  
Δακνόμενος κνάσαιο, etc.

The alteration of *Χῖοι*, which is obviously out of place, in the scholia on this passage, to *ἐνιοι*, appears unquestionable.

an old and customary influence,—his sterility of intellect and imagination, as well as his slackness in enterprise,—his unchangeable rudeness of relations with the gods, which led him to scourge and prick Pan, if he came back empty-handed from the chase; while the inhabitant of Phókæa or Miletus exemplifies the Grecian mariner, eager in search of gain,—active, skilful, and daring at sea, but inferior in steadfast bravery on land,—more excitable in imagination as well as more mutable in character,—full of pomp and expense in religious manifestations towards the Ephesian Artemis or the Apollo of Branchidæ; with a mind more open to the varieties of Grecian energy and to the refining influences of Grecian civilization. The Peloponnesians generally, and the Lacedæmonians in particular, approached to the Arcadian type,—while the Athenians of the fifth century B. C. stood foremost in the other; superadding to it, however, a delicacy of taste, and a predominance of intellectual sympathy and enjoyments, which seem to have been peculiar to themselves.

The configuration of the Grecian territory, so like in many respects to that of Switzerland, produced two effects of great moment upon the character and history of the people. In the first place, it materially strengthened their powers of defence: it shut up the country against those invasions from the interior, which successively subjugated all their continental colonies; and it at the same time rendered each fraction more difficult to be attacked by the rest, so as to exercise a certain conservative influence in assuring the tenure of actual possessors: for the pass of Thermopylæ, between Thessaly and Phokis, that of Kithærôn, between Bœotia and Attica, or the mountainous range of Oneion and Geraneia along the Isthmus of Corinth, were positions which an inferior number of brave men could hold against a much greater force of assailants. But, in the next place, while it tended to protect each section of Greeks from being conquered, it also kept them politically disunited, and perpetuated their separate autonomy. It fostered that powerful principle of repulsion, which disposed even the smallest township to constitute itself a political unit apart from the rest, and to resist all idea of coalescence with others, either amicable or compulsory. To a modern reader, accustomed to large political aggregations, and securities for good



government through the representative system, it requires a certain mental effort to transport himself back to a time when even the smallest town clung so tenaciously to its right of self-legislation. Nevertheless, such was the general habit and feeling of the ancient world, throughout Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul. Among the Hellenes, it stands out more conspicuously, for several reasons,—first, because they seem to have pushed the multiplication of autonomous units to an extreme point, seeing that even islands not larger than Peparêthos and Amorgos had two or three separate city communities;<sup>1</sup> secondly, because they produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, acute systematic thinkers on matters of government, amongst all of whom the idea of the autonomous city was accepted as the indispensable basis of political speculation; thirdly, because this incurable subdivision proved finally the cause of their ruin, in spite of pronounced intellectual superiority over their conquerors: and lastly, because incapacity of political coalescence did not preclude a powerful and extensive sympathy between the inhabitants of all the separate cities, with a constant tendency to fraternize for numerous purposes, social, religious, recreative, intellectual, and æsthetical. For these reasons, the indefinite multiplication of self-governing towns, though in truth a phenomenon common to ancient Europe, as contrasted with the large monarchies of Asia, appears more marked among the ancient Greeks than elsewhere: and there cannot be any doubt that they owe it, in a considerable degree, to the multitude of insulating boundaries which the configuration of their country presented.

Nor is it rash to suppose that the same causes may have tended to promote that unborrowed intellectual development for which they stand so conspicuous. General propositions respecting the working of climate and physical agencies upon character are, indeed, treacherous; for our knowledge of the globe is now sufficient to teach us that heat and cold, mountain and plain, sea and land, moist and dry atmosphere, are all consistent with the greatest diversities of resident men: moreover, the contrast between the population of Greece itself, for the seven centuries preceding the Christian era, and the Greeks of more modern

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<sup>1</sup> Skylax, *Peripl.* 59.

times, is alone enough to inculcate reserve in such speculations. Nevertheless, we may venture to note certain improving influences, connected with their geographical position, at a time when they had no books to study, and no more advanced predecessors to imitate. We may remark, first, that their position made them at once mountaineers and mariners, thus supplying them with great variety of objects, sensations, and adventures; next, that each petty community, nestled apart amidst its own rocks,<sup>1</sup> was sufficiently severed from the rest to possess an individual life and attributes of its own, yet not so far as to subtract it from the sympathies of the remainder; so that an observant Greek, commercing with a great diversity of half countrymen, whose language he understood, and whose idiosyncrasies he could appreciate, had access to a larger mass of social and political experience than any other man in so unadvanced an age could personally obtain. The Phœnician, superior to the Greek on ship-board, traversed wider distances, and saw a greater number of strangers, but had not the same means of intimate communion with a multiplicity of fellows in blood and language. His relations, confined to purchase and sale, did not comprise that mutuality of action and reaction which pervaded the crowd at a Grecian festival. The scene which here presented itself, was a mixture of uniformity and variety highly stimulating to the observant faculties of a man of genius, — who at the same time, if he sought to communicate his own impressions, or to act upon this mingled and diverse audience, was forced to shake off what was peculiar to his own town or community, and to put forth matter in harmony with the feelings of all. It is thus that we may explain, in part, that penetrating apprehension of human life and character, and that power of touching sympathies common to all ages and nations, which surprises us so much in the unlettered authors of the old epic. Such periodical intercommunion of brethren habitually isolated from each other, was the only means then open of procuring for the bard a diversified range of experience and a many-colored audience; and it was to a great degree the result of geographical causes. Perhaps among other nations such facilitating causes might have been

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<sup>1</sup> Cicero, de Orator. i. 44. "Ithacam illam in asperimis saxulis, sicut nidulum, affixam."

found, yet without producing any result comparable to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But Homer was, nevertheless, dependent upon the conditions of his age, and we can at least point out those peculiarities in early Grecian society, without which Homeric excellence would never have existed, — the geographical position is one, the language another.

In mineral and metallic wealth, Greece was not distinguished. Gold was obtained in considerable abundance in the island of Siphnos, which, throughout the sixth century B. C., was among the richest communities of Greece, and possessed a treasure-chamber at Delphi, distinguished for the richness of its votive offerings. At that time, gold was so rare in Greece, that the Lacedæmonians were obliged to send to the Lydian Cræsus, in order to provide enough of it for the gilding of a statue.<sup>1</sup> It appears to have been more abundant in Asia Minor, and the quantity of it in Greece was much multiplied by the opening of mines in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and even some parts of Thessaly. In the island of Thasos, too, some mines were reopened with profitable result, which had been originally begun, and subsequently abandoned, by Phœnician settlers of an earlier century. From these same districts, also, was procured a considerable amount of silver; while, about the beginning of the fifth century B. C., the first effective commencement seems to have been made of turning to account the rich southern district of Attica, called Laureion. Copper was obtained in various parts of Greece, especially in Cyprus and Eubœa, — in which latter island was also found the earth called Cadmia, employed for the purification of the ore. Bronze was used among the Greeks for many purposes in which iron is now employed: and even the arms of the Homeric heroes (different in this respect from the later historical Greeks) are composed of copper, tempered in such a way as to impart to it an astonishing hardness. Iron was found in Eubœa, Boëôtia, and Melos, — but still more abundantly in the moun-

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 52; iii. 57; vi. 46–125. Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, b. i. ch. 3.

The gold and silver offerings sent to the Delphian temple, even from the Homeric times (Il. ix. 405) downwards, were numerous and valuable; especially those dedicated by Cræsus, who (Herodot. i. 17–52) seems to have surpassed all predecessors.

tainous region of the Laconian Taygetus. There is, however, no part of Greece where the remains of ancient metallurgy appear now so conspicuous, as the island of Seriphos. The excellence and varieties of marble, from Pentelikus, Hymettus, Paros, Karystus, etc., and other parts of the country, — so essential for the purposes of sculpture and architecture, — is well known.<sup>1</sup>

Situated under the same parallels of latitude as the coast of Asia Minor, and the southernmost regions of Italy and Spain, Greece produced wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil, in the earliest times of which we have any knowledge;<sup>2</sup> though the currants, Indian corn, silk, and tobacco, which the country now exhibits, are an addition of more recent times. Theophrastus and other authors, amply attest the observant and industrious agriculture prevalent among the ancient Greeks, as well as the care with which its various natural productions, comprehending a great diversity of plants, herbs, and trees, were turned to account. The cultivation of the vine and the olive, — the latter indispensable to ancient life, not merely for the purposes which it serves at present, but also from the constant habit then prevalent of anointing the body, — appears to have been particularly elaborate; and the many different accidents of soil, level, and exposure, which were to be found, not only in Hellas proper, but also among the scattered Greek settlements, afforded to observant planters materials for study and comparison. The barley-cake seems to have been more generally eaten than the wheaten loaf;<sup>3</sup> but one or

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, x. p. 447; xiv. pp. 680–684. Stephan. Byz. v. *Αἰθῆρος, Λακεδαιμόνιον*. Kruse, *Hellas*, ch. iv. vol. i. p. 328. Fiedler, *Reisen in Griechenland*, vol. ii. pp. 118–559.

<sup>2</sup> *Note to second edition.* — In my first edition, I had asserted that cotton grew in Greece in the time of Pausanias, — following, though with some doubt, the judgment of some critics, that *βυσσός* meant cotton. I now believe that this was a mistake, and have expunged the passage.

<sup>3</sup> At the repast provided at the public cost for those who dined in the Prytaneum of Athens, Solon directed barley-cakes for ordinary days, wheaten bread for festivals (Athenæus, iv. p. 137).

The milk of ewes and goats was in ancient Greece preferred to that of cows (Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* iii. 15, 5–7); at present, also, cow's-milk and butter is considered unwholesome in Greece, and is seldom or never eaten (Kruse, *Hellas*, vol. i. ch. 4, p. 368).

other of them, together with vegetables and fish, (sometimes fresh, but more frequently salt,) was the common food of the population; the Arcadians fed much upon pork, and the Spartans also consumed animal food; but by the Greeks, generally, fresh meat seems to have been little eaten, except at festivals and sacrifices. The Athenians, the most commercial people in Greece proper, though their light, dry, and comparatively poor soil produced excellent barley, nevertheless, did not grow enough corn for their own consumption: they imported considerable supplies of corn from Sicily, from the coast of the Euxine, and the Tauric Chersonese, and salt-fish both from the Propontis and even from Gades:<sup>1</sup> the distance from whence these supplies came, when we take into consideration the extent of fine corn-land in Bœotia and Thessaly, proves how little internal trade existed between the various regions of Greece proper. The exports of Athens consisted in her figs and other fruit, olives, oil, — for all of which she was distinguished, — together with pottery, ornamental manufactures, and the silver from her mines at Laureion. Salt-fish, doubtless, found its way more or less throughout all Greece;<sup>2</sup> but the population of other states in Greece lived more exclusively upon their own produce than the Athenians, with less of purchase and sale,<sup>3</sup> — a mode of life assisted by the simple domestic econ-

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<sup>1</sup> Theophrast. Caus. Pl. ix. 2; Demosthen. adv. Leptin. c. 9. That salt-fish from the Propontis and from Gades was sold in the markets of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, appears from a fragment of the Marikas of Eupolis (Fr. 23, ed. Meineke; Stephan. Byz. v. Γάδειρα): —

Πότερ' ἦν τὸ τάριχος, Φρύγιον ἢ Γαδειρικόν;

The Phœnician merchants who brought the salt-fish from Gades took back with them Attic pottery for sale among the African tribes of the coast of Morocco (Skylax, Periplus. c. 109).

<sup>2</sup> Simonidēs, Fragm. 109, Gaisford. —

Πρόσθε μὲν ἄμφ' ὁμοισιν ἔχων τρηχεῖαν ὑσίλλαν  
'Ιχθύς ἐξ Ἀργους εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφερον, etc.

The *Odyssey* mentions certain inland people, who knew nothing either of the sea, or of ships, or the taste of salt: Pausanias looks for them in Epirus (*Odys.* xi. 121; *Pausan.* i. 12, 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Αὐτουργοί τε γὰρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι* (says Perikles, in his speech to the Athenians, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, *Thucyd.* i. 141) *καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς*, etc., — *ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι*, etc. (*ib.* c. 142.)

omy universally prevalent, in which the women not only carded and spun all the wool, but also wove out of it the clothing and bedding employed in the family. Weaving was then considered as much a woman's business as spinning, and the same feeling and habits still prevail to the present day in modern Greece, where the loom is constantly seen in the peasants' cottages, and always worked by women.<sup>1</sup>

The climate of Greece appears to be generally described by modern travellers in more favorable terms than it was by the ancients, which is easily explicable from the classical interest, picturesque beauties, and transparent atmosphere, so vividly appreciated by an English or a German eye. Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> Hippocrates, and Aristotle, treat the climate of Asia as far more genial and favorable both to animal and vegetable life, but at the same time more enervating than that of Greece: the latter, they speak of chiefly in reference to its changeful character and diversities of local temperature, which they consider as highly stimulant to the energies of the inhabitants. There is reason to conclude that ancient Greece was much more healthy than the same territory is at present, inasmuch as it was more industriously cultivated, and the towns both more carefully administered and better supplied with water. But the differences in respect of healthiness, between one portion of Greece and another, appear always to have been considerable, and this, as well as the diversities of climate, affected the local habits and character of the particular sections. Not merely were there great differences between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains,<sup>3</sup>—between Lokrians, Ætolians, Phokians, Dorians, Ceteans, and Arcadians, on one hand, and the inhabitants of Attica, Bœotia, and Elis, on

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<sup>1</sup> In Egypt, the men sat at home and wove, while the women did out-door business: both the one and the other excite the surprise of Herodotus and Sophoklēs (Herod. ii. 35; Soph. CEd. Col. 340).

For the spinning and weaving of the modern Greek peasant women, see Leake, Trav. Morea, vol. i. pp. 13, 18, 223, etc.; Strong, Stat. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 142; Hippocrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. c. 12-13; Aristot. Polit. vii. 6, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The mountaineers of Ætolia are, at this time, unable to come down into the marshy plain of Wrachōri, without being taken ill after a few days (Fiedler, Reise in Griech. i. p. 184).

the other, — but each of the various tribes which went to compose these categories, had its peculiarities; and the marked contrast between Athenians and Boeotians was supposed to be represented by the light and heavy atmosphere which they respectively breathed. Nor was this all: for, even among the Boeotian aggregate, every town had its own separate attributes, physical as well as moral and political:¹ Orôpus, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Thebes, Anthêdôn, Haliartus, Korôneia, Onchêstus, and Platæa, were known to Boeotians each by its own characteristic epithet: and Dikæarchus even notices a marked distinction between the inhabitants of the city of Athens and those in the country of Attica. Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Sikyôn, though all called Doric, had each its own dialect and peculiarities. All these differences, depending in part upon climate, site, and other physical considerations, contributed to nourish antipathies, and to perpetuate that imperfect cohesion, which has already been noticed as an indelible feature in Hellas.

The Epirotic tribes, neighbors of the Ætolians and Akarnanians, filled the space between Pindus and the Ionian sea until they joined to the northward the territory inhabited by the powerful and barbarous Illyrians. Of these Illyrians, the native Macedonian tribes appear to have been an outlying section, dwelling northward of Thessaly and Mount Olympus, eastward of the chain by which Pindus is continued, and westward of the river Axius. The Epirots were comprehended under the various denominations of Chaonians, Molossians, Thesprotians, Kassopæans, Amphilochians, Athamānes, the Æthikes, Tymphæi, Orestæ, Paroræi, and Atintānes,² — most of the latter being small communities dispersed about the mountainous region of

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¹ Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 145, ed. Fuhr — Βίος Ἑλλάδος. Ἱστοροῦσι δ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντα ἴδια ἀκληρήματα λέγοντες ταῦτα — Τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὠρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ φθόρον ἐν Τανάγρα, τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐν Θεσπιάις, τὴν ὕβριν ἐν Θήβαις, τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν Ἀνθήδονι, τὴν περιεργίαν ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν Πλαταίαις τὴν ἄλαζόνοιαν, τὸν πυρετὸν ἐν Οἰχῆστῳ, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ.

About the distinction between Ἀθηναῖοι and Ἀττικοί, see the same work, p. 141.

² Strabo, vii. pp. 322, 324, 326, Thucyd. ii. 68. Theopompus (ap. Strab. l. c.) reckoned 14 Epirotic ἔθνη.

Pindus. There was, however, much confusion in the application of the comprehensive name *Epirot*, which was a title given altogether by the Greeks, and given purely upon geographical, not upon ethnical considerations. Epirus seems at first to have stood opposed to Peloponnesus, and to have signified the general region northward of the gulf of Corinth; and in this primitive sense it comprehended the *Ætolians* and *Akarnanians*, portions of whom spoke a dialect difficult to understand, and were not less widely removed than the Epirots from Hellenic habits.<sup>1</sup> The oracle of Dodona forms the point of ancient union between Greeks and Epirots, which was superseded by Delphi, as the civilization of Hellas developed itself. Nor is it less difficult to distinguish Epirots from Macedonians on the one hand, than from Hellenes on the other; the language, the dress, and the fashion of wearing the hair being often analogous, while the boundaries, amidst rude men and untravelled tracts, were very inaccurately understood.<sup>2</sup>

In describing the limits occupied by the Hellens in 776 B. C., we cannot yet take account of the important colonies of *Leukas* and *Ambrakia*, established by the *Corinthians* subsequently on the western coast of Epirus. The Greeks of that early time seem to comprise the islands of *Kephallenia*, *Zakynthus*, *Ithaka*, and *Dulichium*, but no settlement, either inland or insular, farther northward.

They include farther, confining ourselves to 776 B. C., the great mass of islands between the coast of Greece and that of Asia Minor, from *Tenedos* on the north, to *Rhodes*, *Krete*, and *Kythêra* southward; and the great islands of *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, and *Eubœa*, as well as the groups called the *Sporades* and the *Cyclades*. Respecting the four considerable islands nearer to the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, — *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Samothrace*, and *Thasos*, — it may be doubted whether they

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 146, ii. 56, vi. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, vii. p. 327.

Several of the Epirotic tribes were *δίγλωσσοι*, — spoke Greek in addition to their native tongue.

See, on all the inhabitants of these regions, the excellent dissertation of O. Müller above quoted, *Ueber die Makedoner*; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his *History of the Dorians*.



were at that time Hellenized. The Catalogue of the *Iliad* includes, under Agamemnôn, contingents from Ægina, Eubœa, Krete, Karpathus, Kasus, Kôs, and Rhodes: in the oldest epical testimony which we possess, these islands thus appear inhabited by Greeks; but the others do not occur in the Catalogue, and are never mentioned in such manner as to enable us to draw any inference. Eubœa ought, perhaps, rather to be looked upon as a portion of Grecian mainland (from which it was only separated by a strait narrow enough to be bridged over) than as an island. But the last five islands named in the Catalogue are all either wholly or partially Doric: no Ionic or Æolic island appears in it: these latter, though it was among them that the poet-sung, appear to be represented by their ancestral heroes, who came from Greece proper.

The last element to be included, as going to make up the Greece of 776 B. C., is the long string of Doric, Ionic, and Æolic settlements on the coast of Asia Minor,—occupying a space bounded on the north by the Troad and the region of Ida, and extending southward as far as the peninsula of Knidus. Twelve continental cities, over and above the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, are reckoned by Herodotus as ancient Æolic foundations,—Smyrna, Kymê, Larissa, Neon-Teichos, Têmnos, Killa, Notium, Ægircœssa, Pitana, Ægæ, Myrina, and Gryneia. Smyrna, having been at first Æolic, was afterwards acquired through a stratagem by Ionic inhabitants, and remained permanently Ionic. Phokœa, the northernmost of the Ionic settlements, bordered upon Æolis: Klazomenæ, Erythræ, Teôs, Lebedos, Kolophôn, Priênê, Myus, and Milêtus, continued the Ionic name to the southward. These, together with Samos and Chios, formed the Panionic federation.<sup>1</sup> To the south of Milêtus, after a considerable interval, lay the Doric establishments of Myndus, Halikarnassus, and Knidus: the two latter, together with the island of Kôs and the three townships in Rhodes, constituted the Doric Hexapolis, or communion of six cities, concerted primarily with a view to religious purposes, but producing a secondary effect analogous to political federation.

Such, then, is the extent of Hellas, as it stood at the com-

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 143-150.

mencement of the recorded Olympiads. To draw a picture even for this date, we possess no authentic materials, and are obliged to ante-date statements which belong to a later age: and this consideration might alone suffice to show how uncertified are all delineations of the Greece of 1183 B. C., the supposed epoch of the Trojan war, four centuries earlier.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HELLENIC PEOPLE GENERALLY, IN THE EARLY HISTORICAL TIMES.

THE territory indicated in the last chapter — south of Mount Olympus, and south of the line which connects the city of Ambrakia with Mount Pindus, — was occupied during the historical period by the central stock of the Hellens, or Greeks, from which their numerous outlying colonies were planted out.

Both metropolitans and colonists styled themselves Hellens, and were recognized as such by each other; all glorying in the name as the prominent symbol of fraternity; — all describing non-Hellenic men, or cities, by a word which involved associations of repugnance. Our term *barbarian*, borrowed from this latter word, does not express the same idea; for the Greeks spoke thus indiscriminately of the extra-Hellenic world, with all its inhabitants;<sup>1</sup> whatever might be the gentleness of their character, and whatever might be their degree of civilization. The rulers and people of Egyptian Thebes, with their ancient and gigantic monuments, the wealthy Tyrians and Carthaginians, the phil-Hellene Arganthonius of Tartêssus, and the well-disciplined patricians of Rome (to the indignation of old Cato,<sup>2</sup>) were all

<sup>1</sup> See the protest of Eratosthenês against the continuance of the classification into Greek and Barbarian, after the latter word had come to imply rudeness (ap Strabo. ii. p. 66; Eratosth. Fragm. Seidel. p. 85).

<sup>2</sup> Cato, Fragment. ed. Lion. p. 46; ap. Plin. H. N. xxii. 1. A remarkable extract from Cato's letter to his son, intimating his strong antipathy to the

comprised in it. At first, it seemed to have expressed more of repugnance than of contempt, and repugnance especially towards the sound of a foreign language.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, a feeling of their own superior intelligence (in part well justified) arose among the Greeks, and their term *barbarian* was used so as to imply a low state of the temper and intelligence; in which sense it was retained by the semi-Hellenized Romans, as the proper antithesis to their state of civilization. The want of a suitable word, corresponding to *barbarian*, as the Greeks originally used it, is so inconvenient in the description of Grecian phenomena and sentiments, that I may be obliged occasionally to use the word in its primitive sense.

The Hellenes were all of common blood and parentage, — were all descendants of the common patriarch Hellen. In treating of the historical Greeks, we have to accept this as a datum: it represents the sentiment under the influence of which they moved and acted. It is placed by Herodotus in the front rank, as the chief of those four ties which bound together the Hellenic aggregate: 1. Fellowship of blood; 2. Fellowship of language; 3. Fixed domiciles of gods, and sacrifices, common to all; 4. Like manners and dispositions.

*These* (say the Athenians, in their reply to the Spartan envoys, in the very crisis of the Persian invasion) “Athens will never disgrace herself by betraying.” And Zeus Hellenius was recog-

Greeks; he proscribes their medicine altogether, and admits only a slight taste of their literature: “Quod bonum sit eorum literas inspicere, non perdiscere. . . . Jurarunt inter se, Barbaros necare omnes medicinâ, sed hoc ipsum mercede faciunt, ut fides iis sit et facile disperdant. Nos quoque dictitant Barbaros et spurios, nosque magis quam alios, Opicos appellatione fœdant.”

<sup>1</sup> Καρὼν ἠγάσαστο βαρβαροφόνων, Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 867. Homer does not use the word *βάρβαροι*, or any words signifying either a Hellen generally or a non-Hellen generally (Thucyd. i. 3). Compare Strabo, viii. p. 370; and xiv. p. 662.

Ovid reproduces the primitive sense of the word *βάρβαρος*, when he speaks of himself as an exile at Tomi (Trist. v. 10–37): —

“Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli.”

The Egyptians had a word in their language, the exact equivalent of *βάρβαρος* in this sense (Herod. ii. 158).

nized as the god watching over and enforcing the fraternity thus constituted.<sup>1</sup>

Hekataeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides,<sup>2</sup> all believed that there had been an ante-Hellenic period, when different languages, mutually unintelligible, were spoken between Mount Olympus and Cape Malea. However this may be, during the historical times the Greek language was universal throughout these limits, — branching out, however, into a great variety of dialects, which were roughly classified by later literary men into Ionic, Doric, Æolic, and Attic. But the classification presents a semblance of regularity, which in point of fact does not seem to have been realized; each town, each smaller subdivision of the Hellenic name, having peculiarities of dialect belonging to itself. Now the lettered men who framed the quadruple division took notice chiefly, if not exclusively, of the written dialects, — those which had been ennobled by poets or other authors; the mere spoken idioms were for the most part neglected.<sup>3</sup> That there was no such thing as one Ionic dialect in the speech of the people called Ionic Greek, we know from the indisputable testimony of Herodotus,<sup>4</sup> who tells us that there were four capital varieties of speech among the twelve Asiatic towns especially known as Ionic. Of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. viii. 144. . . τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν δμαιοῖν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἥθεα τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. (Ib. x. 7.) Ἡμεῖς δε, Δία τε Ἑλλήνων αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιούμενοι προδοῦναι, etc.

Compare Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 147, ed. Fuhr; and Thucyd. iii. 59, — τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα. . . . θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· also, the provision about the κοινὰ ἐπὶ in the treaty between Sparta and Athens (Thuc. v. 18; Strabo, ix. p. 419).

It was a part of the proclamation solemnly made by the Eumolpidae, prior to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, "All non-Hellens to keep away," — *εἰργεσθαι τῶν ἑρῶν* (Isocrates, Orat. iv. Panegy. p. 74).

<sup>2</sup> Hekataë. Fragm. 356, ed. Klausen: compare Strabo, vii. p. 321; Herod. i. 57; Thucyd. i. 3, — κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων συνίεσαν, etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Antiqui grammatici eas tantum dialectos spectabant, quibus scriptores uti essent: ceteras, quæ non vigeant nisi in ore populi, non notabant." (Ahrens, De Dialecto Æolica, p. 2.) The same has been the case, to a great degree, even in the linguistic researches of modern times, though printing now affords such increased facility for the registration of popular dialects.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. i. 142.

course, the varieties would have been much more numerous if he had given us the impressions of his ear in Eubœa, the Cyclades, Massalia, Rhegium, and Olbia, — all numbered as Greeks and as Ionians. The Ionic dialect of the grammarians was an extract from Homer, Hekataeus, Herodotus, Hippocrates, etc.; to what living speech it made the nearest approach, amidst those divergences which the historian has made known to us, we cannot tell. Sapphō and Alkæus in Lesbos, Myrtis and Korinna in Bœotia, were the great sources of reference for the Lesbian and Bœotian varieties of the Æolic dialect, — of which there was a third variety, untouched by the poets, in Thessaly.<sup>1</sup> The analogy between the different manifestations of Doric and Æolic, as well as that between the Doric generally and the Æolic generally, contrasted with the Attic, is only to be taken as rough and approximative.

But all these different dialects are nothing more than dialects, distinguished as modifications of one and the same language, and exhibiting evidence of certain laws and principles pervading them all. They seem capable of being traced back to a certain ideal mother-language, peculiar in itself and distinguishable from, though cognate with, the Latin; a substantive member of what has been called the Indo-European family of languages. This truth has been brought out, in recent times, by the comparative examination applied to the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, German, and Lithuanian languages, as well as by the more accurate analysis of the Greek language itself to which such studies have given rise, in a manner much more clear than could have been imagined by the ancients themselves.<sup>2</sup> It is needless to dwell upon the importance of this uniformity of language in holding together the race, and in rendering the genius of its most favored members available to the civilization of all. Except in the rarest cases, the divergences of dialect were not such as to prevent

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the three varieties of the Æolic dialect, differing considerably from each other, see the valuable work of Ahrens, *De Dial. Æol.* sect. 2, 32, 50.

<sup>2</sup> The work of Albert Giese, *Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt* (unhappily not finished, on account of the early death of the author,) presents an ingenious specimen of such analysis.

every Greek from understanding, and being understood by, every other Greek, — a fact remarkable, when we consider how many of their outlying colonists, not having taken out women in their emigration, intermarried with non-Hellenic wives. And the perfection and popularity of their early epic poems, was here of inestimable value for the diffusion of a common type of language, and for thus keeping together the sympathies of the Hellenic world.<sup>1</sup> The Homeric dialect became the standard followed by all Greek poets for the hexameter, as may be seen particularly from the example of Hesiod, — who adheres to it in the main, though his father was a native of the Æolic Kymê, and he himself resident at Askra, in the Æolic Bœotia, — and the early iambic and elegiac compositions are framed on the same model. Intellectual Greeks in all cities, even the most distant outcasts from the central hearth, became early accustomed to one type of literary speech, and possessors of a common stock of legends, maxims, and metaphors.

That community of religious sentiments, localities, and sacrifices, which, Herodotus names as the third bond of union among the Greeks, was a phenomenon, not (like the race and the language) interwoven with their primitive constitution, but of gradual growth. In the time of Herodotus, and even a century earlier, it was at its full maturity: but there had been a period when no religious meetings common to the whole Hellenic body existed. What are called the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games, (the four most conspicuous amidst many others analogous,) were, in reality, great religious festivals, — for the gods then gave their special sanction, name, and presence, to recreative meetings, — the closest association then prevailed between the feelings of common worship and the sympathy in common amusement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting remarks of Dio Chrysostom on the attachment of the inhabitants of Olbia (or Borysthenes) to the Homeric poems: most of them, he says, could repeat the *Iliad* by heart, though their dialect was partially barbarized, and the city in a sad state of ruin (Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xxxvi. p. 78, Reisk).

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Legg.* ii. 1, p. 653; *Kratylus*, p. 406; and *Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetoric.* c. 1-2, p. 226, — Θεὸς μὲν γὰρ παντὶ πάσης ἡστίνοσούν πανηγύρεως ἡγέμων καὶ ἐπώνυμος· οὐκ Ὀλυμπίων μὲν, Ὀλύμπιος Ζεὺς· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πύθῳ, Ἀπολλών.

Though this association is now no longer recognized, it is, nevertheless, essential that we should keep it fully before us, if we desire to understand the life and proceedings of the Greeks. To Herodotus and his contemporaries, these great festivals, then frequented by crowds from every part of Greece, were of overwhelming importance and interest; yet they had once been purely local, attracting no visitors except from a very narrow neighborhood. In the Homeric poems, much is said about the common gods, and about special places consecrated to and occupied by several of them: the chiefs celebrate funeral games in honor of a deceased father, which are visited by competitors from different parts of Greece, but nothing appears to manifest public or town festivals open to Grecian visitors generally.<sup>1</sup> And, though the rocky Pytho, with its temple, stands out in the Iliad as a place both venerated and rich, — the Pythian games, under the superintendence of the Amphiktyons, with continuous enrolment of victors, and a Pan-Hellenic reputation, do not begin until after the Sacred War, in the 48th Olympiad, or 586 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

The Olympic games, more conspicuous than the Pythian, as well as considerably older, are also remarkable on another ground,

Apollo, the Muses, and Dionysus are *ἐννεοπραταὶ καὶ ἐνυχοπευραὶ* (Homer, Hymn to Apoll. 146). The same view of the sacred games is given by Livy, in reference to the Romans and the Volsci (ii. 36–37): “Se, ut conacceleratos contaminatosque, ab ludis, festis diebus, costu quodammodo hominum Deorumque, abactos esse. . . . ideo nos ab sede piorum, costu, concilioque abigi.” It is curious to contrast this with the dislike and repugnance of Tertullian: “Idololatria omnium ludorum mater est, — quod enim spectaculum sine idolo, quis ludus sine sacrificio?” (De Spectaculis, p. 369.)

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xxiii. 630–679. The games celebrated by Akastus, in honor of Pelias, were famed in the old epic (Pausan. v. 17, 4; Apollodôr. i. 9, 28).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 421; Pausan. x. 7, 3. The first Pythian games celebrated by the Amphiktyons, after the Sacred War, carried with them a substantial reward to the victor (an *ἀγὼν χρηματίτης*); but in the next, or second Pythian games, nothing was given but an honorary reward, or wreath of laurel leaves (*ἀγὼν στεφανίτης*): the first coincide with Olympiad 48, 3; the second with Olympiad 49, 3.

Compare Schol. ad Pindar. Pyth. Argument: Pausan. x. 37, 4–5; Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 3, 4, 5.

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo, is composed at a time earlier than the Sacred War, when Krissa is flourishing; earlier than the Pythian games, as celebrated by the Amphiktyons.

inasmuch as they supplied historical computers with the oldest backward record of continuous time. It was in the year 776 B. C., that the Eleians inscribed the name of their countryman, Korcebus, as victor in the competition of runners, and that they began the practice of inscribing in like manner, in each Olympic, or fifth recurring year, the name of the runner who won the prize. Even for a long time after this, however, the Olympic games seem to have remained a local festival; the prize being uniformly carried off, at the first twelve Olympiads, by some competitor either of Elis or its immediate neighborhood. The Nemean and Isthmian games did not become notorious or frequented until later even than the Pythian. Solôn,<sup>1</sup> in his legislation, proclaimed the large reward of five hundred drachms for every Athenian who gained an Olympic prize, and the lower sum of one hundred drachms for an Isthmian prize. He counts the former, as Pan-Hellenic rank and renown, an ornament even to the city of which the victor was a member, — the latter, as partial, and confined to the neighborhood.

Of the beginnings of these great solemnities, we cannot presume to speak, except in mythical language: we know them only

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Solôn, 23. The Isthmian Agon was to a certain extent a festival of old Athenian origin; for among the many legends respecting its first institution, one of the most notorious represented it as having been founded by Theseus after his victory over Sinis at the Isthmus (see Schol. ad Pindar. Isth. Argument.; Pausan. ii. 1, 4), or over Skeirôn (Plutarch, Theseus, c. 25). Plutarch says that they were first established by Theseus as funeral games for Skeirôn, and Pliny gives the same story (H. N. vii. 57). According to Hellanikus, the Athenian Theôrs at the Isthmian games had a privileged place, (Plutarch, l. c.).

There is, therefore, good reason why Solôn should single out the Isthmionikæ as persons to be specially rewarded, not mentioning the Pythionikæ and Nemeenikæ, — the Nemean and Pythian games not having then acquired Hellenic importance. Diogenes Laërt. (i. 55) says that Solôn provided rewards, not only for victories at the Olympic and Isthmian, but also *ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων*, which Krause (Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien, sect. 3, p. 13) supposes to be the truth: I think, very improbably. The sharp invective of Timokreon against Themistocles, charging him among other things with providing nothing but cold meat at the Isthmian games (*Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανόκευε γελόως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων*, Plutarch. Themistoc. c. 21), seems to imply that the Athenian visitors, whom the Theôrs were called upon to take care of at those games, were numerous.



in their comparative maturity. But the habit of common sacrifice, on a small scale, and between near neighbors, is a part of the earliest habits of Greece. The sentiment of fraternity, between two tribes or villages, first manifested itself by sending a sacred legation, or *Theôria*,<sup>1</sup> to offer sacrifice at each other's festivals, and to partake in the recreations which followed; thus establishing a truce with solemn guarantee, and bringing themselves into direct connection each with the god of the other under his appropriate local surname. The pacific communion so fostered, and the increased assurance of intercourse, as Greece gradually emerged from the turbulence and pugnacity of the heroic age, operated especially in extending the range of this ancient habit: the village festivals became town festivals, largely frequented by the citizens of other towns, and sometimes with special invitations sent round to attract *Theôrs* from every Hellenic community, — and thus these once humble assemblages gradually swelled into the pomp and immense confluence of the Olympic and Pythian games. The city administering such holy ceremonies enjoyed inviolability of territory during the month of their occurrence, being itself under obligation at that time to refrain from all aggression, as well as to notify by heralds<sup>2</sup> the commencement of the truce to all other cities not in avowed hostility with it. Elis imposed heavy fines upon other towns — even on the powerful Lacedæmon — for violation of the Olympic truce, on pain of exclusion from the festival in case of non-payment.

Sometimes this tendency to religious fraternity took a form called an *Amphiktyony*, different from the common festival. A

<sup>1</sup> In many Grecian states (as at Ægina, Mantinea, Trœzen, Thasos, etc.) these *Theôrs* formed a permanent college, and seem to have been invested with extensive functions in reference to religious ceremonies: at Athens, they were chosen for the special occasion (see Thucyd. v. 47; Aristotel. Polit. v. 8, 3; O. Müller, *Æginetica*, p. 135; Demosthen. de Fals. Leg. p. 380).

<sup>2</sup> About the sacred truce, Olympian, Isthmian, etc., formally announced by two heralds crowned with garlands sent from the administering city, and with respect to which many tricks were played, see Thucyd. v. 49; Xenophon, *Hellen.* iv. 7, 1-7; Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 23; Pindar, *Isthm.* ii. 35, — *σπονδοφόροι — κάρυκες ὡρᾶν* — Thucyd. viii. 9-10, is also peculiarly instructive in regard to the practice and the feeling.

certain number of towns entered into an exclusive religious partnership for the celebration of sacrifices periodically to the god of a particular temple, which was supposed to be the common property, and under the common protection of all, though one of the number was often named as permanent administrator; while all other Greeks were excluded. That there were many religious partnerships of this sort, which have never acquired a place in history, among the early Grecian villages, we may, perhaps, gather from the etymology of the word, (*Amphiktyons*<sup>1</sup> designates residents around, or neighbors, considered in the point of view of fellow-religionists,) as well as from the indications preserved to us in reference to various parts of the country. Thus there was an *Amphiktyony*<sup>2</sup> of seven cities at the holy island of Kalauria, close to the harbor of Trœzên. Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasîæ, Nauplia, and Orchomenus, jointly maintained the temple and sanctuary of Poseidôn in that island, (with which it would seem that the city of Trœzên, though close at hand, had no connection,) meeting there at stated periods, to offer formal sacrifices. These seven cities, indeed, were not immediate neighbors, but the speciality and exclusiveness of their interest in the temple is seen from the fact, that when the Argeians took Nauplia, they adopted and fulfilled these religious obligations on behalf of the prior inhabitants: so, also, did the Lacedæmonians, when they had captured Prasîæ. Again, in Triphylia,<sup>3</sup> situated between the Pisatid and Messenia, in the western part of Peloponnesus, there was a similar religious meeting and partnership of the Triphylians on Cape Samikon, at the temple of the Samian Poseidôn. Here, the inhabitants of Makiston were intrusted with the details of superintendence, as well as with the duty of notifying beforehand the exact time of meeting, (a precaution essential amidst the diversities and irregularities of the Greek calendar,) and also of proclaiming what was called the Samian truce,—a temporary abstinence from hostilities, which bound all Triphylians during the holy period. This latter custom discloses the salutary influence of such institutions in presenting to men's minds a common object

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Isthm.* iii. 26 (iv. 14); *Nem.* vi. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 343; Pausan. v. 6, 1.

of reverence, common duties, and common enjoyments; thus generating sympathies and feelings of mutual obligation amidst petty communities not less fierce than suspicious.<sup>1</sup> So, too, the twelve chief Ionic cities in and near Asia Minor, had their Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony peculiar to themselves: the six Doric cities, in and near the southern corner of that peninsula, combined for the like purpose at the temple of the Triopian Apollo; and the feeling of special partnership is here particularly illustrated by the fact, that Halikarnassus, one of the six, was formally extruded by the remaining five, in consequence of a violation of the rules.<sup>2</sup> There was also an Amphiktyonic union at Onchêstus in Bœotia, in the venerated grove and temple of Poseidôn:<sup>3</sup> of whom it consisted, we are not informed. These are some specimens of the sort of special religious conventions and assemblies which seem to have been frequent throughout Greece. Nor ought we to omit those religious meetings and sacrifices which were common to all the members of one Hellenic subdivision, such as the Pam-Bœotia to all the Bœotians, celebrated at the temple of the Itonian Athênê near Korôneia,<sup>4</sup>—the common observances, rendered to the temple of Apollo Pythæus at Argos, by all those neighboring towns which had once been attached by this religious

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<sup>1</sup> At Iolkos, on the north coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ, and at the borders of the Magnètes, Thessalians, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, was celebrated a periodical religious festival, or panegyris, the title of which we are prevented from making out by the imperfection of Strabo's text (Strabo, ix. 436). It stands in the text as printed in Tzschucke's edition, *Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν Πυλαϊκὴν πανήγυριν, συνετέλουν*. The mention of *Πυλαϊκὴ πανήγυρις*, which conducts us only to the Amphiktyonic convocations of Thermopylæ and Delphi is here unsuitable; and the best or Parisian MS. of Strabo presents a gap (one among the many which embarrass the ninth book) in the place of the word *Πυλαϊκὴν*. Dutneil conjectures *τὴν Πελοποννησιακὴν πανήγυριν*, deriving the name from the celebrated funeral games of the old epic celebrated by Akastus in honor of his father Pelias. Grosskurd (in his note on the passage) approves the conjecture, but it seems to me not probable that a Grecian panegyris would be named after Pelias. *Πηλῳικήν*, in reference to the neighboring mountain and town of Pelion, might perhaps be less objectionable (see Dikæarch. Fragm. pp. 407-409, ed. Fuhr.), but we cannot determine with certainty.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i.; Dionys. Hal. iv. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 412; Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 411.

thread to the Argicians,—the similar periodical ceremonies, frequented by all who bore the Achæan or Ætolian name,—and the splendid and exhilarating festivals, so favorable to the diffusion of the early Grecian poetry, which brought all Ionians at stated intervals to the sacred island of Delos.<sup>1</sup> This latter class of festivals agreed with the Amphiktyony, in being of a special and exclusive character, not open to all Greeks.

But there was one amongst these many Amphiktyonies, which, though starting from the smallest beginnings, gradually expanded into so comprehensive a character, and acquired so marked a predominance over the rest, as to be called The Amphiktyonic Assembly, and even to have been mistaken by some authors for a sort of federal Hellenic Diet. Twelve sub-races, out of the number which made up entire Hellas, belonged to this ancient Amphiktyony, the meetings of which were held twice in every year: in spring, at the temple of Apollo at Delphi; in autumn, at Thermopylæ, in the sacred precinct of Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis. Sacred deputies, including a chief called the Hieromnêmôn, and subordinates called the Pylagoræ, attended at these meetings from each of the twelve races: a crowd of volunteers seem to have accompanied them, for purposes of sacrifice, trade, or enjoyment. Their special, and most important function, consisted in watching over the Delphian temple, in which all the twelve sub-races had a joint interest; and it was the immense wealth and national ascendancy of this temple, which enhanced to so great a pitch the dignity of its acknowledged administrators.

The twelve constituent members were as follows: Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Lokrians, Ceteans, Achæans, Phokians, Dolopes, and Malians.<sup>2</sup> All are

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 104; v. 55. Pausan. vii. 7, 1; 24, 3. Polyb. v. 8; ii. 54. Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 146.

According to what seems to have been the ancient and sacred tradition, the whole of the month Karneius was a time of peace among the Dorians; though this was often neglected in practice at the time of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. v. 54). But it may be doubted whether there was any festival of Karneia common to all the Dorians: the Karneia at Sparta seems to have been a Lacedæmonian festival.

<sup>2</sup> The list of the Amphiktyonic constituency is differently given by *Æ-*

counted as *racés*, (if we treat the Hellenes as a race, we must call these *sub-racés*,) no mention being made of cities:<sup>1</sup> all count equally in respect to voting, two votes being given by the deputies from each of the twelve: moreover, we are told that, in determining the deputies to be sent, or the manner in which the votes of each race should be given, the powerful Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had no more influence than the humblest Ionian, Dorian, or Bœotian city. This latter fact is distinctly stated by Æschines, himself a pylagore sent to Delphi by Athens. And so, doubtless, the theory of the case stood: the votes of the Ionic races counted for neither more nor less than two, whether given by deputies from Athens, or from the small towns of Erythræ and Priênê; and, in like manner, the Dorian votes were as good in the division, when given by deputies from Bœon and Kytinion in the little territory of Doris, as if the men delivering them had been Spartans. But there can be as little question that, in practice, the little Ionic cities, and the little Doric cities, pretended to no share in the Amphihtyonic deliberations. As the Ionic vote came to be substantially the vote of Athens, so, if Sparta was ever obstructed in the management of the Doric vote, it must have been by powerful Doric cities like Argos or Corinth, not by the insignificant towns of Doris. But the theory of Amphihtyonic suffrage, as laid down by Æschines, however little realized in practice during his day, is important, inasmuch as it shows in full evidence the primitive and original constitution. The first establishment of the Amphihtyonic convocation dates from a time when all the twelve members were on a footing of equal independence, and when there were no overwhelming cities (such as Sparta and Athens) to cast in the shade the humbler members, — when Sparta was only one Doric city, and Athens only one Ionic city, among various others of consideration, not much inferior.

There are also other proofs which show the high antiquity of

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chines, by Harpokration, and by Pausanias. Tittmann (Ueber den Amphihtyonischen Bund, sect. 3, 4, 5) analyzes and compares their various *statements*, and elicits the catalogue given in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Æschines, De Fals. Legat. p. 280, c. 36. — Κατηριθμησάμην δὲ ἔθνη δώδεκα, τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ λεροῦ. . . . καὶ τούτων ἔδειξα ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰσόψηφον γενόμενον, τὸ μέγιστον τῷ ἐλάττω, etc.

this Amphiktyonic convocation. Æschines gives us an extract from the oath which had been taken by the sacred deputies, who attended on behalf of their respective races, ever since its first establishment, and which still apparently continued to be taken in his day. The antique simplicity of this oath, and of the conditions to which the members bind themselves, betrays the early age in which it originated, as well as the humble resources of those towns to which it was applied.<sup>1</sup> "We will not destroy any Amphiktyonic town,—we will not cut off any Amphiktyonic town from running water,"—such are the two prominent obligations which Æschines specifies out of the old oath. The second of the two carries us back to the simplest state of society, and to towns of the smallest size, when the maidens went out with their basins to fetch water from the spring, like the daughters of Keleos at Eleusia, or those of Athens from the fountain of Kallirrhoe.<sup>2</sup> We may even conceive that the special mention of this detail, in the covenant between the twelve races, is borrowed literally from agreements still earlier, among the villages or little towns in which the members of each race were distributed. At any rate, it proves satisfactorily the very ancient date to which the commencement of the Amphiktyonic convocation must be referred. The belief of Æschines (perhaps, also, the belief general in his time) was, that it commenced simultaneously with the first foundation of the Delphian temple,—an event of which we have no historical knowledge; but there seems reason to suppose that its original establishment is connected with Thermopylæ and Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis, rather than with Delphi and Apollo. The special surname by which Dêmêtêr and her temple at Thermopylæ was known,<sup>3</sup>—the temple of the hero Amphiktyon which stood at its side,—the word Pylæ, which obtained footing in the language to designate the half-yearly meeting of the deputies both at Thermopylæ and at

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 279, c. 35: Ἄμα δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν οἷς ἐνορκεῖν ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι μηδ' ὑδάτων ναματιαίων εἰρῆζειν, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 457. Homer, *Hymn to Dêmêtêr*, LXX, 107, 170. Herodot. vi. 137. Thucyd. ii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. vii. 200; Livy, xxxi. 32.

Delphi, — these indications point to Thermopylæ (the real central point for all the twelve) as the primary place of meeting, and to the Delphian half-year as something secondary and super-added. On such a matter, however, we cannot go beyond a conjecture.

The hero Amphiktyon, whose temple stood at Thermopylæ, passed in mythical genealogy for the brother of Hellên. And it may be affirmed, with truth, that the habit of forming Amphiktyonic unions, and of frequenting each other's religious festivals was the great means of creating and fostering the primitive feeling of brotherhood among the children of Hellên, in those early times when rudeness, insecurity, and pugnacity did so much to isolate them. A certain number of salutary habits and sentiments, such as that which the Amphiktyonic oath embodies, in regard to abstinence from injury, as well as to mutual protection,<sup>1</sup> gradually found their way into men's minds: the obligations thus brought into play, acquired a substantive efficacy of their own, and the religious feeling which always remained connected with them, came afterwards to be only one out of many complex agencies by which the later historical Greek was moved. Athens and Sparta in the days of their might, and the inferior cities in relation to them, played each their own political game, in which religious considerations will be found to bear only a subordinate part.

The special function of the Amphiktyonic council, so far as we know it, consisted in watching over the safety, the interests, and the treasures of the Delphian temple. "If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in the temple, we will punish him with foot, and hand, and voice, and by every means in our power." So ran the old Amphiktyonic oath, with

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<sup>1</sup> The festival of the Amarynthia in Eubœa, held at the temple of Artemis of Amarynthus, was frequented by the Ionic Chalcis and Eretria as well as by the Dryopic Karystus. In a combat proclaimed between Chalcis and Eretria, to settle the question about the possession of the plain of Lelantum, it was stipulated that no missile weapons should be used by either party: this agreement was inscribed and recorded in the temple of Artemis (Strabo, *l. c.* p. 448; Livy, xxxv. 38).

an energetic imprecation attached to it.<sup>1</sup> And there are some examples in which the council<sup>2</sup> construes its functions so largely as to receive and adjudicate upon complaints against entire cities, for offences against the religious and patriotic sentiment of the Greeks generally. But for the most part its interference relates directly to the Delphian temple. The earliest case in which it is brought to our view, is the Sacred War against Kirrha, in the 46th Olympiad, or 595 B. C., conducted by Eurylochus, the Thesalian, and Kleisthenes of Sikyôn, and proposed by Solôn of Athens;<sup>3</sup> we find the Amphiktyons also, about half a century afterwards, undertaking the duty of collecting subscriptions throughout the Hellenic world, and making the contract with the Alkmæonids for rebuilding the temple after a conflagration.<sup>4</sup> But the influence of this council is essentially of a fluctuating and intermittent character. Sometimes it appears forward to decide, and its decisions command respect; but such occasions are rare, taking the general course of known Grecian history; while there are other occasions, and those too especially affecting the Delphian temple, on which we are surprised to find nothing said about it. In the long and perturbed period which Thucydides describes, he never once mentioned the Amphiktyons, though the temple and the safety of its treasures form the repeated sub-

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. De Fals. Legat. c. 35, p. 279: compare adv. Ktesiphont. c. 36, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> See the charge which Æschines alleges to have been brought by the Lokrians of Amphissa against Athens in the Amphiktyonic Council (adv. Ktesiphont. c. 38, p. 409). Demosthenes contradicts his rival as to the fact of the charge having been brought, saying that the Amphisseans had not given the notice, customary and required, of their intention to bring it: a reply which admits that the charge *might* be brought (Demosth. de Coronâ, c. 43, p. 277).

The Amphiktyons offer a reward for the life of Ephialtes, the betrayer of the Greeks at Thermopylæ; they also erect columns to the memory of the fallen Greeks in that memorable strait, the place of their half-yearly meeting (Herod. vii. 213-228).

<sup>3</sup> Æschin. adv. Ktesiph. 1, c. Plutarch, Solôn. c. xi, who refers to Aristotele ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ — Pausan. x. 37, 4; Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. ix. 2. Τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας, ὅσαι πόλεις πρὸς πόλεις εἰσὶν (Strabo, ix. p. 420). These Amphiktyonic arbitrations, however are of rare occurrence in history, and very commonly abused.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. ii. 180 v. 62.



ject<sup>1</sup> as well of dispute as of express stipulation between Athens and Sparta: moreover, among the twelve constituent members of the council, we find three — the Perrhæbians, the Magnètes, and the Achæans of Phthia — who were not even independent, but subject to the Thessalians, so that its meetings, when they were not matters of mere form, probably expressed only the feelings of the three or four leading members. When one or more of these great powers had a party purpose to accomplish against others, — when Philip of Macedon wished to extrude one of the members in order to procure admission for himself, — it became convenient to turn this ancient form into a serious reality, and we shall see the Athenian Æschines providing a pretext for Philip to meddle in favor of the minor Bœotian cities against Thebes, by alleging that these cities were under the protection of the old Amphiktyonic oath.<sup>2</sup>

It is thus that we have to consider the council as an element in Grecian affairs, — an ancient institution, one amongst many instances of the primitive habit of religious fraternization, but wider and more comprehensive than the rest, — at first, purely religious, then religious and political at once; lastly, more the latter than the former, — highly valuable in the infancy, but unsuited to the maturity of Greece, and called into real working only on rare occasions, when its efficiency happened to fall in with the views of Athens, Thebes, or the king of Macedon. In such special moments it shines with a transient light which affords a partial pretence for the imposing title bestowed on it by Cicero, — “commune Græciæ conciliū.”<sup>3</sup> but we should com-

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 112, iv. 118, v. 18. The Phokians in the Sacred War (B. C. 354) pretended that they had an ancient and prescriptive right to the administration of the Delphian temple, under accountability to the general body of Greeks for the proper employment of its possessions, — thus setting aside the Amphiktyons altogether (Diodor. xvi. 27).

<sup>2</sup> Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 280, c. 36. The party intrigues which moved the council in regard to the Sacred War against the Phokians (B. C. 355) may be seen in Didorus, xvi. 23–28, *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, De Invention. ii. 23. The representation of Dionysius of Halikarnassus (Ant. Rom. iv. 25) overshoots the reality still more.

About the common festivals and Amphiktyones of the Hellenic world generally, see Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. sect. 22, 24, 25; also, C. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, sect. 11–13.

pletely misinterpret Grecian history if we regarded it as a federal council, habitually directing or habitually obeyed. Had there existed any such "commune concilium" of tolerable wisdom and patriotism, and had the tendencies of the Hellenic mind been capable of adapting themselves to it, the whole course of later Grecian history would probably have been altered; the Macedonian kings would have remained only as respectable neighbors, borrowing civilization from Greece, and expending their military energies upon Thracians and Illyrians; while united Hellas might even have maintained her own territory against the conquering legions of Rome.

The twelve constituent Amphiktyonic races remained unchanged until the Sacred War against the Phokians (B. C. 355), after which, though the number twelve was continued, the Phokians were disfranchised, and their votes transferred to Philip of Macedon. - It has been already mentioned that these twelve did not exhaust the whole of Hellas. Arcadians, Eleans, Pisans, Minyæ, Dryopes, Ætolians, all genuine Hellens, are not comprehended in it; but all of them had a right to make use of the temple of Delphi, and to contend in the Pythian and Olympic games. The Pythian games, celebrated near Delphi, were under the superintendence of the Amphiktyons,<sup>1</sup> or of some acting magistrate chosen by and presumed to represent them: like the Olympic games, they came round every four years (the interval between one celebration and another being four complete years, which the Greeks called a *Pentaetêris*): the Isthmian and Nemean games recurred every two years. In its first humble form, of a competition among bards to sing a hymn in praise of Apollo, this festival was doubtless of immemorial antiquity;<sup>2</sup> but the first exten-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Sympos.* vii. 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> In this early phase of the Pythian festival, it is said to have been celebrated every eight years, marking what we should call an *Octaetêris*, and what the early Greeks called an *Ennaetêris* (Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, c. 18). This period is one of considerable importance in reference to the principle of the Grecian calendar, for ninety-nine lunar months coincide very nearly with eight solar years. The discovery of this coincidence is ascribed by Censorinus to Kleostratus of Tenedos, whose age is not directly known: he must be anterior to Meton, who discovered the cycle of nineteen solar years, but (I imagine) not much anterior. In spite of the authority of Ideler it seems to me not proved, nor can I believe, that this octennial period with its

sion of it into Pan-Hellenic notoriety (as I have already remarked), the first multiplication of the subjects of competition, and the first introduction of a continuous record of the conquerors, date only from the time when it came under the presidency of the Amphiktyons, at the close of the Sacred War against Kirrha. What is called the first Pythian contest coincides with the third year of the 48th Olympiad, or 585 B. C. From that period forward, the games become crowded and celebrated: but the date just named, nearly two centuries after the first Olympiad, is a proof that the habit of periodical frequentation of festivals, by numbers and from distant parts, grew up but slowly in the Grecian world.

The foundation of the temple of Delphi itself reaches far beyond all historical knowledge, forming one of the aboriginal institutions of Hellas. It is a sanctified and wealthy place, even in the *Iliad*: the legislation of Lykurgus at Sparta is introduced under its auspices, and the earliest Grecian colonies, those of Sicily and Italy in the eighth century B. C., are established in consonance with its mandate. Delphi and Dodona appear, in the most ancient circumstances of Greece, as universally venerated oracles and sanctuaries: and Delphi not only receives honors and donations, but also answers questions, from Lydians, Phrygians, Etruscans, Romans, etc.: it is not exclusively Hellenic. One of the valuable services which a Greek looked for from this and other great religious establishments was, that it should resolve his doubts in cases of perplexity,—that it should advise him whether to begin a new, or to persist in an old project,—that it should foretell what would be his fate under given circumstances, and inform him, if suffering under distress, on what conditions

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solar and lunar coincidence was known to the Greeks in the earliest times of their mythical antiquity, or before the year 600 B. C. See Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 366; vol. ii. p. 607. The practice of the Eleians to celebrate the Olympic games alternately after forty-nine and fifty lunar months, though attested for a later time by the Scholiast on Pindar, is not proved to be old. The fact that there were ancient octennial recurring festivals, does not establish a knowledge of the properties of the octaeteric or ennaeteric period: nor does it seem to me that the details of the Boeotian *δαφνηφορία*, described in Proclus ap. Photium, sect. 239, are very ancient. See, on the old mythical Octaetêris, O. Müller, *Orchomenos*, 218, *seqq.*, and Krause, *Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien*, sect. 4, p. 22.

the gods would grant him relief. The three priestesses of Dodona with their venerable oak, and the priestess of Delphi sitting on her tripod under the influence of a certain gas or vapor exhaling from the rock, were alike competent to determine these difficult points: and we shall have constant occasion to notice in this history, with what complete faith both the question was put and the answer treasured up, — what serious influence it often exercised both upon public and private proceeding.<sup>1</sup> The hexameter verses, in which the Pythian priestess delivered herself, were, indeed, often so equivocal or unintelligible, that the most serious believer, with all anxiety to interpret and obey them, often found himself ruined by the result; yet the general faith in the oracle was noway shaken by such painful experience. For as the unfortunate issue always admitted of being explained upon two hypotheses, — either that the god had spoken falsely, or that his meaning had not been correctly understood, — no man of genuine piety ever hesitated to adopt the latter. There were many other oracles throughout Greece besides Delphi and Dodona: Apollo was open to the inquiries of the faithful at Ptôon in Bœotia, at Abœ in Phokis, at Branchidæ near Miletus, at Patara in Lykia, and other places: in like manner, Zeus gave answers at Olympia, Poseidôn at Tænarus, Amphiaraus at Thebes, Amphiloehus at Mallas, etc. And this habit of consulting the

<sup>1</sup> See the argument of Cicero in favor of divination, in the first book of his valuable treatise *De Divinatione*. Chrysippus, and the ablest of the stoic philosophers, both set forth a plausible theory demonstrating, *a priori*, the probability of prophetic warnings deduced from the existence and attributes of the gods: if you deny altogether the occurrence of such warnings, so essential to the welfare of man, you must deny either the existence, or the foreknowledge, or the beneficence, of the gods (c. 38). Then the veracity of the Delphian oracle had been demonstrated in innumerable instances, of which Chrysippus had made a large collection: and upon what other supposition could the immensæ credit of the oracle be explained (c. 19)? “Collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysippus, et nullum sine locuplete teste et auctore: quæ quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo. Defendo unum hoc: nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre clarumque fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum et regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta. . . . Maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus, multis sæculis verax fuisse id oraculum.” Cicero admits that it had become less trustworthy in his time, and tries to explain this decline of prophetic power: compare Plutarch, *De Defect. Oracul.*

oracle formed part of the still more general tendency of the Greek mind to undertake no enterprise without having first ascertained how the gods viewed it, and what measures they were likely to take. Sacrifices were offered, and the interior of the victim carefully examined, with the same intent: omens, prodigies, unlooked-for coincidences, casual expressions, etc., were all construed as significant of the divine will. To sacrifice with a view to this or that undertaking, or to consult the oracle with the same view, are familiar expressions<sup>1</sup> embodied in the language. Nor could any man set about a scheme with comfort, until he had satisfied himself in some manner or other that the gods were favorable to it.

The disposition here adverted to is one of those mental analogies pervading the whole Hellenic nation, which Herodotus indicates. And the common habit among all Greeks, of respectfully listening to the oracle of Delphi, will be found on many occasions useful in maintaining unanimity among men not accustomed to obey the same political superior. In the numerous colonies especially, founded by mixed multitudes from distant parts of Greece, the minds of the emigrants were greatly determined towards cordial coöperation by their knowledge that the expedition had been directed, the *oekist* indicated, and the spot either chosen or approved, by Apollo of Delphi. Such in most cases was the fact: that god, according to the conception of the Greeks, "takes delight always in the foundation of new cities, and himself in person lays the first stone."<sup>2</sup>

These are the elements of union — over and above the common territory, described in the last chapter — with which the historical Hellens take their start: community of blood, language, religious point of view, legends, sacrifices, festivals,<sup>3</sup> and also (with certain allowances) of manners and character. The anal-

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Anab.* vii. 8, 20: 'Ο δὲ Ἀσιδάτης ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἰη Ξενοφῶν, ἐξαυλίζεται, etc. Xenoph. *Hellen.* iii. 2, 22: μὴ χρηστηριάξῃσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ, — compare *Iliad*, vii. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Callimach. *Hymn. Apoll.* 55, with Spanheim's note; Cicero, *De Divinat.* i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See this point strikingly illustrated by Plato, *Repub.* v. pp. 470-471 (c. 16), and Isocrates, *Panegy.* p. 102.

ogy of manners and character between the rude inhabitants of the Arcadian Kynætha<sup>1</sup> and the polite Athens, was indeed accompanied with wide differences: yet if we compare the two with foreign contemporaries, we shall find certain negative characteristics, of much importance, common to both. In no city of historical Greece did there prevail either human sacrifices,<sup>2</sup> — or deliberate mutilation, such as cutting off the nose, ears, hands, feet, etc., — or castration, — or selling of children into slavery, — or polygamy, — or the feeling of unlimited obedience towards one man: all customs which might be pointed out as existing among the contemporary Carthaginians, Egyptians, Persians, Thracians,<sup>3</sup> etc. The habit of running, wrestling, boxing, etc., in gymnastic contests, with the body perfectly naked, — was common to all Greeks, having been first adopted as a Lacedæmonian fashion in the fourteenth Olympiad: Thucydides and Herodotus remark, that it was not only not practised, but even regarded as unseemly, among non-Hellens.<sup>4</sup> Of such customs, indeed, at once common to all the Greeks, and peculiar to them

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the Arcadian Kynætha, see the remarkable observations of Polybius iv. 17–23.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 126 of this History.

<sup>3</sup> For examples and evidences of these practices, see Herodot. ii. 162; the amputation of the nose and ears of Patarbêmis, by Apries, king of Egypt (Xenophon, Anab. i. 9–13). There were a large number of men deprived of hands, feet, or eyesight, in the satrapy of Cyrus the younger, who had inflicted all these severe punishments for the prevention of crime, — he did not (says Xenophon) suffer criminals to scoff at him (*εἰς καταγέλῳν*). The *ἐκτομή* was carried on at Sardis (Herodot. iii. 49), — 500 *παῖδες ἐκτόμῃαι* formed a portion of the yearly tribute paid by the Babylonians to the court of Susa (Herod. iii. 92). Selling of children for exportation by the Thracians (Herod. v. 6); there is some trace of this at Athens, prior to the Solonian legislation (Plutarch, Solôn, 23), arising probably out of the cruel state of the law between debtor and creditor. For the sacrifice of children to Kronus by the Carthaginians, in troubled times, (according to the language of Ennius, “*Pœni soliti suos sacrificare puellæ*,”) Didor. xx. 14; xiii. 86. Porphy. de Abstin. ii. 56: the practice is abundantly illustrated in Möver's *Die Religion der Phönizier*, pp. 298–304.

Arrian blames Alexander for cutting off the nose and ears of the Satrap Bêssus, saying that it was an act altogether *barbaric*, (i. e. non-Hellenic,) (Exp. Al. iv. 7, 6.) About the *σεβασμὸς θεοπροπῆς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα* in Asia, see Strabo, xi. p. 526.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. i. 6; Herodot. i. 10.

as distinguished from others, we cannot specify a great number; but we may see enough to convince ourselves that there did really exist, in spite of local differences, a general Hellenic sentiment and character, which counted among the cementing causes of an union apparently so little assured.

For we must recollect that, in respect to political sovereignty, complete disunion was among their most cherished principles. The only source of supreme authority to which a Greek felt respect and attachment, was to be sought within the walls of his own city. Authority seated in another city might operate upon his fears, — might procure for him increased security and advantages, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show with regard to Athens and her subject allies, — might even be mildly exercised, and inspire no special aversion: but, still, the principle of it was repugnant to the rooted sentiment of his mind, and he is always found gravitating towards the distinct sovereignty of his own *boulê*, or *ekklêsia*. This is a disposition common both to democracies and oligarchies, and operative even among the different towns belonging to the same subdivision of the Hellenic name, — Achæans, Phokians, Bœotians, etc. The twelve Achæan cities are harmonious allies, with a periodical festival which partakes of the character of a congress, — but equal and independent political communities: the Bœotian towns, under the presidency of Thebes, their reputed metropolis, recognize certain common obligations, and obey, on various particular matters, chosen officers named *bœotarchs*, — but we shall see, in this, as in other cases, the centrifugal tendencies constantly manifesting themselves, and resisted chiefly by the interests and power of Thebes. That great, successful, and fortunate revolution, which merged the several independent political communities of Attica into the single unity of Athens, took place before the time of authentic history: it is connected with the name of the hero Theseus, but we know not how it was effected, while its comparatively large size and extent, render it a signal exception to Hellenic tendencies generally.

Political disunion — sovereign authority within the city walls — thus formed a settled maxim in the Greek mind. The relation between one city and another was an international relation,

not a relation subsisting between members of a common political aggregate. Within a few miles from his own city-walls, an Athenian found himself in the territory of another city, wherein he was nothing more than an alien, — where he could not acquire property in house or land, nor contract a legal marriage with any native woman, nor sue for legal protection against injury, except through the mediation of some friendly citizen. The right of intermarriage, and of acquiring landed property, was occasionally granted by a city to some individual non-freeman, as matter of special favor, and sometimes (though very rarely) reciprocated generally between two separate cities.<sup>1</sup> But the obligations between one city and another, or between the citizen of the one and the citizen of the other, are all matters of special covenant, agreed to by the sovereign authority in each. Such coexistence of entire political severance with so much fellowship in other ways, is perplexing in modern ideas, and modern language is not well furnished with expressions to describe Greek political phenomena. We may say that an Athenian citizen was an *alien* when he arrived as a visitor in Corinth, but we can hardly say that he was a *foreigner*; and though the relations between Corinth and Athens were in principle *international*, yet that word would be obviously unsuitable to the numerous petty autonomies of Hellas, besides that we require it for describing the relations of Hellenes generally with Persians or Carthaginians. We are compelled to use a word such as *interpolitical*, to describe the transactions between separate Greek cities, so numerous in the course of this history.

As, on the one hand, a Greek will not consent to look for sovereign authority beyond the limits of his own city, so, on the other hand, he must have a city to look to: scattered villages will not satisfy in his mind the exigencies of social order, security, and dignity. Though the coalescence of smaller towns into a larger is repugnant to his feelings, that of villages into a town appears to him a manifest advance in the scale of civilization. Such, at least, is the governing sentiment of Greece throughout the historical period; for there was always a certain portion of the

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 6, 12. It is unnecessary to refer to the many inscriptions which confer upon some individual non-freeman the right of *ἐπιγαμία* and *ἐγκρήσις*.



Hellenic aggregate — the rudest and least advanced among them — who dwelt in unfortified villages, and upon whom the citizen of Athens, Corinth, or Thebes, looked down as inferiors. Such village residence was the character of the Epirotes<sup>1</sup> universally, and prevailed throughout Hellas itself, in those very early and even ante-Homeric times upon which Thucydides looked back as deplorably barbarous; — times of universal poverty and insecurity, — absence of pacific intercourse, — petty warfare and plunder, compelling every man to pass his life armed, — endless migration without any local attachments. Many of the considerable cities of Greece are mentioned as aggregations of pre-existing villages, some of them in times comparatively recent. Tegea and Mantinea in Arcadia, represent, in this way, the confluence of eight villages, and five villages respectively; Dymē in Achaia was brought together out of eight villages, and Elis in the same manner, at a period even later than the Persian invasion;<sup>2</sup> the like seems to have happened with Megara and Tanagra. A large proportion of the Arcadians continued their village life down to the time of the battle of Leuktra, and it suited the purposes of Sparta to keep them thus disunited; a policy which we shall see hereafter illustrated by the dismemberment of Mantinea (into its primitive component villages), which Agesilaus carried into effect, but which was reversed as soon as the power of Sparta was no longer paramount, — as well as by the foundation of Megalopolis out of a large number of petty Arcadian towns and villages, one of the capital measures of Epameinondas.<sup>3</sup> As this measure was an elevation of Arcadian

<sup>1</sup> Skylax, Peripl. c. 28–33; Thucyd. ii. 80. See Dio Chrysostom, Or. xlvii. p. 225, vol. ii. ed. Reisk, — *μᾶλλον ἡροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ κώμας, τοῖς βαρβάρους ὁμοίους, ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ νομα εἶναι*.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. pp. 337, 342, 386; Pausan. viii. 45, 1; Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 17–37.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. viii. 27, 2–5; Diod. xv. 72: compare Arist. Polit. ii. 1, 5.

The description of the *διοίκις* of Mantinea is in Xenophon, Hellen. v. 2, 6–8: it is a flagrant example of his philo-Laconian bias. We see by the case of the Phokians after the Sacred War, (Diodor. xvi. 60; Pausan. x. 3, 2,) how heavy a punishment this *διοίκις* was. Compare, also, the instructive speech of the Akanthian envoy Kleigenēs, at Sparta, when he invoked the Lacedæmonian interference for the purpose of crushing the incipient federation, or junction of towns into a common political aggregate, which was

importance, so the reverse proceeding — the breaking up of a city into its elementary villages — was not only a sentence of privation and suffering, but also a complete extinction of Grecian rank and dignity.

The Ozolian Lokrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians maintained their separate village residence down to a still later period, preserving along with it their primitive rudeness and disorderly pugnacity.<sup>1</sup> Their villages were unfortified, and defended only by comparative inaccessibility; in case of need, they fled for safety with their cattle into the woods and mountains. Amidst such inauspicious circumstances, there was no room for that expansion of the social and political feelings to which protected intramural residence and increased numbers gave birth; there was no consecrated acropolis or agora, — no ornamented temples and porticos, exhibiting the continued offerings of successive generations,<sup>2</sup> — no theatre for music or recitation, no gymnasium for athletic exercises, — none of those fixed arrangements, for transacting public business with regularity and decorum, which the Greek citizen, with his powerful sentiment of locality, deemed essential to a dignified existence. The village was nothing more than a fraction and a subordinate, appertaining as a limb to the organized body called the city. But the city and the state

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growing up round Olynthus (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 11–2). The wise and admirable conduct of Olynthus, and the reluctance of the neighboring cities to merge themselves in this union, are forcibly set forth; also, the interest of Sparta in keeping all the Greek towns disunited. Compare the description of the treatment of Capua by the Romans (Liv. xxvi. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 5; iii. 94. Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 6, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, x. 4, 1; his remarks on the Phokian πόλις Panopeus indicate what he included in the idea of a πόλις: εἶγε βνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν· οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην· ἀλλὰ ἐν στέγαις κοίλαις κατὰ τὰς καλύβας μάλιστα τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρῃ. ὁμῶς δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς ὁμούς, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ αὐτοὶ πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν.

The μικρὰ πολιίσματα of the Pelasgians on the peninsula of Mount Athôs (Thucyd. iv. 109) seem to have been something between villages and cities. When the Phokians, after the Sacred War, were deprived of their cities and forced into villages by the Amphiktyons, the order was that no village should contain more than fifty houses, and that no village should be within the distance of a furlong of any other (Diodor. xvi. 60).

are in his mind, and in his language, one and the same. While no organization less than the city can satisfy the exigencies<sup>1</sup> of an intelligent freeman, the city is itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity. It deserves notice that Sparta, even in the days of her greatest power, was not (properly speaking) a city, but a mere agglutination of five adjacent villages, retaining unchanged its old-fashioned trim: for the extreme defensibility of its frontier and the military prowess of its inhabitants, supplied the absence of walls, while the discipline imposed upon the Spartan, exceeded in rigor and minuteness anything known in Greece. And thus Sparta, though less than a city in respect to external appearance, was more than a city in respect to perfection of drilling and fixity of political routine. The contrast between the humble appearance and the mighty reality, is pointed out by Thucydides.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of the small territory of Pisa, wherein Olympia is situated, had once enjoyed the honorable privilege of administering the Olympic festival. Having been robbed of it, and subjected by the more powerful Eleians, they took advantage of various movements and tendencies among the larger Grecian powers to try and regain it; and on one of these occasions, we find their claim repudiated because they were villagers, and unworthy of so great a distinction.<sup>3</sup> There was nothing to be called a city in the Pisatid territory.

In going through historical Greece, we are compelled to accept the Hellenic aggregate with its constituent elements as a primary fact to start from, because the state of our information does not enable us to ascend any higher. By what circumstances, or out of what preëxisting elements, this aggregate was brought together and modified, we find no evidence entitled to credit. There are, indeed, various names which are affirmed to designate ante-Hellenic inhabitants of many parts of Greece, — the Pelasgi,

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 8. ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων κ. μὲν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις ἢ δὴ πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας. Compare also iii. 6, 14; and Plato, Legg. viii. p. 848.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 10. οὐτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως, οὐτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτέλεσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνονται ἂν ὑποδεστέρα.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, Hellen. iii. 2, 31.

the Leleges, the Kurètes, the Kankônes, the Aones, the Temmikes, the Hyantes, the Telchines, the Boeotian Thracians, the Teleboæ, the Ephyri, the Phlegysæ, etc. These are names belonging to legendary, not to historical Greece, — extracted out of a variety of conflicting legends, by the logographers and subsequent historians, who strung together out of them a supposed history of the past, at a time when the conditions of historical evidence were very little understood. That these names designated real nations, may be true, but here our knowledge ends. We have no well-informed witness to tell us their times, their limits of residence, their acts, or their character; nor do we know how far they are identical with or diverse from the historical Hellenæ, — whom we are warranted in calling, not, indeed, the first inhabitants of the country, but the first known to us upon any tolerable evidence. If any man is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of Pelasgic, it is open to him to do so; but this is a name carrying with it no assured predicates, noway enlarging our insight into real history, nor enabling us to explain — what would be the real historical problem — how or from whom the Hellenæ acquired that stock of dispositions, aptitudes, arts, etc., with which they begin their career. Whoever has examined the many conflicting systems respecting the Pelasgi, — from the literal belief of Clavier, Larcher, and Raoul Rochette, (which appears to me, at least, the most consistent way of proceeding,) to the interpretative and half-incredulous processes applied by abler men, such as Niebuhr, or O. Müller, or Dr. Thirlwall,<sup>1</sup> — will not be displeased with my

<sup>1</sup> Larcher, *Chronologie d'Hérodote*, ch. viii. pp. 215, 274; Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, book i. ch. 5; Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. pp. 26–64, 2d ed. (the section entitled *Die Oenotrer und Pelasger*); O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, vol. i. (Einleitung, ch. ii. pp. 75–100); Dr. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. i. ch. ii. pp. 36–64. The dissentient opinions of Kruse and Mannert may be found in Kruse, *Hellas*, vol. i. pp. 398–425; Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, part viii. *Introduct.* p. 4, *seqq.*

Niebuhr puts together all the mythical and genealogical traces, many of them in the highest degree vague and equivocal, of the existence of Pelasgi in various localities; and then, summing up their cumulative effect, asserts ("not as an hypothesis, but with full historical conviction," p. 54) "that there was a time when the Pelasgians, perhaps the most extended people in

resolution to decline so insoluble a problem. No attested facts are now present to us — none were present to Herodotus and Thucydides, even in their age — on which to build trustworthy affirmations respecting the ante-Hellenic Pelasgians. And where such is the case, we may without impropriety apply the remark of Herodotus, respecting one of the theories which he had heard for explaining the inundation of the Nile by a supposed connection with the circumfluous Ocean, — that “the man who carries up his story into the invisible world, passes out of the range of criticism.”<sup>1</sup>

As far as our knowledge extends, there were no towns or villages called Pelasgian, in Greece proper, since 776 B. C. But there still existed in two different places, even in the age of Herodotus, people whom he believed to be Pelasgians. One portion of these occupied the towns of Plakia and Skylakê near Kyzikus, on the Propontis; another dwelt in a town called Krêstôn, near the Thermaic gulf.<sup>2</sup> There were, moreover, certain other Pelasgian townships which he does not specify, — it seems, indeed, from Thucydides, that there were some little Pelasgian townships on the peninsula of Athos.<sup>3</sup> Now, Herodotus acquaints us with the remarkable fact, that the people of Krêstôn, those of Plakia and Skylakê, and those of the other unnamed Pelasgian townships, all spoke the same language, and each of them respectively a different language from their neighbors around them.

all Europe, were spread from the Po and the Arno to the Rhyndakus,” (near Kyzikus,) with only an interruption in Thrace. What is perhaps the most remarkable of all, is the contrast between his feeling of disgust, despair, and aversion to the subject, when he begins the inquiry (“the name *Pelasgi*,” he says, “is odious to the historian, who hates the spurious philology out of which the pretences to knowledge on the subject of such extinct people arise,” p. 28), and the full confidence and satisfaction with which he concludes it.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ii. 23: ‘Ο δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεάνου εἶπας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας, οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον.

<sup>2</sup> That Krêstôn is the proper reading in Herodotus, there seems every reason to believe — not Krotôn, as Dionys. Hal. represents it (Ant. Rom. i. 26) — in spite of the authority of Niebuhr in favor of the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. iv. 109. Compare the new *Fragmenta* of Strabo, lib. vii. edited from the Vatican MS. by Kramer, and since by Tafel (Tübingen, 1844), sect. 34, p. 26, — ὥκησαν δὲ τὴν Χερρόνησον ταύτην τῶν ἐκ Ἀθύνων Πελασγῶν τινες, εἰς πέντε διηγήμενοι πολίσματα· Κλεωνᾶς, Ὀλόφυξον, Ἀκροθῶνας, Δίον, Θύσον.

He informs us, moreover, that their language was a barbarous (i. e. a non-Hellenic) language; and this fact he quotes as an evidence to prove that the ancient Pelasgian language was a barbarous language, or distinct from the Hellenic. He at the same time states expressly that he has no positive knowledge what language the ancient Pelasgians spoke, — one proof, among others, that no memorials nor means of distinct information concerning that people, could have been open to him.

This is the one single fact, amidst so many conjectures concerning the Pelasgians, which we can be said to know upon the testimony of a competent and contemporary witness: the few townships — scattered and inconsiderable, but all that Herodotus in his day knew as Pelasgian — spoke a barbarous language. And upon such a point, he must be regarded as an excellent judge. If, then, (infers the historian,) all the early Pelasgians spoke the same language as those of Kréstón and Plakia, they must have changed their language at the time when they passed into the Hellenic aggregate, or became Hellens. Now, Herodotus conceives that aggregate to have been gradually enlarged to its great actual size by incorporating with itself not only the Pelasgians, but several other nations once barbarians;<sup>1</sup> the Hellens having been originally an inconsiderable people. Among those other nations once barbarian, whom Herodotus supposes to have become Hellenized, we may probably number the Leleges; and with respect to them, as well as to the Pelasgians, we have contemporary testimony proving the existence of barbarian Leleges in later times. Philippos, the Karian historian, attested the present existence, and believed in the past existence, of Leleges in his country, as serfs or dependent cultivators under the Karians, analogous to the Helots in Laconia, or the Penestæ in Thessaly.<sup>2</sup> We may be very sure that there were no Hellens — no men speaking the Hellenic tongue — standing in such a relation to the Karians. Among those many barbaric-speaking

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 57. προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συγχύων.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæ. vi. p. 271. Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λελεγων συγγράμματι, καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Εἰλωτας καὶ τοὺς Θετταλικοὺς κενόστας, ἐπὶ Κᾶρας φησὶ τοῖς Δέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις χρῆσασθαι πᾶσι τε καὶ νῦν.

nations whom Herodotus believed to have changed their language and passed into Hellens, we may, therefore, fairly consider the Leleges to have been included. For next to the Pelasgians and Pelasgus, the Leleges and Lelex figure most conspicuously in the legendary genealogies; and both together cover the larger portion of the Hellenic soil.

Confining myself to historical evidence, and believing that no assured results can be derived from the attempt to transform legend into history, I accept the statement of Herodotus with confidence, as to the barbaric language spoken by the Pelasgians of his day; and I believe the same with regard to the historical Leleges, — but without presuming to determine anything in regard to the legendary Pelasgians and Leleges, the supposed ante-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece. And I think this course more consonant to the laws of historical inquiry than that which comes recommended by the high authority of Dr. Thirlwall, who softens and explains away the statement of Herodotus, until it is made to mean only that the Pelasgians of Plakia and Krêstôn spoke a very bad Greek. The affirmation of Herodotus is distinct, and twice repeated, that the Pelasgians of these towns, and of his own time, spoke a barbaric language; and that word appears to me to admit of but one interpretation.<sup>1</sup> To suppose

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 57. Ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ τεκμαιρομένοις λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἑοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρησιῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων. . . . καὶ τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ. . . . καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ σῆμα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοιούτοις δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἔντες. Εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρησιωνῆται οὐδόμοισι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ δρόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοὶ· σφίσι δὲ, δρόγλωσσοι. δηλοῦσι δὲ, ὅτι τὸν ἠνεύκοντο γλῶσσης χαρακτηριστῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χώρια, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

In the next chapter, Herodotus again calls the Pelasgian nation *βάρβαρον*.

Respecting this language, heard by Herodotus at Krêstôn and Plakia, Dr. Thirlwall observes (chap. ii. p. 60), "This language Herodotus describes as barbarous, and it is on this fact he grounds his general conclusion as to the ancient Pelasgian tongue. But he has not entered into any details that might have served to ascertain the manner or degree in which it differed from the Greek. Still, the expressions he uses would have appeared to

that a man, who, like Herodotus, had heard almost every variety of Greek, in the course of his long travels, as well as Egyptian,

imply that it was essentially foreign, had he not spoken quite as strongly in another passage, where it is impossible to ascribe a similar meaning to his words. When he is enumerating the dialects that prevailed among the Ionian Greeks, he observes that the Ionian cities in Lydia agree not at all in their tongue with those of Karia; and he applies the very same term to these dialects, which he had before used in speaking of the remains of the Pelasgian language. This passage affords a measure by which we may estimate the force of the word *barbarian* in the former. Nothing more can be safely inferred from it, than that the Pelasgian language which Herodotus heard on the Hellespont, and elsewhere, sounded to him a strange jargon; as did the dialect of Ephesus to a Milesian, and as the Bolognese does to a Florentine. This fact leaves its real nature and relation to the Greek quite uncertain; and we are the less justified in building on it, as the history of Pelasgian settlements is extremely obscure, and the traditions which Herodotus reports on that subject have by no means equal weight with statements made from his personal observation." (Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, ch. ii. p. 60, 2d edit.)

In the statement delivered by Herodotus (to which Dr. Thirlwall here refers) about the language spoken in the Ionic Greek cities, the historian had said (i. 142), — Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίσασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Miletus, Myas, and Priene, — ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφί. Ephesus, Kolophon, etc., — αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις τῆσι πρότερον λεχθείσασι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφώνουσι. The Chians and Erythraeans, — κατὰ τῷαυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μόνου. Οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

The words γλώσσης χαρακτήρ ("distinctive mode of speech") are common to both these passages, but their meaning in the one and in the other is to be measured by reference to the subject-matter of which the author is speaking, as well as to the words which accompany them, — especially the word *βάρβαρος* in the first passage. Nor can I think (with Dr. Thirlwall) that the meaning of *βάρβαρος* is to be determined by reference to the other two words: the reverse is, in my judgment, correct. *Βάρβαρος* is a term definite and unequivocal, but γλώσσης χαρακτήρ varies according to the comparison which you happen at the moment to be making, and its meaning is here determined by its conjunction with *βάρβαρος*.

When Herodotus was speaking of the twelve Ionic cities in Asia, he might properly point out the differences of speech among them as so many different *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης*: the limits of difference were fixed by the knowledge which his hearers possessed of the persons about whom he was speaking; the Ionians being all notoriously Hellenes. So an author, describing Italy, might say that Bolognese, Romans, Neapolitans, Genoese, etc. had different *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης*; it being understood that the difference was such as might subsist among persons all Italians.

But there is also a *χαρακτήρ γλώσσης* of Greek generally (abstraction



Phœnician, Assyrian, Lydian, and other languages, did not know how to distinguish bad Hellenic from non-Hellenic, is, in my judgment, inadmissible; at any rate, the supposition is not to be adopted without more cogent evidence than any which is here found.

As I do not presume to determine what were the antecedent internal elements out of which the Hellenic aggregate was formed, so I confess myself equally uninformed with regard to its external constituents. Kadmus, Danaus, Kekrops, — the eponyms of the Kadmeians, of the Danaans, and of the Attic Kekropia, — present themselves to my vision as creatures of legend, and in that character I have already adverted to them. That there may have been very early settlements in continental Greece, from Phœnicia and Egypt, is nowise impossible; but I see neither positive proof, nor ground for probable inference, that there were any such, though traces of Phœnician settlements in some of the islands may doubtless be pointed out. And if we examine the character and aptitudes of Greeks, as compared either with Egyptians or Phœnicians, it will appear that there is not only no analogy, but an obvious and fundamental contrast: the Greek may occasionally be found as a borrower from these ultramarine contemporaries, but he cannot be looked upon as their offspring or derivative. Nor can I bring myself to accept an hypothesis which implies (unless we are to regard the supposed foreign emigrants as very

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made of its various dialects and diversities), as contrasted with Persian, Phœnician, or Latin, — and of Italian generally, as contrasted with German or English. It is this comparison which Herodotus is taking, when he describes the language spoken by the people of Kréstôn and Plakia, and which he notes by the word *βάρβαρον* as opposed to *Ἑλληνικόν*: it is with reference to this comparison that *χαρακτήρ γλώσσης*, in the fifty-seventh chapter, is to be construed. The word *βάρβαρος* is the usual and recognized antithesis of *Ἕλλην*, or *Ἑλληνικός*.

It is not the least remarkable part of the statement of Herodotus, that the language spoken at Kréstôn and at Plakia was the same, though the places were so far apart from each other. This identity of itself shows that he meant to speak of a substantive language, not of a "strange jargon."

I think it, therefore, certain that Herodotus pronounces the Pelasgians of his day to speak a substantive language different from Greek; but whether differing from it in a greater or less degree (*e. g.* in the degree of Latin or of Phœnician), we have no means of deciding.

few in number, in which case the question loses most of its importance) that the Hellenic language—the noblest among the many varieties of human speech, and possessing within itself a pervading symmetry and organization—is a mere confluence of two foreign barbaric languages (Phœnician and Egyptian) with two or more internal barbaric languages,—Pelægian, Lelegian, etc. In the mode of investigation pursued by different historians into this question of early foreign colonies, there is great difference (as in the case of the Pelægi) between the different authors,—from the acquiescent Euemerism of Raoul Rochette to the refined distillation of Dr. Thirlwall, in the third chapter of his *History*. It will be found that the amount of positive knowledge which Dr. Thirlwall guarantees to his readers in that chapter is extremely inconsiderable; for though he proceeds upon the general theory (different from that which I hold) that historical matter may be distinguished and elicited from the legends, yet when the question arises respecting any definite historical result, his canon of credibility is too just to permit him to overlook the absence of positive evidence, even when all intrinsic incredibility is removed. That which I note as *Terra Incognita*, is in his view a land which may be known up to a certain point; but the map which he draws of it contains so few ascertained places as to differ very little from absolute vacuity.

The most ancient district called *Hellas* is affirmed by Aristotle to have been near *Dôdôna* and the river *Achelôus*,—a description which would have been unintelligible (since the river does not flow near *Dôdôna*), if it had not been qualified by the remark, that the river had often in former times changed its course. He states, moreover, that the deluge of *Deukaliôn* took place chiefly in this district, which was in those early days inhabited by the *Selli*, and by the people then called *Græci*, but now *Hellenes*.<sup>1</sup> The *Selli* (called by *Pindar*, *Helli*) are mentioned in the *Iliad* as the ministers of the *Dodonæan Zeus*,—“men who slept on the ground, and never washed their feet;” and *Hesiod*, in one of the lost poems (the *Eoiai*), speaks of the fat land and rich pastures of the land called *Hellopia*, wherein *Dôdôna* was situated.<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> Aristotel. *Meteorol.* i. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 234; *Hesiod*, *Fragm.* 149, ed. Marktscheffel; *Sophokl. Trachin.* 1174; *Strabo*, vii. p. 328.

what authority Aristotle made his statement, we do not know; but the general feeling of the Greeks was different, — connecting Deukaliôn, Hellen, and the Hellenes, primarily and specially with the territory called Achaia Phthiôtis, between Mount Othrys and Ceta. Nor can we either affirm or deny his assertion that the people in the neighborhood of Dôdôna were called Græci before they were called Hellenes. There is no ascertained instance of the mention of a people called Græci, in any author earlier than this Aristotelian treatise; for the allusions to Alkman and Sophoklês prove nothing to the point.<sup>1</sup> Nor can we explain how it came to pass that the Hellenes were known to the Romans only under the name of Græci, or Graii. But the name by which a people is known to foreigners is often completely different from its own domestic name, and we are not less at a loss to assign the reason, how the Rasena of Etruria came to be known to the Romans by the name of Tuscans, or Etruscans.

### CHAPTER III.

#### MEMBERS OF THE HELLENIC AGGREGATE, SEPARATELY TAKEN. — GREEKS NORTH OF PELOPONNESUS.

HAVING in the preceding chapter touched upon the Greeks in their aggregate capacity, I now come to describe separately the portions of which this aggregate consisted, as they present themselves at the first discernible period of history.

<sup>1</sup> Stephan. Byz. v. Γραικός. — Γραικες δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μητέρες, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ποίεσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μεταπλασμός, ἡ τῆς Γραιξ ἐνθερίας κλίσις ἐστίν.

The word Γραικες, in Alkman, meaning "the mothers of the Hellenes," may well be only a dialectic variety of γρᾶες, analogous to κλᾶξ and ὄρνιξ, for κλεις, ὄρνις, etc. (Ahrens, *De Dialecto Doricâ*, sect. 11, p. 91; and sect. 31, p. 242), perhaps declined like γυναικες.

The term used by Sophoklês, if we may believe Photius, was not Γραικός, but Παϊκός (Photius, p. 480, 15; Dindorf, *Fragment. Soph.* 933: compare 455). Eustathius (p. 890) seems undecided between the two.

It has already been mentioned that the twelve races or subdivisions, members of what is called the Amphiktyonic convocation, were as follows:—

North of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Magnètes, Achæans, Melians, Ænianes, Dolopes.

South of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Dorians, Ionians, Boeotians, Lokrians, Phokians.

Other Hellenic races, not comprised among the Amphiktyons, were—

The Ætolians and Akarnanians, north of the gulf of Corinth.

The Arcadians, Eleians, Pisatans, and Triphylians, in the central and western portion of Peloponnêsus: I do not here name the Achæans, who occupied the southern or Peloponnesian coast of the Corinthian gulf, because they may be presumed to have been originally of the same race as the Phthiot Achæans, and therefore participant in the Amphiktyonic constituency, though their actual connection with it may have been disused.

The Dryopes, an inconsiderable, but seemingly peculiar subdivision, who occupied some scattered points on the sea-coast,—Hermionê on the Argolic peninsula; Styrys and Karystus in Eubœa; the island of Kythnos, etc.

Though it may be said, in a general way, that our historical discernment of the Hellenic aggregate, apart from the illusions of legend, commences with 776 B. C., yet, with regard to the larger number of its subdivisions just enumerated, we can hardly be said to possess any specific facts anterior to the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B. C. Until the year 560 B. C., (the epoch of Cæresus in Asia Minor, and of Peisistratus at Athens,) the history of the Greeks presents hardly anything of a collective character: the movements of each portion of the Hellenic world begin and end apart from the rest. The destruction of Kirrha by the Amphiktyons is the first historical incident which brings into play, in defence of the Delphian temple, a common Hellenic feeling of active obligation.

But about 560 B. C., two important changes are seen to come into operation, which alter the character of Grecian history,—extricating it out of its former chaos of detail, and centralizing its isolated phenomena: 1. The subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Lydia and by Persia, followed by their struggles for

emancipation, — wherein the European Greeks became implicated, first as accessories, and afterwards as principals. 2. The combined action of the large mass of Greeks under Sparta, as their most powerful state and acknowledged chief, succeeded by the rapid and extraordinary growth of Athens, the complete development of Grecian maritime power, and the struggle between Athens and Sparta for the headship. These two causes, though distinct in themselves, must, nevertheless, be regarded as working together to a certain degree, — or rather, the second grew out of the first. For it was the Persian invasions of Greece which first gave birth to a wide-spread alarm and antipathy among the leading Greeks (we must not call it Pan-Hellenic, since more than half of the Amphiktyonic constituency gave earth and water to Xerxes) against the barbarians of the East, and impressed them with the necessity of joint active operations under a leader. The idea of a leadership or hegemony of collective Hellas, as a privilege necessarily vested in some one state for common security against the barbarians, thus became current, — an idea foreign to the mind of Solôn, or any one of the same age. Next, came the miraculous development of Athens, and the violent contest between her and Sparta, which should be the leader; the larger portion of Hellas taking side with one or the other, and the common quarrel against the Persian being for the time put out of sight. Athens is put down, Sparta acquires the undisputed hegemony, and again the anti-barbaric feeling manifests itself, though faintly, in the Asiatic expeditions of Agesilaus. But the Spartans, too incompetent either to deserve or maintain this exalted position, are overthrown by the Thebans, — themselves not less incompetent, with the single exception of Epameinondas. The death of that single man extinguishes the pretensions of Thebes to the hegemony, and Hellas is left, like the deserted Penelopê in the *Odyssey*, worried by the competition of several suitors, none of whom is strong enough to stretch the bow on which the prize depends.<sup>1</sup> Such a manifestation of force, as well as the trampling down of

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.* vii. 5, 27; Demosthenes, *De Coron.* c. 7, p. 231 — *ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἀκρίτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἐρις καὶ ἀραχὴ.*

the competing suitors, is reserved, not for any legitimate Hellenic arm, but for a semi-Hellenized<sup>1</sup> Macedonian, "brought up at Pella," and making good his encroachments gradually from the north of Olympus. The hegemony of Greece thus passes forever out of Grecian hands; but the conqueror finds his interest in rekindling the old sentiment under the influence of which it had first sprung up. He binds to him the discordant Greeks, by the force of their ancient and common antipathy against the Great King, until the desolation and sacrilege once committed by Xerxes at Athens is avenged by annihilation of the Persian empire. And this victorious consummation of Pan-Hellenic antipathy, — the dream of Xenophon<sup>2</sup> and the Ten Thousand Greeks after the battle of Kunaxa, — the hope of Jason of Phææ, — the exhortation of Isokratês,<sup>3</sup> — the project of Philip, and the achievement of Alexander, — while it manifests the irresistible might of Hellenic ideas and organization in the then existing state of the world, is at the same time the closing scene of substantive Grecian life. The citizen-feelings of Greece become afterwards merely secondary forces, subordinate to the preponderance of Greek mercenaries under Macedonian order, and to the rudest of all native Hellens, — the Ætolian mountaineers. Some few individuals are indeed found, even in the third century B. C., worthy of the best times of Hellas, and the Achæan confederation of that century is an honorable attempt to contend against irresistible difficulties: but on the whole, that free, social, and political march, which gives so much interest to the earlier centuries, is irrevocably banished from Greece after the generation of Alexander the Great.

The foregoing brief sketch will show that, taking the period from Croesus and Peisistratus down to the generation of Alexander (560–300 B. C.), the phenomena of Hellas generally, and

<sup>1</sup> Demosthen. de Coron. c. 21, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, Anab. iii. 2, 25–26.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 12; Isocrates, Orat. ad Philipp., Orat. v. p. 107. This discourse of Isokratês is composed expressly for the purpose of calling on Philip to put himself at the head of united Greece against the Persians: the Oratio iv, called Panegyrica, recommends a combination of all Greeks for the same purpose, but under the hegemony of Athens, putting aside all intestine differences: see Orat. iv. pp. 45–68.

her relations both foreign and inter-political, admit of being grouped together in masses, with continued dependence on one or a few predominant circumstances. They may be said to constitute a sort of historical epopee, analogous to that which Herodotus has constructed out of the wars between Greeks and barbarians, from the legends of Iô and Eurôpa down to the repulse of Xerxes. But when we are called back to the period between 776 and 560 B. C., the phenomena brought to our knowledge are scanty in number, — exhibiting few common feelings or interests, and no tendency towards any one assignable purpose. To impart attraction to this first period, so obscure and unpromising, we shall be compelled to consider it in its relation with the second; partly as a preparation, partly as a contrast.

Of the extra-Peloponnesian Greeks north of Attica, during these two centuries, we know absolutely nothing; but it will be possible to furnish some information respecting the early condition and struggles of the great Dorian states in Peloponnesus, and respecting the rise of Sparta from the second to the first place in the comparative scale of Grecian powers. Athens becomes first known to us at the legislation of Drako and the attempt of Kylon (620 B. C.) to make himself despot; and we gather some facts concerning the Ionic cities in Eubœa and Asia Minor, during the century of their chief prosperity, prior to the reign and conquests of Croesus. In this way, we shall form to ourselves some idea of the growth of Sparta and Athens, — of the short-lived and energetic development of the Ionic Greeks, — and of the slow working of those causes which tended to bring about increased Hellenic intercommunication, — as contrasted with the enlarged range of ambition, the grand Pan-Hellenic ideas, the systematized party-antipathies, and the intensified action, both abroad and at home, which grew out of the contest with Persia.

There are also two or three remarkable manifestations which will require special notice during this first period of Grecian history: 1. The great multiplicity of colonies sent forth by individual cities, and the rise and progress of these several colonies; 2. The number of despots who arose in the various Grecian cities; 3. The lyric poetry; 4. The rudiments of that

which afterwards ripened into moral philosophy, as manifested in gnomes, or aphorisms, — or the age of the Seven Wise Men.

But before I proceed to relate those earliest proceedings (unfortunately too few) of the Dorians and Ionians during the historical period, together with the other matters just alluded to, it will be convenient to go over the names and positions of those other Grecian states respecting which we have no information during these first two centuries. Some idea will thus be formed of the less important members of the Hellenic aggregate, previous to the time when they will be called into action. We begin by the territory north of the pass of Thermopylæ.

Of the different races who dwelt between this celebrated pass and the mouth of the river Peneius, by far the most powerful and important were the Thessalians. Sometimes, indeed, the whole of this area passes under the name of Thessaly, — since nominally, though not always really, the power of the Thessalians extended over the whole. We know that the Trachinian Herakleia, founded by the Lacedæmonians in the early years of the Peloponnesian war, close at the pass of Thermopylæ, was planted upon the territory of the Thessalians.<sup>1</sup> But there were also within these limits other races, inferior and dependent on the Thessalians, yet said to be of more ancient date, and certainly not less genuine subdivisions of the Hellenic name. The Perrhæbi<sup>2</sup> occupied the northern portion of the territory between the lower course of the river Peneius and Mount Olympus. The Magnètes<sup>3</sup> dwelt along the eastern coast, between Mount Ossa and Pelion on one side and the Ægean on the other, comprising the south-eastern cape and the eastern coast of the gulf of Pagasæ as far as Iólkos. The Achæans occupied the territory called Phthiôtis, extending from near Mount Pindus on the west to the gulf of Pagasæ on the east,<sup>4</sup> — along the mountain chain

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 93. Οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτης χωρίων, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζοντο (Herakleia), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 173; Strabo, ix. pp. 440–441. Herodotus notices the pass over the chain of Olympus or the Cambunian mountains by which Xerxes and his army passed out of Macedonia into Perrhæbia; see the description of the pass and the neighboring country in Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, ch. xxviii. vol. iii. pp. 338–348; compare Livy, xlii. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Skylax, Periplus, c. 66; Herodot. vii. 183–188.

<sup>4</sup> Skylax, Periplus, c. 64; Strabo, ix. pp. 439–434. Sophoklēs included the



of Othrys with its lateral projections northerly into the Thessalian plain, and southerly even to its junction with Cēta. The three tribes of the Malians dwelt between Achæa Phthiôtis and Thermopylæ, including both Trachin and Herakleia. Westward of Achæa Phthiôtis, the lofty region of Pindus or Tymphrēstus, with its declivities both westward and eastward, was occupied by the Dolopes.

All these five tribes, or subdivisions, — Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Achæans of Phthiôtis, Malians, and Dolopes, together with certain Epirotic and Macedonian tribes besides, beyond the boundaries of Pindus and Olympus, — were in a state of irregular dependence upon the Thessalians, who occupied the central plain or basin drained by the Peneius. That river receives the streams from Olympus, from Pindus, and from Othrys, — flowing through a region which was supposed by its inhabitants to have been once a lake, until Poseidôn cut open the defile of Tempê, through which the waters found an efflux. In travelling northward from Thermopylæ, the commencement of this fertile region — the amplest space of land continuously productive which Hellas presents — is strikingly marked by the steep rock and ancient fortress of Thaumaki;<sup>1</sup> from whence the traveller, passing over the mountains of Achæa Phthiôtis and Othrys, sees before him the plains and low declivities which reach northward across Thessaly to Olympus. A narrow strip of coast — in the interior of the gulf of Pagasæ, between the Magnètes and the Achæans, and containing the towns of Amphanéum and Pagasæ<sup>2</sup> — belonged to

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territory of Trachin in the limits of Phthiôtis (Strabo, *l. c.*). Herodotus considers Phthiôtis as terminating a little north of the river Spercheius (vii. 198).

<sup>1</sup> See the description of Thaumaki in Livy, xxxii. 4, and in Dr. Holland's *Travels*, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 112, — now Thomoko.

<sup>2</sup> Skylax, *Peripl.* c. 65. Hesychius (v. Παγασίτης 'Απόλλων) seems to reckon Pagasæ as Achæan.

About the towns in Thessaly, and their various positions, see Mannert, *Geograph. der Gr. und Römer*, part vii. book iii. ch. 8 and 9.

There was an ancient religious ceremony, celebrated by the Delphians every ninth year (Ennaëtêris): a procession was sent from Delphi to the pass of Tempê, consisting of well-born youths under an archi-theôr, who represented the proceeding ascribed by an old legend to Apollo; that god was believed to have gone thither to receive expiation after the slaughter of

this proper territory of Thessaly, but its great expansion was inland: within it were situated the cities of Pheræ, Pharsalus, Skotussa, Larissa, Krannôn, Atrax, Pharkadôn, Triikka, Metropolis, Pelinna, etc.

The abundance of corn and cattle from the neighboring plains sustained in these cities a numerous population, and above all a proud and disorderly noblesse, whose manners bore much resemblance to those of the heroic times. They were violent in their behavior, eager in armed feud, but unaccustomed to political discussion or compromise; faithless as to obligations, yet at the same time generous in their hospitalities, and much given to the enjoyments of the table.<sup>1</sup> Breeding the finest horses in Greece, they were distinguished for their excellence as cavalry; but their infantry is little noticed, nor do the Thessalian cities seem to have possessed that congregation of free and tolerably equal citizens, each master of his own arms, out of whom the ranks of

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the serpent Pytho: at least, this was one among several discrepant legends. The chief youth plucked and brought back a branch from the sacred laurel at Tempê, as a token that he had fulfilled his mission: he returned by "the sacred road," and broke his fast at a place called Δειπνιάς, near Larissa. A solemn festival, frequented by a large concourse of people from the surrounding regions, was celebrated on this occasion at Tempê, in honor of Apollo Tempeitês ('Ἀπολλῶνι Τεμπεῖται, in the Æolic dialect of Thessaly: see Inscript. in Boeckh, Corp. Ins. No. 1767). The procession was accompanied by a flute-player.

See Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* ch. xi. p. 292; *De Musicâ*, ch. xiv. p. 1136; *Ælian*, V. H. iii. 1; *Stephan. Byz.* v. Δειπνιάς.

It is important to notice these religious processions as establishing intercourse and sympathies between the distant members of Hellas: but the inferences which O. Möller (*Dorians*, b. ii. 1, p. 222) would build upon them, as to the original seat of the Dorians and the worship of Apollo, are not to be trusted.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Krito*, c. 15, p. 53. *ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία* (compare the beginning of the *Menôn*)—a remark the more striking, since he had just before described the Boeotian Thebes as a well-regulated city, though both Dikæarchus and Polybius represent it in their times as so much the contrary.

See also Demosthen. *Olynth.* i. c. 9, p. 16, cont. *Aristokrat.* c. 29, p. 637; *Schol. Eurip. Phœniss.* 1466; *Theopomp. Fragment.* 54-178, ed. Didot; *Aristophanês*, *Plut.* 521.

The march of political affairs in Thessaly is understood from *Xenoph. Hellen.* vi. 1: compare *Anabas.* i. 1, 10, and *Thucyd.* iv. 78.

hoplites were constituted, — the warlike nobles, such as the Aleuadæ at Larissa, or the Skopadæ at Krannon, despising everything but equestrian service for themselves, furnished, from their extensive herds on the plain, horses for the poorer soldiers. These Thessalian cities exhibit the extreme of turbulent oligarchy, occasionally trampled down by some one man of great vigor, but little tempered by that sense of political communion and reverence for established law, which was found among the better cities of Hellas. Both in Athens and Sparta, so different in many respects from each other, this feeling will be found, if not indeed constantly predominant, yet constantly present and operative. Both of them exhibit a contrast with Larissa or Phæræ not unlike that between Rome and Capua, — the former, with her endless civil disputes constitutionally conducted, admitting the joint action of parties against a common foe; the latter, with her abundant soil enriching a luxurious oligarchy, and impelled according to the feuds of her great proprietors, the Magii, Blossii, and Jubellii.<sup>1</sup>

The Thessalians are, indeed, in their character and capacity as much Epirotic or Macedonian as Hellenic, forming a sort of link between the two. For the Macedonians, though trained in aftertimes upon Grecian principles by the genius of Philip and Alexander, so as to constitute the celebrated heavy-armed phalanx, were originally (even in the Peloponnesian war) distinguished chiefly for the excellence of their cavalry, like the Thessalians;<sup>2</sup> while the broad-brimmed hat, or *kausia*, and the short spreading-mantle, or *chlamys*, were common to both.

We are told that the Thessalians were originally emigrants from Thesprotia in Epirus, and conquerors of the plain of the Peneius, which (according to Herodotus) was then called *Æolis*, and which they found occupied by the Pelasgi.<sup>3</sup> It may be doubted whether the great Thessalian families, — such as the Aleuadæ of Larissa, descendants from Hêraklês, and placed by

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<sup>1</sup> See Cicero, *Orat. in Pison.* c. 11; *De Leg. Agrar. cont. Rullum*, c. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Thessalian cavalry as described by Polybius, iv. 8, with the Macedonian as described by Thucydides, ii. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. vii. 176; Thucyd. i. 12.

Pindar on the same level as the Lacedæmonian kings<sup>1</sup> — would have admitted this Thesprotian origin; nor does it coincide with the tenor of those legends which make the eponym, *Thessalus*, son of *Hêraklês*. Moreover, it is to be remarked that the language of the Thessalians was Hellenic, a variety of the *Æolic* dialect;<sup>2</sup> the same (so far as we can make out) as that of the people whom they must have found settled in the country at their first conquest. If then it be true that, at some period anterior to the commencement of authentic history, a body of Thesprotian warriors crossed the passes of *Pindus*, and established themselves as conquerors in *Thessaly*, we must suppose them to have been more warlike than numerous, and to have gradually dropped their primitive language.

In other respects, the condition of the population of *Thessaly*, such as we find it during the historical period, favors the supposition of an original mixture of conquerors and conquered: for it seems that there was among the Thessalians and their dependents a triple gradation, somewhat analogous to that of *Laconia*. First, a class of rich proprietors distributed throughout the principal cities, possessing most of the soil, and constituting separate oligarchies, loosely hanging together.<sup>3</sup> Next, the subject *Achéans*, *Magnètes*, *Perrhæbi*, differing from the *Laconian Perioeci* in this point, that they retained their ancient tribe-name and separate *Amphiktyonic* franchise. Thirdly, a class of serfs, or dependent cultivators, corresponding to the *Laconian Helots*, who, tilling the lands of the wealthy oligarchs, paid over a proportion of its produce, furnished the retainers by which these great families were surrounded, served as their followers in the cavalry, and were in a condition of villanage, — yet with the important reserve, that they could not be sold out of the country,<sup>4</sup> that they

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Pyth. x.* init. with the *Scholia*, and the valuable comment of Boeckh, in reference to the *Alenadæ*; Schneider ad *Aristot. Polit. v.* 5, 9; and the Essay of Buttmann, *Von dem Geschlecht der Alenaden*, art. xxii. vol. ii. p. 254, of the collection called "*Mythologus*."

<sup>2</sup> Ahrens, *De Dialect. Æolicâ*, c. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See *Aristot. Polit. ii.* 6, 3; *Thucyd. ii.* 99–100.

<sup>4</sup> The words ascribed by *Xenophon* (*Hellen. vi.* 1, 11) to *Jason of Pheræ*, as well as to *Theocritus* (*xvi.* 34), attest the numbers and vigor of the *Thessalian Penestæ*, and the great wealth of the *Alenadæ* and *Skopadæ*. Both these families acquired celebrity from the verses of *Simonides*: he was po

had a permanent tenure in the soil, and that they maintained among one another the relations of family and village. This last mentioned order of men, in Thessaly called the Penestæ, is assimilated by all ancient authors to the Helots of Laconia, and in both cases the danger attending such a social arrangement is noticed by Plato and Aristotle. For the Helots as well as the Penestæ had their own common language and mutual sympathies, a separate residence, arms, and courage; to a certain extent, also, they possessed the means of acquiring property, since we are told that some of the Penestæ were richer than their masters.<sup>1</sup> So many means of action, combined with a degraded social position, gave rise to frequent revolt and incessant apprehensions. As a general rule, indeed, the cultivation of the soil by slaves, or dependents, for the benefit of proprietors in the cities, prevailed throughout most parts of Greece. The rich men of Thebes, Argos, Athens, or Elis, must have derived their incomes in the same manner; but it seems that there was often, in other places, a larger intermixture of bought foreign slaves, and also that the number, fellow-feeling, and courage of the degraded village population was nowhere so great as in Thessaly and Laconia. Now the origin of the Penestæ, in Thessaly, is ascribed to the conquest of

trionized and his muse invoked by both of them; see Ælian, V. H. xii. 1; Ovid, Ibis, 512; Quintilian, xi. 2, 15. Pindar also boasts of his friendship with Thorax the Aleuad (Pyth. x. 99).

The Thessalian ἀνδραποδισταί, alluded to in Aristophanes (Plutus, 521), must have sold men out of the country for slaves, — either refractory Penestæ, or Perrhæbian, Magnetic, and Achæan freemen, seized by violence: the Athenian comic poet Mnêsimachus, in jesting on the voracity of the Pharsalians, exclaims, ap. Athenæ. x. p. 418 —

ἄρά που

δοπτήν κατεσθίουσι πόλιν Ἀχαϊκὴν;

Pagasæ was celebrated as a place of export for slaves (Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. 49).

Menôn of Pharsalus assisted the Athenians against Amphipolis with 200, or 300 "Penestæ, on horseback, of his own" — (Πενέσταις ἰδίοις) Demosthenes, περὶ Συνταξ. c. 9, p. 173, cont. Aristokrat. c. 51, p. 687.

<sup>1</sup> Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 264; Plato, Legg. vi. p. 777; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3; vii. 9, 9; Dionys. Halic. A. R. ii. 84.

Both Plato and Aristotle insist on the extreme danger of having numerous slaves, fellow-countrymen and of one language — (ὁμόφυλοι, ὁμόφωνοι, πατρίωται ἀλλήλων).

the territory by the Thesprotians, as that of the Helots in Laconia is traced to the Dorian conquest. The victors in both countries are said to have entered into a convention with the vanquished population, whereby the latter became serfs and tillers of the land for the benefit of the former, but were at the same time protected in their holdings, constituted subjects of the state, and secured against being sold away as slaves. Even in the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestæ, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest, except when specially summoned.<sup>1</sup>

Who the people were, whom the conquest of Thessaly by the Thesprotians reduced to this predial villanage, we find differently stated. According to Theopompus, they were Perrhæbians and Magnètes; according to others, Pelasgians; while Archemachus alleged them to have been Bœotians of the territory of Arnê,<sup>2</sup> — some emigrating, to escape the conquerors, others remaining and accepting the condition of serfs. But the conquest, assuming it as a fact, occurred at far too early a day to allow of our making out either the manner in which it came to pass, or the state of things which preceded it. The Pelasgians whom Herodotus saw at Krêstôn are affirmed by him to have been the descendants of those who quitted Thessaly to escape<sup>3</sup> the invading Thesprotians; though others held that the Bœotians, driven on this occasion from their habitations on the gulf of Pagasæ near the Achæans of Phthiôtis, precipitated themselves on Orchomenus and Bœotia, and settled in it, expelling the Minyæ and the Pelasgians.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. vii. 11, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Theopompus and Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. pp. 264–266: compare Thucyd. ii. 12; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρνῆ — the converse of this story in Strabo, ix. pp. 401–411, of the Thessalian Arnê being settled from Bœotia. That the villains or Penestæ were completely distinct from the circumjacent dependents, — Achæans, Magnètes, Perrhæbians, we see by Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3. They had their eponymous hero Penestês, whose descent was traced to Thessalus son of Hêraklês; they were thus connected with the mythical father of the nation (Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1271).

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. i. 57: compare vii. 176.

Passing over the legends on this subject, and confining ourselves to historical time, we find an established quadruple division of Thessaly, said to have been introduced in the time of Aleuas, the ancestor (real or mythical) of the powerful Aleuadae, — Thessaliôtis, Pelasgiôtis, Histiaëôtis, Phthiôtis.<sup>1</sup> In Phthiôtis were comprehended the Achæans, whose chief towns were Melitæa, Itônus, Thebæ, Phthiôtides, Alos, Larissa, Kremastê, and Pteleon, on or near the western coast of the gulf of Pagasæ. Histiaëôtis, to the north of the Peneius, comprised the Perrhæbians, with numerous towns strong in situation, but of no great size or importance; they occupied the passes of Olympus<sup>2</sup> and are sometimes considered as extending westward across Pindus. Pelasgiôtis included the Magnêtes, together with that which was called the Pelasgic plain, bordering on the western side of Pelion and Ossa.<sup>3</sup> Thessaliôtis comprised the central plain of Thessaly and the upper course of the river Peneius. This was the political classification of the Thessalian power, framed to suit a time when the separate cities were maintained in harmonious action by favorable circumstances, or by some energetic individual ascendancy; for their union was in general interrupted and disorderly, and we find certain cities standing aloof while the rest went to war.<sup>4</sup> Though a certain political junction, and obligations of some kind towards a common authority, were recognized in theory by all, and a chief, or Tagus,<sup>5</sup> was nominated to enforce

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<sup>1</sup> Hellanikus, Fragm. 28, ed. Didot; Harpocration, v. *Τετραρχία*: the quadruple division was older than Hekataeus (Steph. Byz. v. *Κράννων*).

Hekataeus connected the Perrhæbians with the genealogy of Æolus through Tyrô, the daughter of Salmôneus: they passed as *Αιολεῖς* (Hekataeus, Frag 334, ed. Didot; Stephan. Byz. v. *Φάλασσα* and *Γόννοι*).

The territory of the city of Histiaea (in the north part of the island of Eubœa) was also called Histiaëôtis. The double occurrence of this name (no uncommon thing in ancient Greece) seems to have given rise to the statement, that the Perrhæbi had subdued the northern parts of Eubœa, and carried over the inhabitants of the Eubœan Histiaea captive into the north west of Thessaly (Strabo, ix. p. 437, x. p. 446).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, H. N. iv. 1; Strabo, ix. p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 443.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. xviii. 11; Thucyd. ii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> The Inscription No. 1770 in Boeckh's Corpus Inscript. contains a letter of the Roman consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, addressed to the city of

obedience, — yet it frequently happened that the disputes of the cities among themselves prevented the choice of a Tagus, or drove him out of the country; and left the alliance little more than nominal. Larissa, Pharsalus,<sup>1</sup> and Pheræ, — each with its cluster of dependent towns as adjuncts, — seem to have been nearly on a par in strength, and each torn by intestine faction, so that not only was the supremacy over common dependents relaxed, but even the means of repelling invaders greatly enfeebled. The dependence of the Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Achæans, and Malians, might, under these circumstances, be often loose and easy. But the condition of the Penestæ — who occupied the villages belonging to these great cities, in the central plain of Pelasgiôtis and Thessaliôtis, and from whom the Aleuadæ and Skopadæ derived their exuberance of landed produce — was noway mitigated, if it was not even aggravated, by such constant factions. Nor were there wanting cases in which the discontent of this subject-class was employed by members of the native oligarchy,<sup>2</sup> or even by foreign states, for the purpose of bringing about political revolutions.

“When Thessaly is under her Tagus, all the neighboring people pay tribute to her; she can send into the field six thousand cavalry and ten thousand hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry,”<sup>3</sup> observed Jason, despot of Pheræ, to Polydamas of Pharsalus, in endeavoring to prevail on the latter to second his pretensions to that dignity. The impost due from the tributaries, seemingly considerable, was then realized with arrears, and the duties upon

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Kyretisæ (north of Atrax in Perrhæbia). The letter is addressed, *Κυρετιέων τοῖς ταγοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει*, — the title of Tagi seems thus to have been given to the magistrates of separate Thessalian cities. The Inscriptions of Thaumaki (No. 1773–1774) have the title *ἄρχοντες*, not *ταγοί*. The title *ταγὸς* was peculiar to Thessaly (Pollux, i. 128).

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.* vi. 1, 9; Diodor. xiv. 82; Thucyd. i. 3. Herod. vii. 6, calls the Aleuadæ *Θεσσαλῆς βασιλῆς*.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Memorab.* i. 2, 24; *Hellenic.* ii. 3, 37. The loss of the comedy called *Πόλις* of Eupolis (see Meineke, *Fragm. Comicor. Græc.* p. 513) probably prevents us from understanding the sarcasm of Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1263) about the *παπαπρόσβεια* of Amynias among the Penestæ of Pharsalus; but the incident there alluded to can have nothing to do with the proceedings of Kritias, touched upon by Xenophon.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.* vi. 1, 9–12.



imports at the harbors of the Pagasæan gulf, imposed for the benefit of the confederacy, were then enforced with strictness; but the observation shows that, while unanimous Thessaly was very powerful, her periods of unanimity were only occasional.<sup>1</sup> Among the nations which thus paid tribute to the fulness of Thessalian power, we may number not merely the Perrhæbi, Magnètes, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, but also the Malians and Dolopes, and various tribes of Epirots extending to the westward of Pindus.<sup>2</sup> We may remark that they were all (except the Malians) javelin-men, or light-armed troops, not serving in rank with the full panoply; a fact which, in Greece, counts as presumptive evidence of a lower civilization: the Magnètes, too, had a peculiar close-fitting mode of dress, probably suited to movements in a mountainous country.<sup>3</sup> There was even a time when the Thessalian power threatened to extend southward of Thermopylæ, subjugating the Phokians, Dorians, and Lokrians. So much were the Phokians alarmed at this danger, that they had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylæ, for the purpose of more easily defending it against Thessalian invaders, who are reported to have penetrated more than once into the Phokian valleys, and to have sustained some severe defeats.<sup>4</sup> At what precise time these events happened, we find no information; but it must have been considerably earlier than the invasion of Xerxes, since the defensive wall which had been built at Thermopylæ, by the Phokians, was found by Leonidas in a state of ruin. But the Phokians, though they no longer felt the necessity of keeping up this wall, had not ceased to fear and hate the Thessalians,—an antipathy which will be found to manifest itself palpably in connection with the Persian invasion. On the

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<sup>1</sup> Demosthen. Olynth. i. c. 3, p. 15; ii. c. 5. p. 21. The orator had occasion to denounce Philip, as having got possession of the public authority of the Thessalian confederation, partly by intrigue, partly by force; and we thus hear of the *λιμénéες* and the *ἀγοραί*, which formed the revenue of the confederacy.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon (Hellen. vi. 1, 7) numbers the *Μαρακοὶ* among these tributaries along with the Dolopes: the Maraces are named by Pliny (H. N. iv. 3), also, along with the Dolopes, but we do not know where they dwelt.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9; Pindar, Pyth. iv. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. vii. 176; viii. 27–28.

whole, the resistance of the Phokians was successful, for the power of the Thessalians never reached southward of the pass.<sup>1</sup>

It will be recollected that these different ancient races, Per-rhæbi, Magnêtes, Achæans, Malians, Dolopes, — though tributaries of the Thessalians, still retained their Amphiktyonic franchise, and were considered as legitimate Hellenes: all except the Malians are, indeed, mentioned in the *Iliad*. We shall rarely have occasion to speak much of them in the course of this history: they are found siding with Xerxes (chiefly by constraint) in his attack of Greece, and almost indifferent in the struggle between Sparta and Athens. That the Achæans of Phthiôtis are a portion of the same race as the Achæans of Peloponnesus it seems reasonable to believe, though we trace no historical evidence to authenticate it. Achæa Phthiôtis is the seat of Hellên, the patriarch of the entire race, — of the primitive Hellas, by some treated as a town, by others as a district of some breadth, — and of the great national hero, Achilles. Its connection with the Peloponnesian Achæans is not unlike that of Doris with the Peloponnesian Dorians.<sup>2</sup> We have, also, to notice another ethnical kindred, the date and circumstances of which are given to us only in a mythical form, but which seems, nevertheless, to be in itself a reality, — that of the Magnêtes on Pelion and Ossa, with the two divisions of Asiatic Magnêtes, or Magnesia, on Mount Sipylus and Magnesia on the river Mæander. It is said that these two Asiatic homonymous towns were founded by migrations of the Thessalian Magnêtes, a body of whom became consecrated to the Delphian god, and chose a new abode under his directions. According to one story, these emigrants were warriors, returning from the Siege of Troy; according to another, they sought fresh seats, to escape from the Thesprotian conquerors of Thessaly. There was a third story, according to which the Thessalian Magnêtes themselves were represented as colonists<sup>3</sup> from Delphi. Though we can elicit no

<sup>1</sup> The story of invading Thessalians at Keræsus, near Leuktra in Bœotia, (Pausan. ix. 13, 1,) is not at all probable.

<sup>2</sup> One story was, that these Achæans of Phthia went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, and settled in Laconia (Strabo, viii. p. 365).

<sup>3</sup> Aristoteles ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 173 Conon, Narrat. 29; Strabo, xiv. p. 647.

distinct matter of fact from these legends, we may, nevertheless admit the connection of race between the Thessalian and the Asiatic Magnètes; as well as the reverential dependence of both manifested in this supposed filiation, on the temple of Delphi. Of the Magnètes in Krete, noticed by Plato as long extinct in his time, we cannot absolutely verify even the existence.

Of the Malians, Thucydidēs notices three tribes (*γῆνη*) as existing in his time, — the Paralii, the Hierēs (priests), and the Trachinii, or men of Trachin:<sup>1</sup> it is possible that the second of the two may have been possessors of the sacred spot on which the Amphiktyonic meetings were held. The prevalence of the hoplites or heavy-armed infantry among the Malians, indicates that we are stepping from Thessalian to more southerly Hellenic habits: the Malians recognized every man as a qualified citizer, who either had served, or was serving, in the ranks with his full panoply.<sup>2</sup> Yet the panoply was probably not perfectly suitable to the mountainous regions by which they were surrounded; for at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the aggressive mountaineers of the neighboring region of Cēta, had so harassed ar

Hoeck (Kreta, b. iii. vol. ii. p. 409) attempts (unsuccessfully, in my judgment) to reduce these stories into the form of substantial history.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 92. The distinction made by Skylax (c. 61) and Diodor (xviii. 11) between *Μηλῆες* and *Μαλῆες* — the latter adjoining the form on the north — appears inadmissible, though Letronne still defends it (Péple de Marcién d'Héraclee, etc., Paris, 1839, p. 212).

Instead of *Μαλῆες*, we ought to read *Λαμῆες*, as O. Müller observes (Irians, i. 6, p. 48).

It is remarkable that the important town of Lamia (the modern Zeitir) is not noticed either by Herodotus, Thucydidēs, or Xenophon; Skylax the first who mentions it. The route of Xerxes towards Thermopylae along the coast from Alos.

The Lamieis (assuming that to be the correct reading) occupied the northern coast of the Maliac gulf, from the north bank of the Spercheius to town of Echinus; in which position Dr. Cramer places the *Μηλῆες Παρά*. — an error, I think (Geography of Greece, vol. i. p. 436).

It is not improbable that Lamia first acquired importance during course of those events towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, when Lacedæmonians, in defence of Herakleia, attacked the Achæans of Phthia and even expelled the Cētæans for a time from their seats (see Thucyd. 3; Diodor. xiv. 38).

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. iv. 10, 10.

overwhelmed them in war, that they were forced to throw themselves on the protection of Sparta; and the establishment of the Spartan colony of Herakleia, near Trachin, was the result of their urgent application. Of these mountaineers, described under the general name of Ceteans, the principal were the Ænians, (or Eniènes, as they are termed in the Homeric Catalogue, as well as by Herodotus),—an ancient Hellenic<sup>1</sup> Amphiktyonic race, who are said to have passed through several successive migrations in Thessaly and Epirus, but who, in the historical times, had their settlement and their chief town, Hypata, in the upper valley of the Spercheius, on the northern declivity of Mount Ceta. But other tribes were probably also included in the name, such as those Ætolian tribes, the Bomians and Kallians, whose high and cold abodes approached near to the Maliac gulf. It is in this sense that we are to understand the name, as comprehending all the predatory tribes along this extensive mountain range, when we are told of the damage done by the Ceteans, both to the Malians on the east, and to the Dorians on the south: but there are some cases in which the name Ceteans seems to designate expressly the Ænians, especially when they are mentioned as exercising the Amphiktyonic franchise.<sup>2</sup>

The fine soil, abundant moisture, and genial exposure of the southern declivities of Othrys,<sup>3</sup>—especially the valley of the Spercheius, through which river all these waters pass away, and which annually gives forth a fertilizing inundation,—present a marked contrast with the barren, craggy, and naked masses of Mount Ceta, which forms one side of the pass of Thermopylæ. Southward of the pass, the Lokrians, Phokians, and Dorians, occupied the mountains and passes between Thessaly and Bœo-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Quæstion. Græc.* p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iii. 92–97; viii. 3. Xenoph. *Hellen.* i. 2, 18; in another passage Xenophon expressly distinguishes the Cetei and the Ænians (*Hellen.* iii. 5, 6). Diodor. xiv. 38. Æschines, *De Fals. Leg.* c. 44, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> About the fertility as well as the beauty of this valley, see Dr. Holland's *Travels*, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 108, and Forchhammer (*Hellenika, Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte*, Berlin, 1837). I do not concur with the latter in his attempts to resolve the mythes of Hēraklēs, Achilles, and others, into physical phenomena; but his descriptions of local scenery and attributes are most vivid and masterly.

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The Phokians were bounded on the north by the little territories called Doris and Dryopis, which separated them from the Malians,—on the north-east, east, and south-west, by the different branches of Lokrians,—and on the south-east, by the Bœotians. They touched the Eubœan sea, (as has been mentioned) at Daphnus, the point where it approaches nearest to their chief town, Elateia; their territory also comprised most part of the lofty and bleak range of Parnassus, as far as its southerly termination, where a lower portion of it, called Kirphis, projects into the Corinthian gulf, between the two bays of Antikyra and Krissa; the latter, with its once fertile plain, lay immediately under the sacred rock of the Delphian Apollo. Both Delphi and Krissa originally belonged to the Phokian race, but the sanctity of the temple, together with Lacedæmonian aid, enabled the Delphians to set up for themselves, disavowing their connection with the Phokian brotherhood. Territorially speaking, the most valuable part of Phokis<sup>1</sup> consisted in the valley of the river Kephisus, which takes its rise from Parnassus, not far from the Phokian town of Lilæa, passes between Ceta and Knêmis on one side, and Parnassus on the other, and enters Bœotia near Chæroneia, discharging itself into the lake Kôpæis. It was on the projecting mountain ledges and rocks on each side of this river, that the numerous little Phokian towns were situated. Twenty-two of them were destroyed and broken up into villages by the Amphiktyonic order, after the second Sacred War; Abæ (one of the few, if not the only one, that was spared) being protected by the sanctity of its temple and oracle. Of these cities, the most important was Elateia, situated on the left bank of the Kephisus, and on the road from Lokris into Phokis, in the natural march of an army from Thermopylæ into Bœotia. The Phokian towns<sup>2</sup> were embodied in an ancient confederacy,

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46). This serves as one presumption about the age of the *Periplus* of Skylax (see the notes of Klausen ad Skyl. p. 269). These Lokrian towns lay along the important road from Thermopylæ to Elateia and Bœotia (Pausan. vii. 15, 2; Livy, xxxiii. 3)

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. x. 33, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. x. 5, 1; Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* c. 22–28; Diodor. xvi. 60, with the note of Wesseling.

The tenth book of Pausanias, though the larger half of it is devoted to

which held its periodical meetings at a temple between Daulis and Delphi.

The little territory called Doris and Dryopis, occupied the southern declivity of Mount Ceta, dividing Phokis on the north and north-west, from the Ætolians, Ænians, and Malians. That which was called Doris in the historical times, and which reached, in the time of Herodotus, nearly as far eastward as the Maliac gulf, is said to have formed a part of what had been once called Dryopis; a territory which had comprised the summit of Ceta as far as the Spercheius, northward, and which had been inhabited by an old Hellenic tribe called Dryopes. The Dorians acquired their settlement in Dryopis by gift from Hēraklēs, who, along with the Malians (so ran the legend), had expelled the Dryopes, and compelled them to find for themselves new seats at Hermionē, and Asinē, in the Argolic peninsula of Peloponnesus, — at Styra and Karystus in Eubœa, — and in the island of Kythnos;<sup>1</sup> it is only in these five last-mentioned places, that history recognizes them. The territory of Doris was distributed into four little townships, — Pindus, or Akyphas, Bœon, Kytinion, and Erineon, — each of which seems to have occupied a separate valley belonging to one of the feeders of the river Kephisus, — the only narrow spaces of cultivated ground which this “small and sad” region presented.<sup>2</sup> In itself, this tetropolis is so insignificant, that we shall rarely find occasion to mention it; but it acquired a factitious consequence by being regarded as the metropolis of the great Dorian cities in Peloponnesus, and receiving on that ground special protection from Sparta. I do not here touch upon that string of ante-historical migrations — stated by

Delphi, tells us all that we know respecting the less important towns of Phokis. Compare also Dr. Cramer's Geography of Greece, vol. ii. sect. 10; and Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. ch. 13.

Two funeral monuments of the Phokian hero Schedius (who commands the Phokian troops before Troy, and is slain in the Iliad) marked the two extremities of Phokis, — one at Daphnus on the Eubœan sea, the other at Antikyra on the Corinthian gulf (Strabo, ix. p. 425; Pausan. x. 36, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 31, 43, 46; Diodor. iv. 57; Aristot. ap. Strabo, viii. p. 373.

O. Müller (History of the Dorians, book i. ch. ii.) has given all that can be known about Doris and Dryopis, together with some matters which appear to me very inadequately authenticated.

<sup>2</sup> Πόλεις μικραὶ καὶ ἀνυπόχωροι, Strabo, ix. p. 427.

Herodotus, and illustrated by the ingenuity as well as decorated by the fancy of O. Müller—through which the Dorians are affiliated with the patriarch of the Hellenic race,—moving originally out of Phthiôtis to Histieôtis, then to Pindus, and lastly to Doris. The residence of Dorians in Doris, is a fact which meets us at the commencement of history, like that of the Phokians and Lokrians in their respective territories.

We next pass to the Ætolians, whose extreme tribes covered the bleak heights of Ceta and Korax, reaching almost within sight of the Malian gulf, where they bordered on the Dorians and Malians,—while their central and western tribes stretched along the frontier of the Ozolian Lokrians to the flat plain, abundant in marsh and lake, near the mouth of the Euênus. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, they do not seem to have extended so far westward as the Achelôus; but in later times, this latter river, throughout the greater part of its lower course, divided them from the Akarnanians:<sup>1</sup> on the north, they touched upon the Dolopians, and upon a parallel of latitude nearly as far north as Ambrakia. There were three great divisions of the Ætolian name,—the Apodôti, Ophioneis, and Eurytanes,—each of which was subdivided into several different village tribes. The northern and eastern portion of the territory<sup>2</sup> consisted of very high mountain ranges, and even in the southern portion, the mountains Arakynthus, Kurion, Chalkis, Taphiassus, are found at no great distance from the sea; while the chief towns in Ætolia, Kalydôn, Pleurôn, Chalkis,—seem to have been situated eastward of the Euênus, between the last-mentioned mountains and the sea.<sup>3</sup> The first two towns have been greatly ennobled in legend, but

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 126; Thucyd. ii. 102.

<sup>2</sup> See the difficult journey of Fiedler from Wrachori northward by Karpenitz, and then across the north-western portion of the mountains of the ancient Eurytanes (the southern continuation of Mount Tymphrêstus and Ceta), into the upper valley of the Spercheus (Fiedler's *Reise in Griechenland*, vol. i. pp. 177–191), a part of the longer journey from Missolonghi to Zeiton.

Skylax (c. 35) reckons Ætolia as extending inland as far as the boundaries of the Ænians on the Spercheus—which is quite correct—Ætolia Epiktêtus—*μέχρι τῆς Οἰραίας*, Strabo, x. p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, x. pp. 459–460. There is, however, great uncertainty about the position of these ancient towns: compare Kruse, *Hellas*, vol. iii. ch. xi. pp. 233–255, and Brandstätter, *Geschichte des Ætolischen Landes*, pp. 121–134.



are little named in history ; while, on the contrary, Thermus, the chief town of the historical Ætolians, and the place where the aggregate meeting and festival of the Ætolian name, for the choice of a Pan-Ætolic general, was convoked, is not noticed by any one earlier than Ephorus.<sup>1</sup> It was partly legendary renown, partly ethnical kindred (publicly acknowledged on both sides) with the Eleians in Peloponnesus, which authenticated the title of the Ætolians to rank as Hellenes. But the great mass of the Apodôti, Eurytanes, and Ophioneis in the inland mountains, were so rude in their manners, and so unintelligible<sup>2</sup> in their speech, (which, however, was not barbaric, but very bad Hellenic,) that this title might well seem disputable, — in point of fact it was disputed, in later times, when the Ætolian power and depredations had become obnoxious nearly to all Greece. And it is, probably, to this difference of manners between the Ætolians on the sea-coast and those in the interior, that we are to trace a geographical division mentioned by Strabo, into ancient Ætolia, and Ætolia Epiktêtus, or acquired. When or by whom this division was introduced, we do not know. It cannot be founded upon any conquest, for the inland Ætolians were the most unconquerable of mankind: and the affirmation which Ephorus applied to the whole Ætolian race, — that it had never been reduced to subjection by any one, — is, most of all, beyond dispute concerning the inland portion of it.<sup>3</sup>

Adjoining the Ætolians were the Akarnanians, the westernmost of extra-Peloponnesian Greeks. They extended to the Ionian sea, and seem, in the time of Thucydides, to have occupied

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus, Fragm. 29, Marx. ap. Strabo, p. 463. The situation of Thermus, "the acropolis as it were of all Ætolia," and placed on a spot almost unapproachable by an army, is to a certain extent, though not wholly, capable of being determined by the description which Polybius gives of the rapid march of Philip and the Macedonian army to surprise it. The maps, both of Kruse and Kiepert, place it too much on the north of the lake Trichônis: the map of Fiedler notes it, more correctly, to the east of that lake (Polyb. v. 7-8; compare Brandstätter, Geschichte des Ætol. Landes, p. 133).

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iii. 102. — ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλώσσῳν εἰσι, καὶ ὁμήφαγοι ὥς λέγουνται. It seems that Thucydides had not himself seen or conversed with them, but he does not call them βάρβαροι.

<sup>3</sup> Ephorus, Fragment. 29, ed. Marx.; Skymn. Chius, v. 471; Strabo, x. p. 450.

both banks of the river Achelôus, in the lower part of its course, — though the left bank appears afterwards as belonging to the Ætolians, so that the river came to constitute the boundary, often disputed and decided by arms, between them. The principal Akarnanian towns, Stratus and Ceniadæ, were both on the right bank; the latter on the marshy and overflowed land near its mouth. Near the Akarnanians, towards the gulf of Ambrakia, were found barbarian, or non-Hellenic nations, — the Agræans and the Amphilochians: in the midst of the latter, on the shores of the Ambrakian gulf, the Greek colony, called Argos Amphilochicum, was established.

Of the five Hellenic subdivisions now enumerated, — Lokrians, Phokians, Dorians (of Doris), Ætolians, and Akarnanians (of whom Lokrians, Phokians, and Ætolians are comprised in the Homeric catalogue), — we have to say the same as of those north of Thermopylæ: there is no information respecting them from the commencement of the historical period down to the Persian war. Even that important event brings into action only the Lokrians of the Eubœan sea, the Phokians, and the Dorians: we have to wait until near the Peloponnesian war, before we require information respecting the Ozolian Lokrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians. These last three were unquestionably the most backward members of the Hellenic aggregate. Though not absolutely without a central town, they lived dispersed in villages, retiring, when attacked, to inaccessible heights, perpetually armed and in readiness for aggression and plunder wherever they found an opportunity.<sup>1</sup> Very different was the condition of the Lokrians opposite Eubœa, the Phokians, and the Dorians. These were all orderly town communities, small, indeed, and poor, but not less well administered than the average of Grecian townships, and perhaps exempt from those individual violences which so frequently troubled the Bœotian Thebes or the great cities of Thessaly. Timæus affirmed (contrary, as it seems, to the supposition of Aristotle) that, in early times, there were no

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 6; iii. 94. Aristotle, however, included, in his large collection of *Πολιτείας*, an *Ἀκαρνάνων Πολιτεία* as well as an *Αἰτωλῶν Πολιτεία* (*Aristotelis Rerum Publicarum Reliquiæ*, ed. Neumann, p. 102; Strabo, vii. p. 321).

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menian legends, the Catalogue, and other allusions in Homer, and the traces of past power and importance yet visible in the historical age, attest the early political existence of Orchomenus and its neighborhood apart from Bœotia.<sup>1</sup> The Amphiktyony in which Orchomenus participated, at the holy island of Kalauria near the Argolic peninsula, seems to show that it must once have possessed a naval force and commerce, and that its territory must have touched the sea at Halæ and the lower town of Larymna, near the southern frontier of Lokris; this sea is separated by a very narrow space from the range of mountains which join Knêmis and Ptôon, and which inclose on the east both the basin of Orchomenus, Asplêdôn, and Kôpæ, and the lake Kôpais. The migration of the Bœotians out of Thessaly into Bœotia (which is represented as a consequence of the conquest of the former country by the Thesprotians) is commonly assigned as the compulsory force which Bœotized Orchomenus. By whatever cause, or at whatever time (whether before or after 776 B. C.) the transition may have been effected, we find Orchomenus completely Bœotian throughout the known historical age, — yet still retaining its local Minyeian legends, and subject to the jealous rivalry<sup>2</sup> of Thebes, as being the second city in the Bœotian league. The direct road from the passes of Phokis southward into Bœotia went through Chæroneia, leaving Lebadeia on the right, and Orchomenus on the left hand, and passed the south-western edge of the lake

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<sup>1</sup> See an admirable topographical description of the north part of Bœotia, — the lake Kôpais and its environs, in Forchhammer's *Hellenika*, pp. 159-186, with an explanatory map. The two long and laborious tunnels constructed by the old Orchomenians for the drainage of the lake, as an aid to the insufficiency of the natural Katabothra, are there very clearly laid down: one goes to the sea, the other into the neighboring lake Hylika, which is surrounded by high rocky banks and can take more water without overflowing. The lake Kôpais is an inclosed basin, receiving all the water from Doris and Phokis through the Kêphisus. A copy of Forchhammer's map will be found at the end of the present volume.

Forchhammer thinks that it was nothing but the similarity of the name Itônca (derived from *lréa*, a willow-tree) which gave rise to the tale of an emigration of people from the Thessalian to the Bœotian Itônê (p. 148).

The Homeric Catalogue presents Kôpæ, on the north of the lake, as Bœotian, but not Orchomenus nor Asplêdôn (*Iliad*, ii. 502).

<sup>2</sup> See O. Müller, *Orchomenos*, cap. xx. p. 418, *seq.*

**Kôpais** near the towns of **Koroneia**, **Alalkomenæ**, and **Haliartus**, — all situated on the mountain **Tilphôssion**, an outlying ridge connected with **Helicon** by the intervention of **Mount Leïbæthrus**. The **Tilphossæon** was an important military post, commanding that narrow pass between the mountain and the lake which lay in the great road from **Phokis** to **Thebes**.<sup>1</sup> The territory of this latter city occupied the greater part of central **Boeotia**, south of the lake **Kôpais**; it comprehended **Akræphia** and **Mount Ptôon**, and probably touched the **Eubœan sea** at the village of **Salgameus** south of **Anthêdôn**. South-west of **Thebes**, occupying the southern descent of lofty **Helicon** towards the inmost corner of the **Corinthian gulf**, and bordering on the south-eastern extremity of **Phokis** with the **Phokian town** of **Bulis**, stood the city of **Thespiaæ**. Southward of the **Asôpus**, between that river and **Mount Kithæron**, were **Platæa** and **Tanagra**; in the south-eastern corner of **Boeotia** stood **Orôpus**, the frequent subject of contention between **Thebes** and **Athens**; and in the road between the **Eubœan Chalkis** and **Thebes**, the town of **Mykalêssus**.

From our first view of historical **Boeotia** downward, there appears a confederation which embraces the whole territory and during the **Peloponnesian war**, the **Thebans** invoke "the ancient constitutional maxims of the **Boeotians**" as a justification of extreme rigor, as well as of treacherous breach of the peace against the recusant **Platæans**.<sup>2</sup> Of this confederation, the greater cities were primary members, while the lesser were attached to one or other of them in a kind of dependent union. Neither the names nor the number of these primary members can be certainly known: there seem grounds for including **Thebes**, **Orchomenus**, **Lebadeia**, **Korôneia**, **Haliartus**, **Kôps**, **Anthêdôn**, **Tanagra**, **Thespiaæ**, and **Platæa** before its secession

<sup>1</sup> See **Demosthen. De Fals. Legat. c. 43-45**. Another portion of this narrow road is probably meant by the pass of **Korôneia** — τὰ περὶ Κορώνειαν (Diodor. xv. 52; Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 3, 15) — which **Epameinond** occupied to prevent the invasion of **Kleombrotus** from **Phokis**.

<sup>2</sup> **Thucyd. ii. 2** — κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν: compare the speech of the **Thebans** to the **Lacedæmonians** after the capture of **Platæa** iii. 61, 65, 66.

<sup>3</sup> **Thucyd. iv. 91**; **C. F. Hermann, Griechische Staats Alterthümer**, &c

Akræphia, with the neighboring Mount Ptoon and its oracle, Skólus, Glisas, and other places, were dependencies of Thebes: Chæroneia, Asplêdôn, Holmônes, and Hyêtus, of Orchomenus: Siphæ, Leuktra, Kerêssus, and Thisbê, of Thespiæ.<sup>1</sup> Certain generals or magistrates, called Bœotarchs, were chosen annually to manage the common affairs of the confederation. At the time of the battle of Delium in the Peloponnesian war, they were eleven in number, two of them from Thebes; but whether this number was always maintained, or in what proportions the choice was made by the different cities, we find no distinct information. There were likewise, during the Peloponnesian war, four different senates, with whom the Bœotarchs consulted on matters of importance; a curious arrangement, of which we have no explanation. Lastly, there was the general concilium and religious festival,—the Pambœotia,—held periodically at Korôneia. Such were the forms, as far as we can make them out, of the Bœotian confederacy; each of the separate cities possessing its own senate and constitution, and having its political consciousness as an autonomous unit, yet with a certain habitual deference to the federal obligations. Substantially, the affairs of the confederation will be found in the hands of Thebes, managed in the interests of Theban ascendancy, which appears to have been sustained by no other feeling except respect for superior force and bravery. The discontents of the minor Bœotian towns, harshly repressed and punished, form an uninviting chapter in Grecian history.

One piece of information we find, respecting Thebes singly and apart from the other Bœotian towns anterior to the year 700 B. C. Though brief, and incompletely recorded, it is yet highly valuable, as one of the first incidents of solid and positive Grecian history. Dioklês, the Corinthian, stands enrolled as Olympic victor in the 13th Olympiad, or 728 B. C., at a time when the oligarchy called Bacchiadæ possessed the government of Corinth. The beauty of his person attracted towards him the attachment of Philolaus, one of the members of this oligarchical body,—a sentiment

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179; Herodot. v. 79; Boeckh, *Commentat. ad Inscript. Bœotic. ap. Corp. Ins. Gr. part v. p. 726.*

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 135; ix. 15-43. Pausan. ix. 13, 1; ix. 23, 3; ix. 24, 3; ix. 32, 1-4. Xenophon, *Hellen. vi. 4, 3-4*: compare O. Müller, *Orchomeneos*, cap. xx. p. 403.

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Thebes, which perhaps may have been part of the scheme of Philolaus, prohibiting exposure of children, and empowering a father, under the pressure of extreme poverty, to bring his new-born infant to the magistrates, who sold it for a price to any citizen-purchaser, — taking from him the obligation to bring it up, but allowing him in return, to consider the adult as his slave.<sup>1</sup> From these brief allusions, coming to us without accompanying illustration, we can draw no other inference, except that the great problem of population—the relation between the well-being of the citizens and their more or less rapid increase in numbers—had engaged the serious attention even of the earliest Grecian legislators. We may, however, observe that the old Corinthian legislator, Pheidôn, (whose precise date cannot be fixed) is stated by Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> to have contemplated much the same object as that which is ascribed to Philolaus at Thebes; an unchangeable number both of citizens and of lots of land, without any attempt to alter the unequal ratio of the lots, one to the other.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### EARLIEST HISTORICAL VIEW OF PELOPONNESUS. DORIANS IN ARGOS AND THE NEIGHBORING CITIES.

WE now pass from the northern members to the heart and head of Greece, — Peloponnesus and Attica, taking the former first in order, and giving as much as can be ascertained respecting its early historical phenomena.

The traveller who entered Peloponnesus from Bœotia during the youthful days of Herodotus and Thucydides, found an array

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*μάλωσις* be correct, there is good ground for preferring the word *Φαλέων* to *Φιλολάων*; since the proceeding described would harmonize better with the ideas of Phaleas (Aristot. Pol. ii. 4, 3).

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*, V. H. ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristot. Polit.* ii. 3, 7. This Pheidôn seems different from Pheidôn of Argos, as far as we are enabled to judge.



of powerful Doric cities conterminous to each other, and beginning at the isthmus of Corinth. First came Megara, stretching across the isthmus from sea to sea, and occupying the high and rugged mountain-ridge called Geraneia; next Corinth, with its strong and conspicuous acropolis, and its territory including Mount Oneion as well as the portion of the isthmus at once most level and narrowest, which divided its two harbors called Lechæum and Kenchreæ. Westward of Corinth, along the Corinthian gulf, stood Sikyôn, with a plain of uncommon fertility, between the two towns: southward of Sikyôn and Corinth were Phlius and Kleonæ, both conterminous, as well as Corinth, with Argos and the Argolic peninsula. The inmost bend of the Argolic gulf, including a considerable space of flat and marshy ground adjoining to the sea, was possessed by Argos; the Argolic peninsula was divided by Argos with the Doric cities of Epidaurus and Trœzen, and the Dryopian city of Hermione, the latter possessing the south-western corner. Proceeding southward along the western coast of the gulf, and passing over the little river called Tanos, the traveller found himself in the dominion of Sparta, which comprised the entire southern region of the peninsula from its eastern to its western sea, where the river Neda flows into the latter. He first passed from Argos across the difficult mountain range called Parnôn (which bounds to the west the southern portion of Argolis), until he found himself in the valley of the river Cenus, which he followed until it joined the Eurotas. In the larger valley of the Eurotas, far removed from the sea, and accessible only through the most impracticable mountain roads, lay the five unwalled, unadorned, adjoining villages, which bore collectively the formidable name of Sparta. The whole valley of the Eurotas, from Skiritis and Belemnitis at the border of Arcadia, to the Laconian gulf,—expanding in several parts into fertile plain, especially near to its mouth, where the towns of Gythium and Helos were found,—belonged to Sparta; together with the cold and high mountain range to the eastward, which projects into the promontory of Malea,—and the still loftier chain of Taygetus to the westward, which ends in the promontory of Tænarus. On the other side of Taygetus, on the banks of the river Pamisus, which there flows into the Messenian gulf, lay the plain of Messênê, the richest land in the

peninsula. This plain had once yielded its ample produce to the free Messenians Dorians, resident in the towns of Stenyklêrus and Andania. But in the time of which we speak, the name of Messenians was borne only by a body of brave but homeless exiles, whose restoration to the land of their forefathers overpassed even the exile's proverbially sanguine hope. Their land was confounded with the western portion of Laconia, which reached in a south-westerly direction down to the extreme point of Cape Akritas, and northward as far as the river Neda.

Throughout his whole journey to the point last mentioned, from the borders of Bœotia and Megaris, the traveller would only step from one Dorian state into another. But on crossing from the south to the north bank of the river Neda, at a point near to its mouth, he would find himself out of Doric land altogether: first, in the territory called Triphylia, — next, in that of Pisa, or the Pisatid, — thirdly, in the more spacious and powerful state called Elis; these three comprising the coast-land of Peloponnesus from the mouth of the Neda to that of the Larissus. The Triphylians, distributed into a number of small townships, the largest of which was Lepreon, — and the Pisatans, equally destitute of any centralizing city, — had both, at the period of which we are now speaking, been conquered by their more powerful northern neighbors of Elis, who enjoyed the advantage of a spacious territory united under one government; the middle portion, called the Hollow Elis, being for the most part fertile, though the tracts near the sea were more sandy and barren. The Eleians were a section of Ætolian emigrants into Peloponnesus, but the Pisatans and Triphylians had both been originally independent inhabitants of the peninsula, — the latter being affirmed to belong to the same race as the Minyæ who had occupied the ante-Bœotian Orchomenos: both, too, bore the ascendancy of Elis with perpetual murmur and occasional resistance.

Crossing the river Larissus, and pursuing the northern coast of Peloponnesus south of the Corinthian gulf, the traveller would pass into Achaia, — a name which designated the narrow strip of level land, and the projecting spurs and declivities, between that gulf and the northernmost mountains of the peninsula, — Skollis, Erymanthus, Aroania, Krathis, and the towering eminence called

**Kyllênê.** Achæan cities, — twelve in number at least, i more, — divided this long strip of land amongst them, from mouth of the Larissus and the north-western Cape Araxi one side, to the western boundary of the Sikyonian territo the other. According to the accounts of the ancient legend the belief of Herodotus, this territory had once been occupi Ionian inhabitants whom the Achæans had expelled.

In making this journey, the traveller would have finishe circuit of Peloponnesus; but he would still have left untr the great central region, inclosed between the territorie enumerated, — approaching nearest to the sea on the borde Triphylia, but never touching it anywhere. This region Arcadia, possessed by inhabitants who are uniformly repre as all of one race, and all aboriginal. It was high and full of wild mountain, rock, and forest, and abounding, to gree unusual even in Greece, with those land-locked basin whence the water finds only a subterraneous issue. It w tributed among a large number of distinct villages and Many of the village tribes, — the Mænalii, Parrhasii, A etc., occupying the central and the western regions, were bered among the rudest of the Greeks: but along its frontier there were several Arcadian cities which rank servedly among the more civilized Peloponnesians. Tegesteineia, Orchomenus, Stymphalus, Pheneus, possessed the eastern frontier of Arcadia from the borders of Laconia t of Sikyôn and Pellênê in Achaia: Phigaleia at the sout ern corner, near the borders of Triphylia, and Heræa, north bank of the Alpheius, near the place where that riv Arcadia to enter the Pisatis, were also towns deserving of Towards the north of this cold and thinly-peopled regio Pheneos, was situated the small town of Nonakris, adjoin which rose the hardly accessible crags where the rivulet o

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vi. 74; Pausan. viii. 18, 2. See the description and pr river Styx, and the neighboring rocks, in Fiedler's Reise durch Grie vol. i. p. 400.

He describes a scene amidst these rocks, in 1826, when the t Ibrahim Pasha were in the Morea, which realizes the fearful pictur after the manner of the ancient Gauls, or Thracians. A crowd of sand Greeks, of every age and sex, had found shelter in a grassy

flowed down: a point of common feeling for all Arcadians, from the terrific sanction which this water was understood to impart to their oaths.

The distribution of Peloponnesus here sketched, suitable to the Persian invasion and the succeeding half century, may also be said (with some allowances) to be adapted to the whole interval between about B. C. 550-370; from the time of the conquest of Thyreatis by Sparta to the battle of Leuktra. But it is not the earliest distribution which history presents to us. Not presuming to criticize the Homeric map of Peloponnesus, and going back only to 776 B. C., we find this material difference, — that Sparta occupies only a very small fraction of the large territory above described as belonging to her. Westward of the summit of Mount Taygetus are found another section of Dorians, independent of Sparta: the Messenian Dorians, whose city is on the hill of Stenyklêrus, near the south-western boundary of Arcadia, and whose possessions cover the fertile plain of Messêne along the river Pamisus to its mouth in the Messenian gulf: it is to be noted that Messênê was then the name of the plain generally, and that no town so called existed until after the battle of Leuktra. Again, eastward of the valley of the Eurotas, the mountainous region and the western shores of the Argolic gulf down to Cape Malea are also independent of Sparta; belonging to Argos, or rather to Dorian towns in unison with Argos. All the great Dorian towns, from the borders of the Megarid to the eastern frontier of Arcadia, as above enumerated, appear to have existed in 776 B. C.: Achaia was in the same condition, so far as we are able to judge, as well as Arcadia, except in regard to its southern frontier, conterminous with Sparta, of which more will hereafter be said. In respect to the western portion of Peloponnesus, Elis (properly so called) appears to have embraced the same

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spot embosomed amidst these crags, — few of them armed. They were pursued by five thousand Egyptians and Arabians: a very small resistance, in such ground, would have kept the troops at bay, but the poor men either could not or would not offer it. They were forced to surrender: the youngest and most energetic cast themselves headlong from the rocks and perished: three thousand prisoners were carried away captive, and sold for slaves at Corinth, Patras, and Modon: all those who were unfit for sale were massacred on the spot by the Egyptian troops.

territory in 776 B. C. as in 550 B. C.: but, the Pisatid had been recently conquered, and was yet imperfectly subjected by Eleians; while Triphylia seems to have been quite independent of them. Respecting the south-western promontory of Peloponnesus down to Cape Akritas, we are altogether without information: reasons will hereafter be given for believing that it did at that time form part of the territory of the Messenian Dorians.

Of the different races or people whom Herodotus knew in Peloponnesus, he believed three to be aboriginal, — the Arcadians, the Achæans, and the Kynurians. The Achæans, though belonging indigenously to the peninsula, had yet removed from the southern portion of it to the northern, expelling the previous Ionian tenants: this is a part of the legend respecting the Dorian conquest, or Return of the Herakleids, and we can neither verify nor contradict it. But neither the Arcadians nor the Kynurians had ever changed their abodes. Of the latter, I have not been spoken, because they were never (so far as history knows) an independent population. They occupied the larger portion of the territory of Argolis, from Orneæ, near the northern Phliasian border, to Thyrea and the Thyreatis, on the Laconian border: and though belonging originally (as Herodotus imagines rather than asserts) to the Ionic race — they had been so long subjects of Argos in his time, that almost all evidence of their ante-Dorian condition had vanished.

But the great Dorian states in Peloponnesus — the chief powers in the peninsula — were all originally emigrants, according to the belief not only of Herodotus, but of all the Greeks of the world: so also were the Ætolians of Elis, the Triphylians, the Dryopes at Hermionê and Asinê. All these emigrants are so described as to give them a root in the Grecian legend: the Triphylians are traced back to Lemnos, as the spring of the Argonautic heroes,<sup>3</sup> and we are too uninformative

<sup>1</sup> This is the only way of reconciling Herodotus (viii. 73) with Thucydides (iv. 56, and v. 41). The original extent of the Kynurian territory is a point on which neither of them had any means of very correct information, but there is no occasion to reject the one in favor of the other.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. viii. 73. Οἱ δὲ Κυνόριοι, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, δοκέουσι εἶναι Ἴωνες· ἐκδεσφίενται δὲ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀργεῖων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ ὄντος Ὀρνειῖται καὶ περίοικοι.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. iv. 145.

about them to venture upon any historical guesses. But respecting the Dorians, it may perhaps be possible, by examining the first historical situation in which they are presented to us, to offer some conjectures as to the probable circumstances under which they arrived. The legendary narrative of it has already been given in the first chapter of this volume, — that great mythical event called the Return of the Children of Hēraklēs, by which the first establishment of the Dorians in the promised land of Peloponnesus was explained to the full satisfaction of Grecian faith. One single armament and expedition, acting by the special direction of the Delphian god, and conducted by three brothers, lineal descendants of the principal Achæo-Dorian heroes through Hyllus, (the eponymus of the principal tribe,) — the national heroes of the preëxisting population vanquished and expelled, and the greater part of the peninsula both acquired and partitioned at a stroke, — the circumstances of the partition adjusted to the historical relations of Laconia and Messenia, — the friendly power of Ætolian Elis, with its Olympic games as the bond of union in Peloponnesus, attached to this event as an appendage, in the person of Oxylus, — all these particulars compose a narrative well calculated to impress the retrospective imagination of a Greek. They exhibit an epical fitness and sufficiency which it would be unseasonable to impair by historical criticism.

The Alexandrine chronology sets down a period of 328 years from the Return of the Herakleids to the first Olympiad (1104 B. C. — 776 B. C.), — a period measured by the lists of the kings of Sparta, on the trustworthiness of which some remarks have already been offered. Of these 328 years, the first 250, at the least, are altogether barren of facts; and even if we admitted them to be historical, we should have nothing to recount except a succession of royal names. Being unable either to guarantee the entire list, or to discover any valid test for discriminating the historical and the non-historical items, I here enumerate the Lacedæmonian kings as they appear in Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*. There were two joint kings at Sparta, throughout nearly all the historical time of independent Greece, deducing their descent from Hēraklēs through Eurysthenēs and Proklēs, the twin sons of Aristodēmus; the latter being one of those three

**Herakleid brothers to whom the conquest of the peninsula is ascribed :—**

<i>Line of Eurysthenés.</i>			<i>Line of Proklés.</i>		
<b>Eurysthenés</b> .....	reigned	42 years.	<b>Proklés</b> .....	reigned	51 years
<b>Agis</b> .....	"	31 "	<b>Sösus</b> .....	"	— "
<b>Echestratus</b> .....	"	35 "	<b>Eurypôn</b> ....	"	— "
<b>Labôtas</b> .....	"	37 "	<b>Prytanis</b> ...	"	49 "
<b>Doryssus</b> .....	"	29 "	<b>Eunomus</b> .....	"	45 "
<b>Agésilæus</b> .....	"	44 "	<b>Charilaus</b> .....	"	60 "
<b>Archelaus</b> .....	"	60 "	<b>Nikander</b> .....	"	38 "
<b>Teleklus</b> .....	"	40 "	<b>Theopompus</b> ....	"	70 "
<b>Alkamenés</b> .....	"	10 "			
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Both Theopompus and Alkamenés reigned considerably longer, but the chronologists affirm that the year 776 B. C. (or the first Olympiad) occurred in the tenth year of each of their reigns. It is necessary to add, with regard to this list, that there are some material discrepancies between different authors even as to the names of individual kings, and still more as to the duration of their reigns, as may be seen both in Mr. Clinton's chronology and in Müller's Appendix to the History of the Dorians.<sup>1</sup> The alleged sum total cannot be made to agree with the items without great license of conjecture. O. Müller observes,<sup>2</sup> in reference to this Alexandrine chronology, "that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, not to verify its correctness."

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus omits Sösus between Proklés and Eurypôn, and inserts Polydektés between Prytanis and Eunomus: moreover, the accounts of the Lacedæmonians, as he states them, represented Lykurgus, the law-giver, as uncle and guardian of Labôtas, of the *Eurysthenid house*,—while Simonidés made him son of Prytanis, and others made him son of Eunomus, of the *Proklid line*: compare Herod. i. 65; viii. 131. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 2.

Some excellent remarks on this early series of Spartan kings will be found in Mr. G. C. Lewis's article in the Philological Museum, vol. ii. pp. 42-48, in a review of Dr. Arnold on the Spartan Constitution.

Compare also Larcher, *Chronologie d'Hérodote*, ch. 13, pp. 484-514. He lengthens many of the reigns considerably, in order to suit the earlier epoch which he assigns to the capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Dorians, vol. ii. Append. p. 442.

In point of fact they are insufficient even for the former purpose, as the dissensions among learned critics attest.

We have a succession of names, still more barren of facts, in the case of the Dorian sovereigns of Corinth. This city had its own line of Herakleids, descended from Héraklēs, but not through Hyllus. Hippotēs, the progenitor of the Corinthian Herakleids, was reported in the legend to have originally joined the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus, but to have quitted them in consequence of having slain the prophet Karnus.<sup>1</sup> The three brothers, when they became masters of the peninsula, sent for Alētēs, the son of Hippotēs, and placed him in possession of Corinth, over which the chronologists make him begin to reign thirty years after the Herakleid conquest. His successors are thus given:—

Aletes . . . . .	reigned 38 years,
Ixion . . . . .	" 38 "
Agelas . . . . .	" 37 "
Prymnis . . . . .	" 35 "
Bacchis . . . . .	" 35 "
Agelas . . . . .	" 30 "
Endēmus . . . . .	" 25 "
Aristomédēs . . . . .	" 35 "
Agēmôn . . . . .	" 16 "
Alexander . . . . .	" 25 "
Telestēs . . . . .	" 12 "
Automenēs . . . . .	" 1 "

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<sup>1</sup> This story — that the heroic ancestor of the great Corinthian Bacchiads had slain the holy man Karnus, and had been punished for it by long banishment and privation — leads to the conjecture, that the Corinthians did not celebrate the festival of the Karneia, common to the Dorians generally.

Herodotus tells us, with regard to the Ionic cities, that all of them celebrated the festival of Apaturia, except Ephesus and Kolophon; and that these two cities did not celebrate it, "because of a certain reason of murder committed," — οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι Ἴωνων οὐκ ἄγουσιν Ἀπατούρια· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνον τινα σκῆψιν (Herod. i. 147).

The murder of Karnus by Hippotēs was probably the φόνον σκῆψις which forbade the Corinthians from celebrating the Karneia; at least, this supposition gives to the legend a special pertinence which is otherwise wanting to it. Respecting the Karneia and Hyacinthia, see Schoell De Origine Græci ramatis, pp. 70–78. Tübingen, 1828.

There were various singular customs connected with the Grecian festivals,



Such was the celebrity of Bacchis, we are told that he succeeded him took the name of Bacchiads or Herakleids. One year after the accession of the family of the Bacchiads generally, amounting to a determined to abolish royalty, to constitute the oligarchy, and to elect out of their own number. Thus commenced the oligarchy of the Bacchiads, which lasted for ninety years, until it was subverted in 657 B. C.<sup>1</sup> Reckoning the thirty years preceding the reign of Alêtês, the chronological interval of 447 years between the Return of the Herakleids, and the accession of Kypselus, and 357 years between the period and the commencement of the Bacchiad oligarchy is unquestionably historical. The Herakleids belongs to the legendary world, the interval between the two is filled up, as in so many other cases, by mere barren genealogy.

When we jump this vacant space, and place ourselves at the first opening of history, we find that, although the Herakleids came to hold the first place, not only in Peloponnesus, but in Hellas, this was not the case at the earliest period. We have historical cognizance. Argos, and the Peloponnesus, connected with her by a bond of semi-religious union, — Sikyôn, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Troezen, — of greater power and consideration than Sparta. The legend of the Herakleids seems to recog-

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which it was usual to account for by some legendary story. Herakles of Elis ever entered himself as a competitor, or competitor, in the Isthmian games. The legendary reason given for this was that he had waylaid and slain (at Kleônæ) the two Moliones, who were proceeding to the Isthmian games as Theôrs of the Eleian king Augeas. Redress was in vain demanded of the king, and Molionê, mother of the slain envoys, imprecated a curse on the king generally if they should ever visit the Isthmian festival. *φόνου σκῆψις*, explaining why no Eleian runner or warrior was to contend there (Pausan. ii. 15, 1; v. 2, 1-4. See also Didot).

<sup>1</sup> Diodor. Fragm. lib. vii. p. 14, with the note of p. 378) states the Bacchiad oligarchy to have lasted for ninety years.

menus the eldest brother of the three. And Herodotus assures us that at one time all the eastern coast of Peloponnesus down to Cape Melea, including the island of Cythêra, all which came afterwards to constitute a material part of Laconia, had belonged to Argos.<sup>1</sup> Down to the time of the first Messenian war, the comparative importance of the Dorian establishments in Peloponnesus appears to have been in the order in which the legend placed them, — Argos first,<sup>2</sup> Sparta second, Messênê third. It will be seen hereafter that the Argeians never lost the recollection of this early preëminence, from which the growth of Sparta had extruded them; and the liberties of entire Hellas were more than once in danger from their disastrous jealousy of a more fortunate competitor.

At a short distance of about three miles from Argos, and at the exact point where that city approaches nearest to the sea,<sup>3</sup> was situated the isolated hillock called Temenion, noticed both by Strabo and Pausanias. It was a small village, deriving both its name and its celebrity from the chapel and tomb of the hero Têmenus, who was there worshipped by the Dorians; and the statement which Pausanias heard was, that Têmenus, with his invading Dorians, had seized and fortified the spot, and employed it as an armed post to make war upon Tisamenus and the Achæans. What renders this report deserving of the greater attention, is, that the same thing is affirmed with regard to the eminence called Solygeius, near Corinth: this too was believed to be the place which the Dorian assailants had occupied and fortified against

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 82. The historian adds, besides Cythêra, *καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων*. What other islands are meant, I do not distinctly understand.

<sup>2</sup> So Plato (Legg. iii. p. 692), whose mind is full of the old mythe and the tripartite distribution of Peloponnesus among the Herakleids, — *ἡ δ' αὖ, πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν διανομὴν, ἡ περὶ τὸ Ἄργος*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 38, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 368. Professor Ross observes, respecting the line of coast near Argos, "The sea-side is thoroughly flat, and for the most part marshy; only at the single point where Argos comes nearest to the coast, — between the mouth, now choked by sand, of the united Inachus and Charadrus, and the efflux of the Erasinus, overgrown with weeds and bulrushes, — stands an eminence of some elevation and composed of firmer earth, upon which the ancient Temenion was placed." (*Reisen im Peloponnes*, vol. i. sect. 5, p. 149, Berlin, 1841.)

the preëxisting Corinthians in the city. Situated close upon the Saronic gulf, it was the spot which invaders landing from that gulf would naturally seize upon, and which Nikias with his powerful Athenian fleet did actually seize and occupy against Corinth in the Peloponnesian war.<sup>1</sup> In early days, the only way of overpowering the inhabitants of a fortified town, generally also planted in a position itself very defensible, was, — that the invaders, entrenching themselves in the neighborhood, harassed the inhabitants and ruined their produce until they brought them to terms. Even during the Peloponnesian war, when the art of besieging had made some progress, we read of several instances in which this mode of aggressive warfare was adopted with efficient results.<sup>2</sup> We may readily believe that the Dorians obtained admittance both into Argos and Corinth in this manner. And it is remarkable that, except Sikyôn (which is affirmed to have been surprised by night), these were the only towns in the Argolic region which are said to have resisted them; the story being, that Phlius, Epidaurus, and Trœzên had admitted the Dorian intruders without opposition, although a certain portion of the previous inhabitants seceded. We shall hereafter see that the non-Dorian population of Sikyôn and Corinth still remained considerable.

The separate statements which we thus find, and the position of the Temenion and the Solygeius, lead to two conjectures, — first, that the acquisitions of the Dorians in Peloponnesus were also isolated and gradual, not at all conformable to the rapid strides of the old Herakleid legend; next, that the Dorian invaders of Argos and Corinth made their attack from the Argolic and the Saronic gulfs, — by sea and not by land. It is, indeed, difficult to see how they can have got to the Temenion in any other way than by sea; and a glance at the map will show that the eminence Solygeius presents itself,<sup>3</sup> with reference to Corinth, as the nearest and most convenient holding-ground for a maritime invader, conformably to the scheme of operations laid by Nikias. To illustrate the supposition of a Dorian attack by sea on Corinth, we may refer to a story quoted from Aristotle (which

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iv. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 122; iii. 85, vii. 18-27; viii. 38-40.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. iv. 42.

we find embodied in the explanation of an old adage), representing Hippotês the father of Alêtês as having crossed the Maliaç gulf<sup>1</sup> (the sea immediately bordering on the ancient Maleans, Dryopians, and Dorians) in ships, for the purpose of colonizing. And if it be safe to trust the mention of Dorians in the *Odyssey*, as a part of the population of the island of Crete, we there have an example of Dorian settlements which must have been effected by sea, and that too at a very early period. "We must suppose (observes O. Müller,<sup>2</sup> in reference to these Kretan Dorians) that the Dorians, pressed by want or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers who themselves worked at the oar, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen, — the Normans of Greece, — set sail for the distant island of Krête." In the same manner, we may conceive the expeditions of the Dorians against Argos and Corinth to have been effected; and whatever difficulties may attach to this hypothesis, certain it is that the difficulties of a long land-march, along such a territory as Greece, are still more serious.

The supposition of Dorian emigrations by sea, from the Maliaç gulf to the north-eastern promontory of Peloponnesus, is farther borne out by the analogy of the Dryopes, or Dryopians. During the historical times, this people occupied several detached settlements in various parts of Greece, all maritime, and some insular; — they were found at Hermionê, Asinê, and Eiôn, in the Argolic peninsula (very near to the important Dorian towns

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. ap. Prov. Vatican. iv. 4, *Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον*, — also, Prov. Suidas, x. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Dorians, ch. i. 9. Andrôn positively affirms that the Dorians came from Histiaïôtis to Krête; but his affirmation does not seem to me to constitute any additional evidence of the fact: it is a conjecture adapted to the passage in the *Odyssey* (xix. 174), as the mention of Achæans and Pelasgians evidently shows.

Aristotle (ap. Strab. viii. p. 374) appears to have believed that the Herakleids returned to Argos out of the Attic Tetrapolis (where, according to the Athenian legend, they had obtained shelter when persecuted by Eurystheus), accompanying a body of Ionians who then settled at Epidaurus. He cannot, therefore, have connected the Dorian occupation of Argos with the expedition from Naupaktus.

constituting the Amphiktyony of Argos,<sup>1</sup>) — at Styra and Kytus in the island of Eubœa, — in the island of Kythnos, and at Cyprus. These dispersed colonies can only have been peopled by expeditions over the sea. Now we are told that the original Dryopis, the native country of this people, comprehended both the territory near the river Spercheius, and north of it afterwards occupied by the Malians, as well as the neighbouring district south of Ceta, which was afterwards called Doris. It was hence the Dryopians were expelled, — according to one story, the Dorians, — according to another, by Hēraklēs and the Malians; however this may be, it was from the Maliac gulf that they started on shipboard in quest of new homes, which some of them found on the headlands of the Argolic peninsula.<sup>2</sup> And it was this very country, according to Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> that the Dorians set forth, in order to reach Peloponnesus. Nor does it seem unreasonable to imagine, that the same means of conveyance which bore the Dryopians from the Maliac gulf to Herakleia and Asinē, also carried the Dorians from the same place to Temenion, and the hill Solygeius.

The legend represents Sikyōn, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Platai, and Kleônæ, as all occupied by Dorian colonists from Argos under the different sons of Têmenus: the first three are on the sea, and fit places for the occupation of maritime invaders. Argos and the Dorian towns in and near the Argolic peninsula are to be regarded as a cluster of settlements by themselves, completely distinct from Sparta and the Messenian Stenyklia, which appear to have been formed under totally different conditions. First, both of them are very far inland, — Stenyklia not easy, Sparta very difficult of access from the sea; next, we know that the conquests of Sparta were gradually made in the valley of the Eurotas seaward. Both these acquisitions suggest the appearance of having been made from the land-side

<sup>1</sup> Herod. viii. 43–46; Diodor. iv. 37; Pausan. iv. 34, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 373; ix. p. 434. Herodot. viii. 43. Pherekydēs, i. 38, ed. Didot. Steph. Byz. v. Δρυόπη. Apollodor. ii. 7, 7. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1213.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. i. 56. — ἐνθεν δὲ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ Δρυοπίδος οὕτως εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἑλθόν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη, — to the purpose, viii. 31–43.

perhaps in the direction which the Herakleid legend describes, — by warriors entering Peloponnesus across the narrow mouth of the Corinthian gulf, through the aid or invitation of those Ætolian settlers who at the same time colonized Elis. The early and intimate connection (on which I shall touch presently) between Sparta and the Olympic games as administered by the Eleians, as well as the leading part ascribed to Lykurgus in the constitution of the solemn Olympic truce, tend to strengthen such a persuasion.

In considering the early affairs of the Dorians in Peloponnesus, we are apt to have our minds biased, first, by the Herakleid legend, which imparts to them an impressive, but deceitful, epical unity; next, by the aspect of the later and better-known history, which presents the Spartan power as unquestionably preponderant, and Argos only as second by a long interval. But the first view (as I have already remarked) which opens to us, of real Grecian history, a little before 776 B. C., exhibits Argos with its alliance or confederacy of neighboring cities colonized from itself, as the great seat of Dorian power in the peninsula, and Sparta as an outlying state of inferior consequence. The recollection of this state of things lasted after it had ceased to be a reality, and kept alive pretensions on the part of Argos to the headship of the Greeks as a matter of right, which she became quite incapable of sustaining either by adequate power or by statesmanlike sagacity. The growth of Spartan power was a succession of encroachments upon Argos.<sup>1</sup>

How Sparta came constantly to gain upon Argos will be matter for future explanation: at present, it is sufficient to remark, that the ascendancy of Argos was derived not exclusively from her own territory, but came in part from her position as metropolis of an alliance of autonomous neighboring cities, all Dorian and all colonized from herself, — and this was an element of power

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<sup>1</sup> See Herodot. vii. 148. The Argeians say to the Lacedæmonians, in reference to the chief command of the Greeks — *καίτοι κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωύτων*, etc. Schweighauser and others explain the point by reference to the command of Agamemnon; but this is at best only a part of the foundation of their claim: they had a more recent historical reality to plead also: compare Strabo, viii. p. 376.

essentially fluctuating. What Thêbes was to the cities of Boeotia, of which she either was, or professed to have been, the founder, the same was Argos in reference to Kleônæ, Phlius, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, and Ægina. These towns formed, in mythical language, "the lot of Têmenus,"<sup>2</sup>—in real matter of fact, the confederated allies or subordinates of Argos: the first four of them were said to have been *Dorized* by the sons or immediate relatives of Têmenus; and the kings of Argos, as acknowledged descendants of the latter, claimed and exercised a sort of *suzeraineté* over them. Hermionê, Asinê, and Nauplia seem also to have been under the supremacy of Argos, though not colonies.<sup>3</sup> But this supremacy was not claimed directly and nakedly: agreeably to the ideas of the time, the ostensible purposes of the Argeian confederacy or Amphiktyony were religious, though its secondary and not less real effects, were political. The great patron-god of the league was Apollo Pythæus, in whose name the obligations incumbent on the members of the league were imposed. While in each of the confederated cities there was a temple to this god, his most holy and central sanctuary was on the Larissa or acropolis of Argos. At this central Argeian sanctuary, solemn sacrifices were offered by Epidaurus as well as by other members of the confederacy, and, as it should seem, accompanied by money-

<sup>1</sup> Ἡμῶν κτισάντων (so runs the accusation of the Theban orators against the captive Plataeans, before their Lacedæmonian judges, Thucyd. iii. 61.) Πλάταιαν ὑστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας — οὐκ ἤξιον αὐτοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting Pheidôn, king of Argos, Ephorus said, — τὴν λῆξιν δὲ λην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένον διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη (ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358).

<sup>3</sup> The worship of Apollo Pythæus, adopted from Argos both at Hermionê and Asinê, shows the connection between them and Argos (Pausan. ii. 35, 2; ii. 36, 5): but Pausanias can hardly be justified in saying that the Argeians actually *Dorized* Hermionê: it was Dryopian in the time of Herodotus, and seemingly for a long time afterwards (Herodot. viii. 43). The Hermionian Inscription, No. 1193, in Boeckh's Collection, recognizes their old Dryopian connection with Asinê in Laconia: that town had once been neighbor of Hermionê, but was destroyed by the Argeians, and the inhabitants received a new home from the Spartans. The dialect of the Hermionians (probably that of the Dryopians generally) was Doric. See Ahrens, De Dialecto Doricâ, pp. 2-12.

payments,<sup>1</sup> — which the Argeians, as chief administrators on behalf of the common god, took upon them to enforce against defaulters, and actually tried to enforce during the Peloponnesian war against Epidaurus. On another occasion, during the 66th Olympiad (B. C. 514), they imposed the large fine of 500 talents upon each of the two states Sikyôn and Ægina, for having lent ships to the Spartan king Kleomenes, wherewith he invaded the Argeian territory. The Æginetans set the claim at defiance, but the Sikyonians acknowledged its justice, and only demurred to its amount, professing themselves ready to pay 100 talents.<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that, at this later period, the ascendancy of Argos over the members of her primitive confederacy had become practically inoperative; but the tenor of the cases mentioned shows that her claims were revivals of bygone privileges, which had once been effective and valuable.

How valuable the privileges of Argos were, before the great rise of the Spartan power, — how important an ascendancy they conferred, in the hands of an energetic man, and how easily they admitted of being used in furtherance of ambitious views, is shown by the remarkable case of Pheidôn, the Temenid. The few facts which we learn respecting this prince exhibit to us, for the first time, something like a real position of parties in the Peloponnesus, wherein the actual conflict of living historical men and cities, comes out in tolerable distinctness.

Pheidôn was designated by Ephorus as the tenth, and by Theopompus as the sixth, in lineal descent from Têmenus. Respecting the date of his existence, opinions the most discrepant and irreconcilable have been delivered; but there seems good reason for referring him to the period a little before and a little after the 8th Olympiad, — between 770 B. C. and 730

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 53. Κυριώτατοι τοῦ λεποῦ ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι. The word *εἰσπραττεῖς*, which the historian uses in regard to the claim of Argos against Epidaurus, seems to imply a money-payment withheld: compare the offerings exacted by Athens from Epidaurus (Herod. v. 82).

The peculiar and intimate connection between the Argeians, and Apollo, with his surname of Pythæus, was dwelt upon by the Argeian poetess Telesilla (Pausan. ii. 36, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vi. 92. See O. Müller, History of the Dorians, ch. 7, 13.



B. C.<sup>1</sup> Of the preceding kings of Argos we hear little: of them, Eratus, is said to have expelled the Dryopian inhabitant of Asinê from their town on the Argolic peninsula, in consequence of their having coöperated with the Spartan king, Nedar, when he invaded the Argeian territory, seemingly of the generation preceding Pheidôn; there is another, Dantidas, whose date cannot be positively determined, but he appears rather as subsequent than as anterior to Pheidôn.<sup>2</sup> We are informed, however, that these anterior kings, even beginning Medôn, the grandson of Têmenus, had been forced to submit to great abridgment of their power and privileges, so that a form of government substantially popular, though nominally regal, had been established.<sup>3</sup> Pheidôn, breaking th

<sup>1</sup> Ephor. Fragm. 15, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo, viii. p. 358; Theophrastus, Fragm. 30, ed. Didot; ap. Diodor. Fragm. lib. iv.

The Parian Marble makes Pheidôn the eleventh from Hêraklês, and places him B. C. 895; Herodotus, on the contrary (in a passage which affords considerable grounds for discussion), places him at a period which cannot be much higher than 600 B. C. (vi. 127.) Some authors suspect that Herodotus to be incorrect: at any rate, the real epoch of Pheidôn is determined by the 8th Olympiad. Several critics suppose two Pheidônes, each king of Argos, — among others, O. Müller (Dorians, iii. 6, 10), but there is nothing to countenance this, except the impossibility of reconciling Herodotus with the other authorities. And Weissenborn, in a dissertation of some length, vindicates the emendation of Pausanias proposed by former critics, — altering the 8th Olympiad, which now stands in the text of Pausanias, into the *twenty-eighth*, as the date of Pheidôn's usurpation of the Olympic games. Weissenborn endeavors to show that Pheidôn must have flourished earlier than 660 B. C.; but his arguments do not appear very forcible, and certainly not sufficient to justify so grave an alteration in the number of Pausanias (Beiträge zur Griechischen Alterthumskunde, p. 18, Jena, 1844). Mr. Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. App. 1, 10) places Pheidôn between 783 and 744 B. C.; also, Boeckh. ad Corp. Inscrip. No. 2374, p. 335, and Müller, Æginetica, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 36, 5; iv. 35, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 19, 1. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἀπὸ ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀρχὴν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον. Μήδωνι τῷ Κείσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειψῶναι τοῦ βασιλέως. This passage has all the air of transferring back to the *early* government of Argos, feelings which were only true of the *later*. It is curious that this chapter, though devoted to the Argeian regal line and government, takes no notice of Pheidôn: he mentions him only with reference to a disputed Olympic ceremony.

the limits imposed, made himself despot of Argos. He then re-established the power of Argos over all the cities of her confederacy, which had before been so nearly dissolved as to leave all the members practically independent.<sup>1</sup> Next, he is said to have acquired dominion over Corinth, and to have endeavored to assure it, by treacherously entrapping a thousand of her warlike citizens; but his artifice was divulged and frustrated by Abrôn, one of his confidential friends.<sup>2</sup> He is farther reported to have aimed at extending his sway over the greater part of Peloponnesus,—laying claim, as the descendant of Hêraklês, through the eldest son of Hyllus, to all the cities which that restless and irresistible hero had ever taken.<sup>3</sup> According to Grecian ideas, this legendary title was always seriously construed, and often admitted as conclusive; though of course, where there were strong opposing interests, reasons would be found to elude it. Pheidôn would have the same ground of right as that which, two hundred and fifty years afterwards, determined the Herakleid Dôrieus, brother of Kleomenês king of Sparta, to acquire for himself the territory near Mount Eryx in Sicily, because his progenitor,<sup>4</sup> Hêraklês, had conquered it before him. So numerous, however, were the legends respecting the conquests of Hêraklês, that the claim of Pheidôn must have covered the greater part of Peloponnesus, except Sparta and the plain of Messêne, which were already in the hands of Herakleids.

Nor was the ambition of Pheidôn satisfied even with these large pretensions. He farther claimed the right of presiding at the celebration of those religious games, or Agônes, which had

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus, *ut supra*. Φεῖδωνα τὸν Ἀργεῖον, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν, ὅφ' ἥς τήν τε λήξιν δλην ἀνέλαβε τῇ Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη, etc. What is meant by the lot of Têmenus has been already explained.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Narrat. Amator.* p. 772; *Schol. Apollon. Rhod.* iv. 1212; compare Didymus, *ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp.* xiii. 27.

I cannot, however, believe that Pheidôn, the ancient Corinthian law giver mentioned by Aristotle, is the same person as Pheidôn the king of Argos (*Polit.* ii. 6, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Ephor. *ut supra*. Πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας ἀξιοῦν τιθέναι αὐτὸν, οὗς ἐκεῖνος ἐθήκε τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. v. 43

been instituted by Hêraklês, — and among these was numbered the Olympic Agôn, then, however, enjoying but a slender fraction of the lustre which afterwards came to attach to it. The presidency of any of the more celebrated festivals current throughout Greece, was a privilege immensely prized. It was at once dignified and lucrative, and the course of our history will present more than one example in which blood was shed to determine what state should enjoy it. Pheidôn marched to Olympia, at the epoch of the 8th recorded Olympiad, or 747 B. C.; on the occasion of which event we are made acquainted with the real state of parties in the peninsula.

The plain of Olympia, — now ennobled only by immortal recollections, but once crowded with all the decorations of religion and art, and forming for many centuries the brightest centre of attraction known in the ancient world, — was situated on the river Alpheids, in the territory called the Pisatid, hard by the borders of Arcadia. At what time its agonistic festival, recurring every fifth year, at the first full moon after the summer solstice, first began or first acquired its character of special sanctity, we have no means of determining. As with so many of the native waters of Greece, — we follow the stream upward to a certain point, but the fountain-head, and the earlier flow of history, is buried under mountains of unsearchable legend. The first celebration of the Olympic contests was ascribed by Grecian legendary faith to Hêraklês, — and the site of the place, in the middle of the Pisatid, with its eight small townships, is quite sufficient to prove that the inhabitants of that little territory were warranted in describing themselves as the original administrators of the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> But this state of things seems to have been altered by the Ætolian settlement in Elis, which is represented as having been conducted by Oxylus and identified with the Return of the Herakleids. The Ætolo-Eleians, bordering upon the Pisatid to the north, employed their superior power in subduing their weaker neighbors,<sup>2</sup> who thus lost their autonomy and became annexed to the territory of Elis. It was the general rule throughout Greece, that a victorious state undertook to perform<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 28; Diodor. xv. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. iv. 98.

the current services of the conquered people towards the gods, — such services being conceived as attaching to the soil: hence, the celebration of the Olympic games became numbered among the incumbences of Elis, just in the same way as the worship of the Eleusinian Dēmêtêr, when Eleusis lost its autonomy, was included among the religious obligations of Athens. The Pisatans, however, never willingly acquiesced in this absorption of what had once been their separate privilege; they long maintained their conviction, that the celebration of the games was their right, and strove on several occasions to regain it. On those occasions, the earliest, so far as we hear, was connected with the intervention of Pheidôn. It was at their invitation that the king of Argos went to Olympia, and celebrated the games himself, in conjunction with the Pisatans, as the lineal successor of Hêraklês; while the Eleians, being thus forcibly dispossessed, refused to include the 8th Olympiad in their register of the victorious runners. But their humiliation did not last long, for the Spartans took their part, and the contest ended in the defeat of Pheidôn. In the next Olympiad, the Eleian management and the regular enrolment appear as before, and the Spartans are even said to have confirmed Elis in her possession both of Pisatis and Triphylia.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, these scanty particulars are all which we learn respecting the armed conflict at the 8th Olympiad, in which the religious and the political grounds of quarrel are so intimately blended, — as we shall find to be often the case in Grecian history. But there is one act of Pheidôn yet more memorable, of which also nothing beyond a meagre notice has come down to us. He first coined both copper and silver money in Ægina, and first established a scale of weights and measures,<sup>2</sup> which, through his influence, became adopted throughout Peloponnesus, and acquired, ultimately, footing both in all the Dorian states, and in Bœotia, Thessaly, northern Hellas generally, and Macedonia, — under the name of the Æginæan Scale. There arose

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. v. 22, 2; Strabo, viii. pp. 354–358; Herodot. vi. 127. The name of the victor (Antiklês the Messenian), however, belonging to the 8th Olympiad, appears duly in the lists; it must have been supplied afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vi. 127; Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. pp. 358–376.

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Argæian confederacy, that the Greeks owe the first introduction of the Babylonian scale of weight, and the first employment of coined and stamped money.

If we maturely weigh the few, but striking acts of Pheidôn which have been preserved to us, and which there is no reason to discredit, we shall find ourselves introduced to an early historical state of Peloponnesus very different from that to which another century will bring us. That Argos, with the federative cities attached to her, was at this early time decidedly the commanding power in that peninsula, is sufficiently shown by the establishment and reception of the Pheidonian weights, measures, and monetary system, — while the other incidents mentioned completely harmonize with the same idea. Against the oppressions of Elis, the Pisatans invoked Pheidon, — partly as exercising a primacy in Peloponnesus, just as the inhabitants of Lepreum in Triphylia,<sup>1</sup> three centuries afterwards, called in the aid of Sparta for the same object, at a time when Sparta possessed the headship, — and partly as the lineal representative of Hêraklês, who had founded those games from the management of which they had been unjustly extruded. On the other hand, Sparta appears as a second-rate power. The Æginæan scale of weight and measure was adopted there as elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> — the Messenian Dorians were still equal and independent, — and we find Sparta interfering to assist Elis by virtue of an obligation growing (so the legend represents it) out of the common Ætolo-Dorian emigration; not at all from any acknowledged primacy, such as we shall see her enjoying hereafter. The first coinage of copper and silver money is a capital event in Grecian history, and must be held to imply considerable commerce as well as those extensive views which belong only to a conspicuous and leading position. The ambition of Pheidôn to resume all the acquisitions made by his ancestor Hêraklês, suggests the same large estimate of his actual power. He is characterized as a despot, and even as the most insolent

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Apophthegm. Laconic. p. 226; Dikæarchus ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 141.

The Æginæan mina, drachma, and obolus were the denominations employed in stipulations among the Peloponnesian states (Thucyd. v. 47).

of all despots: <sup>1</sup> how far he deserved such a reputation, we have no means of judging. We may remark, however, that he lived before the age of despots or tyrants, properly so called, and before the Herakleid lineage had yet lost its primary, half-political, half-religious character. Moreover, the later historians have invested his actions with a color of exorbitant aggression, by applying them to a state of things which belonged to their time and not to his. Thus Ephorus represents him as having deprived the Lacedæmonians of the headship of Peloponnesus, which they never possessed until long after him, — and also as setting at naught the sworn inviolability of the territory of the Eleians, enjoyed by the latter as celebrators of the Olympic games; whereas the Agonothesia, or right of superintendence claimed by Elis, had not at that time acquired the sanction of prescription, — while the conquest of Pisa by the Eleians themselves had proved that this sacred function did not protect the territory of a weaker people.

How Pheidôn fell, and how the Argeians lost that supremacy which they once evidently possessed, we have no positive details to inform us: with respect to the latter point, however, we can discern a sufficient explanation. The Argeians stood predominant as an entire and unanimous confederacy, which required a vigorous and able hand to render its internal organization effective or its ascendancy respected without. No such leader afterwards appeared at Argos, the whole history of which city is destitute of eminent individuals: her line of kings continued at least down to the Persian war,<sup>2</sup> but seemingly with only titular functions, for the government had long been decidedly popular. The statements, which represent the government as popular anterior to the time of Pheidôn, appear unworthy of trust. That prince is rather to be taken as wielding the old, undiminished prerogatives of the Herakleid kings, but wielding them with unusual effect, — enforcing relaxed privileges, and appealing to the

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<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vi. 127. *Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου* — τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων. Pausanias (vi. 22, 2) copies the expression.

Aristotle cites Pheidôn as a person who, being a *βασιλεὺς*, made himself a *τύραννος* (Politic. viii. 8, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vii. 149.

old heroic sentiment in reference to Hēraklēs, rather than revolutionizing the existing relations either of Argos or of Peloponnesus. It was in fact the great and steady growth of Sparta, for three centuries after the Lykurgæan institutions, which operated as a cause of subversion to the previous order of command and obedience in Greece.

The assertion made by Herodotus, — that, in earlier times, the whole eastern coast of Lacomia as far as Cape Malea, including the island of Kythêra and several other islands, had belonged to Argos, — is referred by O. Müller to about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B. C. Perhaps it had ceased to be true at that period; but that it was true in the age of Pheidôn, there seem good grounds for believing. What is probably meant is, that the Dorian towns on this coast, Prasîæ, Zarêx, Epidaurus Limêra, and Bœæ, were once autonomous, and members of the Argeian confederacy, — a fact highly probable, on independent evidence, with respect to Epidaurus Limêra, inasmuch as that town was a settlement from Epidaurus in the Argolic peninsula: and Bœæ too had its own ækist and eponymus, the Herakleid Bœus,<sup>1</sup> noway connected with Sparta, — perhaps derived from the same source as the name of the town Bœon in Doris. The Argeian confederated towns would thus comprehend the whole coast of the Argolic and Saronic gulfs, from Kythêra as far as Ægina, besides other islands which we do not know: Ægina had received a colony of Dorians from Argos and Epidaurus, upon which latter town it continued for some time in a state of dependence.<sup>1</sup> It will at once be seen that this extent of coast implies a considerable degree of commerce and maritime activity. We have besides to consider the range of Doric colonies in the southern islands of the Ægean and in the south-western corner of Asia Minor, — Krête, Kôa, Rhodes (with its three distinct cities), Halikarnassus, Knidus, Myndus, Nisyros, Symê, Karpathus, Kalydna, etc. Of the Doric establishments here named, several are connected (as has been before stated) with the great emigration of the Têmenid Althæmenês from Argos: but what we particularly observe is, that they are often referred as colonies promiscuously to Argos, Troezên,

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iii. 22, 9; iii. 23, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. v. 83; Strabo, vii. p. 375. •



**Epidaurus**<sup>1</sup> — more frequently however, as it seems, to Argos. All these settlements are doubtless older than Pheidôn, and we may conceive them as proceeding conjointly from the allied Dorian towns in the Argolic peninsula, at a time when they were more in the habit of united action than they afterwards became: a captain of emigrants selected from the line of Hêraklês and Têmenus was suitable to the feelings of all of them. We may thus look back to a period, at the very beginning of the Olympiads, when the maritime Dorians on the east of Peloponnesus maintained a considerable intercourse and commerce, not only among themselves, but also with their settlements on the Asiatic coast and islands. That the Argolic peninsula formed an early centre for maritime rendezvous, we may farther infer from the very ancient Amphiktyony of the seven cities (Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasîæ, Nauplia, and the Minyeian Orchomenus), on the holy island of Kalauria, off the harbor of Trœzên.<sup>2</sup>

The view here given of the early ascendancy of Argos, as the head of the Peloponnesian Dorians and the metropolis of the Asiatic Dorians, enables us to understand the capital innovation of Pheidôn, — the first coinage, and the first determinate scale of weight and measure, known in Greece. Of the value of such improvements, in the history of Grecian civilization, it is superfluous to speak, especially when we recollect that the Hellenic states, having no political unity, were only held together by the

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<sup>1</sup> Rhodes, Kôs, Knidus, and Halikarnassus are all treated by Strabo (xiv p. 653) as colonies of Argos: Rhodes is so described by Thucydides (vii. 57), and Kôs by Tacitus (xii. 61). Kôs, Kalydna, and Nisyros are described by Herodotus as colonies of Epidaurus (vii. 99): Halikarnassus passes sometimes for a colony of Trœzên, sometimes of Trœzên and Argos conjointly: "Cum Melas et Areuanus ab Argis et Trœzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Leleges ejecerunt (Vitruv. ii. 8, 12; Steph. Byz. v. 'Ἀλικάρνασσος')." Compare Strabo, x. p. 479; Conon, Narr. 47; Diodor. v. 80.

Raoul Rochette (*Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, t. iii. ch. 9) and O. Müller (*History of the Dorians*, ch. 6) have collected the facts about these Asiatic Dorians.

The little town of Boæ had its counterpart of the same name in Krête (Steph. Byz. v. Βοῖον).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 374.

aggregate of spontaneous uniformities, in language, religion, sympathies, recreations, and general habits. We see both how Pheidôn came to contract the wish, and how he acquired the power, to introduce throughout so much of the Grecian world an uniform scale; we also see that the Asiatic Dorians form the link between him and Phœnicia, from whence the scale was derived, just as the Euboic scale came, in all probability, through the Ionic cities in Asia, from Lydia. It is asserted by Ephorus, and admitted even by the ablest modern critics, that Pheidôn first coined money "in Ægina:"<sup>1</sup> other authors (erroneously believing that his scale was the Euboic scale) alleged that his coinage had been carried on "in a place of Argos called Eubœa."<sup>2</sup> Now both these statements appear highly improbable, and both are traceable to the same mistake, — of supposing that the title, by which the scale had come to be commonly known, must necessarily be derived from the place in which the coinage had been struck. There is every reason to conclude, that what Pheidôn did was done in Argos, and nowhere else: his coinage and scale were the earliest known in Greece, and seem to have been known by his own name, "the Pheidonian measures," under which designation they were described by Aristotle, in his account of the constitution of Argos.<sup>3</sup> They probably did not come to bear the specific epithet of *Æginæan* until there was another scale in vogue, the *Euboic*, from which to distinguish them; and both the epithets were probably derived, not from the place where the scale first originated, but from the people whose commercial activity tended to make them most generally known, — in the one case, the *Æginetans*; in the other case, the inhabitants of Chalkis and Eretria. I think, therefore, that we are to look upon the Pheidonian measures as emanating from Argos, and as having

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus ap. Strabo, viii. p. 376; Boeckh, *Metrologie*, Abschn. 7, 1: see also the *Marmor Parium*, Epoch 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Etymologicon Magn.* Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, *Onomastic.* x. 179. Εἰς δ' ἂν καὶ Φεῖδων τι ἀγγεῖον ἐλαιηρὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φεῖδωνίων μέτρων ὀνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἀργείῳ πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει.

Also Ephorus ap. Strab. viii. p. 358. καὶ μέτρα ἐξεῦρε τὰ Φεῖδώνεια καλεόμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς, καὶ νόμισμα κεχαράγμενον, etc.

no greater connection, originally, with Ægina, than with any other city dependent upon Argos.

There is, moreover, another point which deserves notice. What was known by the name of the Æginæan scale, as contrasted with and standing in a definite ratio (6 : 5) with the Euboic scale, related only to weight and money, so far as our knowledge extends :<sup>1</sup> we have no evidence to show that the same ratio extended either to measures of length or measures of capacity. But there seems ground for believing that the Pheidonian regulations, taken in their full comprehension, embraced measures of capacity as well as weights : Pheidôn, at the same time when he determined the talent, mina, and drachm, seems also to have fixed the dry and liquid measures, — the medimnus and metrêtês, with their parts and multiples : and there existed<sup>2</sup> Pheidonian measures of capacity, though not of length, so far as we know. The Æginæan scale may thus have comprised only a portion of what was established by Pheidôn, namely, that which related to weight and money.

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## CHAPTER V.

### ÆTOLO-DORIAN EMIGRATION INTO PELOPONNESUS.—ELIS, LACONIA, AND MESSE니아.

It has already been stated that the territory properly called Elis, apart from the enlargement which it acquired by conquest, included the westernmost land in Peloponnesus, south of Achaia, and west of Mount Pholoê and Olenus in Arcadia, — but not extending so far southward as the river Alpheius, the course of which lay along the southern portion of Pisatis and on the borders of Triphylia. This territory, which appears in the Odyssey

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<sup>1</sup> This differs from Boeckh's opinion : see the note in page 315.

<sup>2</sup> Theophrast. Character. c. 13 ; Pollux, x. 179.

as "the divine Elis, where the Epeians hold sway,"<sup>1</sup> is in the historical times occupied by a population of Ætolian origin. The connection of race between the historical Eleians and the historical Ætolians was recognized by both parties, nor is there any ground for disputing it.<sup>2</sup>

That Ætolian invaders, or emigrants, into Elis, would cross from Naupaktus, or some neighboring point in the Corinthian gulf, is in the natural course of things, — and such is the course which Oxylus, the conductor of the invasion, is represented by the Herakleid legend as taking. That legend (as has been already recounted) introduces Oxylus as the guide of the three Herakleid brothers, — Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, — and as stipulating with them that, in the new distribution about to take place of Peloponnesus, he shall be allowed to possess the Eleian territory, coupled with many holy privileges as to the celebration of the Olympic games.

In the preceding chapter, I have endeavored to show that the settlements of the Dorians in and near the Argolic peninsula, so far as the probabilities of the case enable us to judge, were not accomplished by any inroad in this direction. But the localities occupied by the Dorians of Sparta, and by the Dorians of Stenylêrus, in the territory called Messênê, lead us to a different conclusion. The easiest and most natural road through which emigrants could reach either of these two spots, is through the Eleian and the Pisatid country. Colonel Leake observes,<sup>3</sup> that the direct road from the Eleian territory to Sparta, ascending the valley of the Alpheius, near Olympia, to the sources of its branch, the Theius, and from thence descending the Eurotas, affords the only easy march towards that very inaccessible city: and both ancients and moderns have remarked the vicinity of the source of the Alpheius to that of the Eurotas. The situation of Stenylêrus and Andania, the original settlements of the Messenian Dorians, adjoining closely the Arcadian Parrhasii, is only at a short distance from the course of the Alpheius; being thus reached

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* xv. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, x. p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> *Leake*, *Travels in Morea*, vol. iii. ch. 23, p. 29; compare *Diodor.* xv. 66.

The distance from Olympia to Sparta, as marked on a pillar which Pausanias saw at Olympia, was 660 stadia, — about 77 English miles (*Pausan.* vi. 16, 6).

most easily by the same route. Dismissing the idea of a collective Dorian armament, powerful enough to grasp the entire peninsula, — we may conceive two moderate bodies of hardy mountaineers, from the cold regions in Arcadia, attaching themselves to the Ætolians, their neighbours, who were proceeding to the invasion of Elis. After having joined the Ætolians, both to occupy Elis and to subdue the Peloponnesians, these Dorians advanced up the valley of the Alpheius in search of settlements for themselves. One of these bodies ripe for war, the stately, stubborn, and victorious Spartans; the other, inferior and short-lived, trampled, and struggling Messenians.

Amidst the darkness which overclouds these original events, we seem to discern something like special causes to mine both of them. With respect to the Spartan Dorians, it is told that a person named Philonomus betrayed Sparta to them, persuading the sovereign in possession to retire with his people into the habitations of the Ionians, in the northern peninsula, — and that he received as a recompense for this valuable service Amyklæ, with the district around it. It is stated, — and this important fact there seems no reason to doubt — that Amyklæ, — though only twenty stadia or two miles a half distant from Sparta, retained both its independence and its Achæan inhabitants, long after the Dorian emigrants had acquired possession of the latter place, and was only taken by them under the reign of Têleklos, one generation before the Trojan Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> Without presuming to fill up by conjecture the gaps in the statements of our authorities, we may from the facts reasonably presume that the Dorians were induced to invade Sparta, and enabled to acquire, Sparta, by the invitation and assistance of a party in the interior of the country. Again, with respect to the Messenian Dorians, a different, but not less effectual temptation was presented by the alliance of the Arcadians. The south-western portion of that central region of Peloponnesus, the Kresphontês, the Herakleid leader, it is said, espoused the cause<sup>2</sup> of the Arcadian king, Kypselus, which procured for

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. pp. 364, 365; Pausan. iii. 2, 5: compare the story of the Trojan War in Pausan. iii. 13, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iv. 3, 3; viii. 29, 4.

support of a powerful section of Arcadia. His settlement at Stenyklêrus was a considerable distance from the sea, at the north-east corner of Messenia,<sup>1</sup> close to the Arcadian frontier; and it will be seen hereafter that this Arcadian alliance is a constant and material element in the disputes of the Messenian Dorians with Sparta.

We may thus trace a reasonable sequence of events, showing how two bodies of Dorians, having first assisted the Ætolo-Eleians to conquer the Pisatid, and thus finding themselves on the banks of the Alpheius, followed the upward course of that river, the one to settle at Sparta, the other at Stenyklêrus. The historian Ephorus, from whom our scanty fragments of information respecting these early settlements are derived,—it is important to note that he lived in the age immediately succeeding the first foundation of Messênê as a city, the restitution of the long-exiled Messenians, and the amputation of the fertile western half of Laconia, for their benefit, by Épameinondas,—imparts to these proceedings an immediate decisiveness of effect which does not properly belong to them: as if the Spartans had become at once possessed of all Laconia, and the Messenians of all Messenia: Pausanias, too, speaks as if the Arcadians collectively had assisted and allied themselves with Kresphontês. This is the general spirit which pervades his account, though the particular facts in so far as we find any such, do not always harmonize with it. Now we are ignorant of the preëxisting divisions of the country, either east or west of Mount Taygetus, at the time when the Dorians invaded it. But to treat the one and the other as integral kingdoms, handed over at once to two Dorian leaders, is an illusion borrowed from the old legend, from the historicizing fancies of Ephorus, and from the fact that, in the well-known times, this whole territory came to be really united under the Spartan power.

At what date the Dorian settlements at Sparta and Stenyklêrus were effected, we have no means of determining. Yet, that there existed between them in the earliest times a degree of fraternity which did not prevail between Lacedæmon and Argos,

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo (viii. p. 366) blames Euripidês for calling Messênê an inland country; but the poet seems to have been quite correct in doing so.

we may fairly presume from the common temple, with joint religious sacrifices, of Artemis Limnatis, or Artemis on the Marsh, erected on the confines of Messenia and Laconia.<sup>1</sup> Our first view of the two, at all approaching to distinctness, seems to date from a period about half a century earlier than the first Olympiad (776 B. C.), — about the reign of king Tëleklus of the Eurystheneid or Agid line, and the introduction of the Lykurgæan discipline. Tëleklus stands in the list as the eighth king dating from Eurysthenes. But how many of the seven kings before him are to be considered as real persons, — or how much, out of the brief warlike expeditions ascribed to them, is to be treated as authentic history, — I pretend not to define.

The earliest determinable event in the *internal* history of Sparta is the introduction of the Lykurgæan discipline; the earliest *external* events are the conquest of Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, effected by king Tëleklus, and the first quarrel with the Messenians, in which that prince was slain. When we come to see how deplorably great was the confusion and ignorance which reigned with reference to a matter so preëminently important as Lykurgus and his legislation, we shall not be inclined to think that facts much less important, and belonging to an earlier epoch, can have been handed down upon any good authority. And in like manner, when we learn that Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ (all south of Sparta, and the first only two and a half miles distant from that city) were independent of the Spartans until the reign of Tëleklus, we shall require some decisive testimony before we can believe that a community so small, and so hemmed in as Sparta must then have been, had in earlier times undertaken expeditions against Helos on the sea-coast, against Kleitor on the extreme northern side of Arcadia, against the Kynurians, or against the Argeians. If Helos and Kynuria were conquered by these early kings, it appears that they had to be conquered a second time by kings succeeding Tëleklus. It would be more natural that we should hear when and how they conquered the places nearer to them, — Sellasia, or Belemina, the valley of the Cenus, or the upper valley of the Eurotas. But these seem to be

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 2, 2. μετείχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μάνοι Δωρίων οἱ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

assumed as matters of course; the proceedings ascribed to the early Spartan kings are such only as might beseem the palmy days when Sparta was undisputed mistress of all Laconia.

The succession of Messenian kings, beginning with Kresphontês, the Herakleid brother, and continuing from father to son, — Æpytus, Glaukus, Isthnius, Dotadas, Subotas, Phintas, the last being contemporary with Téléklus, — is still less marked by incident than that of the early Spartan kings. It is said that the reign of Kresphontês was troubled, and himself ultimately slain by mutinies among his subjects: Æpytus, then a youth, having escaped into Arcadia, was afterwards restored to the throne by the Arcadians, Spartans, and Argeians.<sup>1</sup> From Æpytus, the Messenian line of kings are stated to have been denominated Æpytids in preference to Herakleids, — which affords another proof of their intimate connection with the Arcadians, since Æpytus was a very ancient name in Arcadian heroic antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

There is considerable resemblance between the alleged behavior of Kresphontês on first settling at Stenyklêrus, and that of Eurysthenês and Proklês at Sparta, — so far as we gather from statements alike meagre and uncertified, resting on the authority of Ephorus. Both are said to have tried to place the preëxisting inhabitants of the country on a level with their own Dorian bands; both provoked discontents and incurred obloquy, with their contemporaries as well as with posterity, by the attempt; nor did either permanently succeed. Kresphontês was forced to concentrate all his Dorians in Stenyklêrus, while after all, the discontents ended in his violent death. And Agis, the son of Eurysthenês, is said to have reversed all the liberal tentatives of his father, so as to bring the whole of Laconia into subjection and dependence on the Dorians at Sparta, with the single exception of Amyklæ. So odious to the Spartan Dorians was the conduct of Eurysthenês, that they refused to acknowledge him as their cekist, and conferred that honor upon Agis; the two lines of kings being called Agiads

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 3, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, Iliad, ii. 604. —

Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην, ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπῷ,  
Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον.

Schol. ad loc. ὁ δ' Αἰπύτιος ἀρχαιότατος ἦρως, Ἀρκὰς τὸ γένος.



and Eurypontids, instead of Eurystheneids and Prokleids.<sup>1</sup> We see in these statements the same tone of mind as that which pervades the Panathenaic oration of Isokratês, the master of Ephorus,—the facts of an unknown period, so colored as to suit an *idéa* of haughty Dorian exclusiveness.

Again, as Eurysthenês and Proklês appear, in the picture of Ephorus, to carry their authority at once over the whole of Laconia, so too does Kresphontês over the whole of Messenia,—over the entire south-western region of Peloponnesus, westward of Mount Taygetus and Cape Tanarus, and southward of the river Neda. He sends an envoy to Pylus and Rhium, the western and southern portions of the south-western promontory of Peloponnesus, treating the entire territory as if it were one sovereignty, and inviting the inhabitants to submit under equal laws.<sup>2</sup> But it has already been observed, that this supposed

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the two citations from Ephorus, Strabo, viii. pp. 361-365. Unfortunately, a portion of the latter citation is incurably mutilated in the text: O. Müller (History of the Dorians, book i. ch. v. 13) has proposed an ingenious conjecture, which, however, cannot be considered as trustworthy. Grosskurd, the German translator, usually skilful in these restorations, leaves the passage untouched.

For a new coloring of the death of Kresphontês, adjusted by Isokratês so as to suit the purpose of the address which he puts into the mouth of Archidamus king of Sparta, see the discourse in his works which passes under that name (Or. iv. pp. 120-122). Isokratês says that the Messenian Dorians slew Kresphontês, whose children fled as suppliants to Sparta, imploring revenge for the death of their father, and surrendering the territory to the Spartans. The Delphian god advised the latter to accept the tender, and they accordingly attacked the Messenians, avenged Kresphontês, and appropriated the territory.

Isokratês always starts from the basis of the old legend,—the triple Dorian conquest made all at once: compare Panathenaic. Or. xii. pp. 270-287.

<sup>2</sup> Ephorus ap. Strabo, viii. p. 361. Dr. Thirlwall observes (History of Greece, ch. vii. p. 300, 2d edit.), "The Messenian Pylus seems long to have retained its independence, and to have been occupied for several centuries by one branch of the family of Neleus; for descendants of Nestor are mentioned as allies of the Messenians in their struggle with Sparta in the latter half of the seventh century B. C."

For this assertion, Dr. Thirlwall cites Strabo (viii. p. 355). I agree with him as to the matter of fact: I see no proof that the Dorians of Stenyklêrus ever ruled over what is called the Messenian Pylus; for, of course, if they

oneness and indivisibility is not less uncertified in regard to Messenia than in regard to Laconia. How large a proportion of the former territory these kings of Stenyklêrus may have ruled, we have no means of determining, but there were certainly portions of it which they did not rule, — not merely during the reign of Têleklos at Sparta, but still later, during the first Messenian war. For not only are we informed that Têleklos established three townships, Poiêssa, Echeizê,<sup>1</sup> and Tragium, near the Messenian gulf, and on the course of the river Nedon, but we read also a farther matter of evidence in the roll of Olympic victors. Every competitor for the prize at one of these great festivals was always entered as member of some autonomous Hellenic community, which constituted his title to approach the lists; if successful, he was proclaimed with the name of the community to which he belonged. Now during the first ten Olympiads, seven winners are proclaimed as Messenians; in the 11th Olympiad, we find the name of Oxythemis Korônæus, — Oxythemis, not of Korôneia in Bœotia, but of Korônê in the western bend of the Messenian gulf;<sup>2</sup>

did not rule over it before the second Messenian war, they never acquired it at all. But on reference to the passage in Strabo, it will not be found to prove anything to the point; for Strabo is speaking, not of the Messenian Pylus, but of the *Triphylian Pylus*: he takes pains to show that Nestor had nothing to do with the *Messenian Pylus*, — Νέστωρ ἀπόγονοι means the inhabitants of Triphylia, near Lepreum: compare p. 350.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 360. Concerning the situation of Korônê, in the Messenian gulf, see Pausanias, iv. 34, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 361; and the observations of Colonel Leake, *Travels in Morea*, ch. x. vol. i. pp. 439–448. He places it near the modern Petalidhi, seemingly on good grounds.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Clinton's *Chronological Tables* for the year 732 B. C.; O. Müller (in the *Chronological Table* subjoined to his *History of the Dorians*) calls this victor, *Oxythemis of Korôneia*, in Bœotia. But this is inadmissible, on two grounds: 1. The occurrence of a Bœotian competitor in that early day at the Olympic games. The first eleven victors (I put aside Oxythemis, because he is the subject of the argument) are all from western and southern Peloponnesus; then come victors from Corinth, Megara, and Epidaurus; then from Athens; there is one from Thebes in the 41st Olympiad. I infer from hence that the celebrity and frequentation of the Olympic games increased only by degrees, and had not got beyond Peloponnesus in the eighth century B. C. 2. The name Coronæus, Κορωναιός, is the proper and formal title for a citizen of Korônê, not for a citizen of Korôneia: the latter styles himself Κορωνεύς. The ethnical name Κορωνεύς, as belonging to Korôneia in Bœotia, is placed beyond doubt by several inscriptions in Boeckh's

some miles on the right bank of the Pamisus, and a considerable distance to the north of the modern Coron. Now if Korônê had then been comprehended in Messenia, Oxythemis would have been proclaimed as a Messenian, like the seven winners who preceded him; and the fact of his being proclaimed as a Korônæan, proves that Korônê was then an independent community, not under the dominion of the Dorians of Stenyklêrus. It seems clear, therefore, that the latter did not reign over the whole territory commonly known as Messenia, though we are unable to assign the proportion of it which they actually possessed.

The Olympic festival, in its origin doubtless a privilege of the neighboring Pisatans, seems to have derived its great and gradually expanding importance from the Ætolo-Eleian settlement in Peloponnesus, combined with the Dorians of Laconia and Messenia. Lykurgus of Sparta, and Iphitus of Elis, are alleged to have joined their efforts for the purpose of establishing both the

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collection; especially No. 1583, in which a citizen of that town is proclaimed as victorious at the festival of the Charitesia at Orchomenus: compare Nos. 1587-1593, in which the same ethnical name occurs. The Boeotian Inscriptions attest in like manner the prevalence of the same etymological law in forming ethnical names, for the towns near Korônêia: thus, *Chorônêia* makes *Χαιρωνεύς*; *Lebadeia*, *Λεβαδεύς*; *Eluteia*, *Ἐλατεύς*, or *Ἐλατρευτής*.

The Inscriptions afford evidence perfectly decisive as to the ethnical title under which a citizen of Korônêia in Boeotia would have caused himself to be entered and proclaimed at the Olympic games; better than the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, who both call them *Korωναῖοι* (Herodot. v. 79; Thucyd. iv. 93): Polybius agrees with the Inscription, and speaks of the *Korωνεῖς*, *Λεβαδεῖς*, *Χαιρωνεῖς* (xxvii. 1). O. Müller himself admits, in another place (Orchomenos, p. 480), that the proper ethnical name is *Korωνεύς*. The reading of Strabo (ix. p. 411) is not trustworthy: see Grosskurd, *ad loc.*; compare Steph. Byz. *Korώνεια* and *Korώνη*.

In regard to the formation of ethnical names, it seems the general rule, that a town ending in *η* or *αι*, preceded by a consonant, had its ethnical derivative in *αιος*; such as *Σκίωνη*, *Τορώνη*, *Κύνη*, *Θήβαι*, *Ἀθῆναι*; while names ending in *εια* had their ethnicon in *εύς*, as *Ἀλεξάνδρεια*, *Ἀμάσεια*, *Σελεύκεια*, *Λυσιμάχεια* (the recent cities thus founded by the successors of Alexander are perhaps the best evidences that can be taken of the analogies of the language), *Μελάμπεια*, *Μελίτεια*, in addition to the Boeotian names of towns above quoted. There is, however, great irregularity in particular cases, and the number of towns called by the same name created an anxiety to vary the ethnicon for each: see Stephan. Byz. v. *Ἡράκλεια*.

sanctity of the Olympic truce and the inviolability of the Eleian territory. Hence, though this tale is not to be construed as matter of fact, we may see that the Lacedæmonians regarded the Olympic games as a portion of their own antiquities. Moreover, it is certain, both that the dignity of the festival increased simultaneously with their ascendancy,<sup>1</sup> and that their peculiar fashions were very early introduced into the practice of the Olympic competitors. Probably, the three bands of coöperating invaders, Ætolians and Spartan and Messenian Dorians, may have adopted this festival as a periodical renovation of mutual union and fraternity; from which cause the games became an attractive centre for the western portion of Peloponnesus, before they were much frequented by people from the eastern, or still more from extra-Peloponnesian Hellas. For it cannot be altogether accidental, when we read the names of the first twelve proclaimed Olympic victors (occupying nearly half a century from 776 B. C. downwards), to find that seven of them are Messenians, three Eleians, one from Dymê, in Achaia, and one from Korônê; while after the 12th Olympiad, Corinthians and Megarians and Epidaurians begin to occur; later still, extra-Peloponnesian victors. We may reasonably infer from hence that the Olympic ceremonies were at this early period chiefly frequented by visitors and competitors from the western regions of Peloponnesus, and that the affluence to them, from the more distant parts of the Hellenic world, did not become considerable until the first Messenian war had closed.

Having thus set forth the conjectures, to which our very scanty knowledge points, respecting the first establishment of the Ætolian and Dorian settlements in Elis, Laconia, and Messenia, connected as they are with the steadily increasing dignity and frequentation of the Olympic festival, I proceed, in the next chapter, to that memorable circumstance which both determined the character, and brought about the political ascendancy, of the Spartans separately: I mean, the laws and discipline of Lykurgus.

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<sup>1</sup> The entire nakedness of the competitors at Olympia was adopted from the Spartan practice, seemingly in the 14th Olympiad, as is testified by the epigram on Orsippus the Megarian. Previous to that period, the Olympic competitors had *διαζώματα περὶ τὰ αἰδοία* (Thucyd. i. 6).

marked and distinguishable varieties, — the Lesbian, the Thessalian, and the Bœotian; the Thessalian forming a mean term between the other two. Ahrens has shown that the ancient grammatical critics are accustomed to affirm peculiarities, as belonging to the Æolic dialect generally, which in truth belong only to the Lesbian variety of it, or to the poems of Alkæus and Sappho, which these critics attentively studied. Lesbian Æolic, Thessalian Æolic, and Bœotian Æolic, are all different: and if, abstracting from these differences, we confine our attention to that which is common to all three, we shall find little to distinguish this abstract Æolic from the abstract Doric, or that which is common to the many varieties of the Doric dialect.<sup>1</sup> These two are sisters, presenting, both of them, more or less the Latin side of the Greek language, while the relationship of either of them to the Attic and Ionic is more distant. Now it seems that, putting aside Attica, the speech of all Greece,<sup>2</sup> from Perrhæbia and Mount Olympus to Cape Malea and Cape Akritas, consisted of different varieties, either of the Doric or of the Æolic dialect; this being true (as far as we are able to judge) not less of the aboriginal Arcadians than of the rest. The Laconian dialect

<sup>1</sup> See the valuable work of Ahrens, *De Dialecto Æolica*, sect. 51. He observes, in reference to the Lesbian, Thessalian, and Bœotian dialects: "Tres illas dialectos, quæ optimo jure Æolicæ vocari videntur — quia, qui illis usi sunt, Æoles erant — comparantem mirum habere oportet, quod Asianorum Æolum et Bœotorum dialecti tantum inter se distant, quantum vix ab aliâ quâvis Græcæ linguae dialecto." He then enumerates many points of difference: "Contra tot tantasque differentias pauca reperiuntur eaque fere levia, quæ utrique dialecto, neque simul Doricæ, communia sint. . . . Vides his comparatis tantum interesse inter utramque dialectum, ut dubitare liceat, an Æoles Bœoti non magis cum Æolibus Asianis conjuncti fuerint, quam qui hodie miro quodam casu Saxones vocantur cum antiquis Saxonibus. Nihilominus Thessalicâ dialecto in comparationem vocatâ, diversissima quæ videntur aliquo vinculo conjungere licet. Quamvis enim pauca de eâ comperta habeamus, hoc tamen certum est, alia Thessalis cum Lesbii, alia cum solis Bœotis communia esse." (P. 222-223.)

<sup>2</sup> About the Æolic dialect of the Perrhæbians, see Stephanus Byz. v. Περρῆβοι; and ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 335.

The Attic judgment, in comparing these different varieties of Greek speech, is expressed in the story of a man being asked — Whether the Bœotians or the Thessalians were most of barbarians? He answered — The Eleians (Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 304).

contained more specialties of its own, and approached ne the Æolic and to the Eleian, than any other variety Dorian: it stands at the extreme of what has been classi the strict Dorian, — that is, the farthest removed from Ion Attic. The Kretan towns manifest also a strict Dorism; as the Lacedæmonian colony of Tarentum, and, seemingly of the Italiotic Greeks, though some of them are called A colonies. Most of the other varieties of the Doric dialect kian, Lokrian, Delphian, Achæan of Phthiôtis) exhibit departing less widely from the Ionic and Attic: Argos, a towns in the Argolic peninsula, seem to form a stepping between the two.

These positions represent the little which can be kno specting those varieties of Grecian speech which are not to us by written works. The little presumption which raised upon them favors the belief that the Dorian inva Laconia and Messenia found there a dialect little differe that which they brought with them, — a conclusion which more necessary to state distinctly, since the work of O. has caused an exaggerated estimate to be formed of the tive peculiarities whereby Dorism was parted off from of Hellas.

## CHAPTER VI.

### LAWS AND DISCIPLINE OF LYKURGUS AT SPARTA

PLUTARCH begins his biography of Lykurgus w following ominous words:—

“Concerning the lawgiver Lykurgus, we can assert al nothing which is not controverted: there are different s respect to his birth, his travels, his death, and also his proceeding, political as well as legislative: least of all is in which he lived agreed upon.”

And this exordium is but too well borne out by the unsatisfactory nature of the accounts which we read, not only in Plutarch himself, but in those other authors out of whom we are obliged to make up our idea of the memorable Lykurgæan system. If we examine the sources from which Plutarch's life of Lykurgus is deduced, it will appear that—excepting the poets Alkman, Tyrtæus, and Simonidês, from whom he has borrowed less than we could have wished—he has no authorities older than Xenophon and Plato: Aristotle is cited several times, and is unquestionably the best of his witnesses, but the greater number of them belong to the century subsequent to that philosopher. Neither Herodotus nor Ephorus are named; though the former furnishes some brief, but interesting particulars,—and the latter also (as far as we can judge from the fragments remaining) entered at large into the proceedings of the Spartan lawgiver.<sup>1</sup>

Lykurgus is described by Herodotus as uncle and guardian to king Labôtas, of the Eurystheneid or Agid line of Spartan kings; and this would place him, according to the received chronology, about 220 years before the first recorded Olympiad (about B. C. 996).<sup>2</sup> All the other accounts, on the contrary, seem to represent him as a younger brother, belonging to the other or Prokleid line of Spartan kings, though they do not perfectly agree respecting his parentage. While Simonidês stated him to be the son of Prytanis, Diemychidas described him as grandson of Prytanis, son of Eunomus, brother of Polydektês, and uncle as well as guardian to Charilaus,—thus making him eleventh in descent from Hêraklês.<sup>3</sup> This latter account was adopted by Aristotle, coinciding, according to the received chronology, with the date of Iphitus the Eleian, and the first celebration of the Olympic games by Lykurgus and Iphitus conjointly,<sup>4</sup> which Aristotle

<sup>1</sup> See Heeren, *Dissertatio de Fontibus Plutarchi*, pp. 19–25.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 65. Moreover, Herodotus gives this as the statement of the Lacedæmonians themselves.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Lykurg.* c. 1. According to Dionys. Halik. (*Ant. Rom.* ii. 49) Lykurgus was uncle, not son, of Eunomus.

Aristotle considers Lykurgus as guardian of Charilaus (*Polit.* ii. 7, 1): compare v. 10, 3. See O. Müller (*Hist. of Dorians*, i. 7, 3).

<sup>4</sup> Phlegôn also adds Kleosthenês of Pisa (*De Olympiis ap. Meursii Opp.* vii. p. 128). It appears that there existed a quoit at Olympia, upon which

accepted as a fact. Lykurgus, on the hypothesis here men would stand about B. C. 880, a century before the re Olympiads. Eratosthenês and Apollodorus placed him few years earlier than the first Olympiad." If they meant the epoch commonly assigned as the Olympiad of Iphitus date would coincide pretty nearly with that of Herodotus: the other hand, they meant the first recorded Olympiad (776), they would be found not much removed from the of Aristotle. An unequivocal proof of the inextricable cor in ancient times respecting the epoch of the great Sparta giver is indirectly afforded by Timæus, who supposed that had existed two persons named Lykurgus, and that th of both had been ascribed to one. It is plain from hence there was no certainty attainable, even in the third century the Christian era, respecting the date or parentage of Lykurgus.

Thucydidês, without mentioning the name of Lykurgus, us that it was "400 years and somewhat more" anterior close of the Peloponnesian war,<sup>1</sup> when the Spartans ex from their previous state of desperate internal disorder, entered upon "their present polity." We may fairly presume

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the formula of the Olympic truce was inscribed, together with the Iphitus and Lykurgus as the joint authors and proclaimers of it. believed this to be genuine, and accepted it as an evidence of the fact it professed to certify: and O. Müller is also disposed to admit it as — that is, as *contemporary* with the times to which it professes to come to a different conclusion: that the quoit existed, I do not doubt that the inscription upon it was actually set down in writing, in or B. C. 880, would be at variance with the reasonable probabilities resulting from Grecian palæography. Had this ancient and memorable instrument been at Olympia in the days of Herodotus, he could hardly have ascribed the epoch which we now read in his writings.

The assertions in Müller's History of the Dorians (i. 7, 7), about Iphitus, and Kleosthenês "drawing up the fundamental laws of the Olympic armistice," are unsupported by any sufficient evidence. In later times of established majesty of the Olympic festival, the Eleans undoubtedly exercise the power which he describes; but to connect any deliberate regulation of Iphitus and Lykurgus, is in my judgment incorrect. See the mention of a similar truce proclaimed throughout Triphylia by the Makistians as presidents of the common festival at the temple of Samian Poseidon (Strabo, viii. p. 343).

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 18.



this alludes to the Lykurgæan discipline and constitution, which Thucydidês must thus have conceived as introduced about B. C. 830-820, — coinciding with something near the commencement of the reign of king Têlekus. In so far as it is possible to form an opinion, amidst evidence at once so scanty and so discordant, I incline to adopt the opinion of Thucydidês as to the time at which the Lykurgæan constitution was introduced at Sparta. The state of "eunomy" and good order which that constitution brought about, — combined with the healing of great previous internal sedition, which had tended much to enfeeble them, — is represented (and with great plausibility) as the grand cause of the victorious career beginning with king Têlekus, the conqueror of Amyklæ, Pharîs, and Geronthræ. Therefore it would seem, in the absence of better evidence, that a date, connecting the fresh stimulus of the new discipline with the reign of Têlekus, is more probable than any epoch either later or earlier.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clinton fixes the legislation of Lykurgus, "in conformity with Thucydidês," at about 817 B. C., and his regency at 852 B. C., about thirty-five years previous (*Fasti Hellen.* v. i. c. 7, p. 141): he also places the Olympiad of Iphitus B. C. 828 (*F. H.* vol. ii. p. 410; *App. c.* 22).

In that chapter, Mr. Clinton collects and discusses the various statements respecting the date of Lykurgus: compare, also, Larcher ad Herodot. i. 67, and *Chronologie*, pp. 486-492.

The differences in these statements must, after all, be taken as they stand, for they cannot be reconciled except by the help of arbitrary suppositions, which only mislead us by producing a show of agreement where there is none in reality. I agree with Mr. Clinton, in thinking that the assertion of Thucydidês is here to be taken as the best authority. But I altogether dissent from the proceeding which he (in common with Larcher, Wesseling, Sir John Marsham, and others) employs with regard to the passage of Herodotus, where that author calls Lykurgus the guardian and uncle of Labôtas (of the Eurystheneid line). Mr. Clinton says: "From the notoriety of the fact that Lycurgus was ascribed to the other house (the Prokleids), it is manifest that *the passage must be corrupted*" (p. 144); and he then goes on to correct the text of Herodotus, agreeably to the proposition of Sir J. Marsham.

This proceeding seems to me inadmissible. The text of Herodotus reads perfectly well, and is not contradicted by anything to be found elsewhere in *Herodotus himself*: moreover, we have here a positive guarantee of its accuracy, for Mr. Clinton himself admits that it stood in the days of Pausanias just as we now read it (*Pausan.* iii. 2, 3). By what right, then, do we alter it? or what do we gain by doing so? Our only right to do so, is, the assumption that there must have been uniformity of belief, and means of

O. Müller,<sup>1</sup> after glancing at the strange and improbable circumstances handed down to us respecting Lykurgus, of "that we have absolutely no account of him as an individual person." This remark is perfectly just: but another made by the same distinguished author, respecting the Lysian system of laws, appears to me erroneous, — and requires especially to be noticed, inasmuch as the corollaries deduced from it pervade a large portion of his valuable History of the Peloponnese. He affirms that the laws of Sparta were considered the true institutions, and that their origin was identical with that of the people: Sparta is, in his view, the full type of Dorian pretensions, and sentiments, — and is so treated throughout his entire work.<sup>2</sup> But such an opinion is at once gratuitous and unsupported. The passage of Pindar cited in support of it is scarcely of any weight, and contrary to the whole tenor of ancient evidence. The institutions of Sparta were not Dorian, but peculiar to herself, distinguishing her not less from Argos, Corinth, Megara, Epidauros, Sikyon, Korkyra, or Knidus, than from Athens or Thebes. Sparta was the only other portion of Greece in which there were peculiar institutions in many respects analogous, yet still distinct from those two attributes which form the real mark and pinch of Spartan legislation, namely, the military discipline and the private training. There were doubtless Dorians in Knidos, but we have no proof that these peculiar institutions belong

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to a satisfactory ascertainment, (respecting facts and persons of the sixth and seventh centuries before the Christian era,) existing among Greeks of those and succeeding centuries; an assumption which I hold to be incorrect. All we gain is, an illusory unanimity produced, by gratuitously putting the same words into the mouth of one of our witnesses.

If we can prove Herodotus to have been erroneously informed, we may do so; but we have no ground for altering his deposition. It is a clear proof that there were very different stories as to the mere question of which of the two lines of Herakleids the Spartan lawgiver belonged to; that there was an enormous difference as to the time in which he lived.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Dorians, i. 7, 6.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Dorians, iii. 1, 8. Alf. Kopstadt recognizes the error in Müller's work: see his recent valuable Dissertation "De Institutionum Constitutionis Lycurgeæ Origine et Indole," Gryphæ, 1827, sect. 3, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Among the many other evidences to this point, see Aristotle 9; Xenophon, *Republ. Laced.* 10, 8.

them more than to the other inhabitants of the island. That the Spartans had an original organization, and tendencies common to them with the other Dorians, we may readily concede; but the Lykurgian constitution impressed upon them a peculiar tendency, which took them out of the general march, and rendered them the least fit of all states to be cited as an example of the class-attributes of Dorism. One of the essential causes, which made the Spartan institutions work so impressively upon the Grecian mind, was their perfect singularity, combined with the conspicuous ascendancy of the state in which they were manifested; while the Kretan communities, even admitting their partial resemblance (which was chiefly in the institution of the *Syssitia*, and was altogether more in form than in spirit) to Sparta, were too insignificant to attract notice except from speculative observers. It is therefore a mistake on the part of O. Müller, to treat Sparta as the type and representative of Dorians generally, and very many of the positions advanced in his *History of the Dorians* require to be modified when this mistake is pointed out.

The first capital fact to notice respecting the institutions ascribed to Lykurgus, is the very early period at which they had their commencement: it seems impossible to place this period later than 825 B. C. We do not find, nor have we a right to expect, trustworthy history in reference to events so early. If we have one foot on historical ground, inasmuch as the institutions themselves are real,—the other foot still floats in the unfaithful region of myth, when we strive to comprehend the generating causes: the mist yet prevails which hinders us from distinguishing between the god and the man. The light in which Lykurgus appeared, to an intelligent Greek of the fifth century before the Christian era, is so clearly, yet briefly depicted, in the following passage of Herodotus, that I cannot do better than translate it:—

“In the very early times (Herodotus observes) the Spartans were among themselves the most lawless of all Greeks, and unapproachable by foreigners. Their transition to good legal order took place in the following manner. When Lykurgus, a Spartan of consideration, visited Delphi to consult the oracle, the instant that he entered the sanctuary, the Pythian priestess exclaimed,—

“Thou art come, Lykurgus, to my fat shrine, beloved by Zeus,

and by all the Olympic gods. Is it as god or as man that to address thee in the spirit? I hesitate, — and yet, Ly I incline more to call thee a god.”

So spake the Pythian priestess. “Moreover, in add these words, some affirm that the Pythia revealed to the order of things now established among the Spartans.

*Lacedæmonians themselves* say, that Lykurgus, when guardian his nephew Labôtas, king of the Spartans, introduced the institutions out of Krete. No sooner had he obtained this guardianship, than he changed all the institutions into their present and took security against any transgression of it. Next, he instituted the military divisions, the Enômoties and the Trias as well as the Syssitia, or public mess: he also, farther, appointed the ephors and the senate. By this means the Spartans passed from bad to good order: to Lykurgus, after his death, they raised a temple, and they still worship him reverentially. And he was naturally be expected in a productive soil, and with no innumerable numbers of men, they immediately took a start and flourished so much that they could not be content to remain tranquil within their own limits,” etc.

Such is our oldest statement (coming from Herodotus) concerning Lykurgus, ascribing to him that entire order of things which the writer witnessed at Sparta. Thucydides also, though mentioning Lykurgus, agrees in stating that the system of the Lacedæmonians, as he saw it, had been adopted by them centuries previously, — had rescued them from the most terrible disorders, and had immediately conducted them to order and success.<sup>1</sup> Hellanikus, whose writings a little later than those of Herodotus, not only did not (any more than Thucydides) make mention of Lykurgus, but can hardly be thought to have attached any importance to the name; since he attributed the constitution of Sparta to the first kings, Eurysthenes and

But those later writers, from whom Plutarch chiefly draws his biography, profess to be far better informed on the subject of Lykurgus, and enter more into detail. His father, we are told, was assassinated during the preceding state of lawless anarchy; his elder brother Polydektês died early, leaving a pregnant

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 65–66; Thucyd. i. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, vii

who made to Lykurgus propositions that he should marry her and become king. But Lykurgus, repudiating the offer with indignation, awaited the birth of his young nephew Charilaus, held up the child publicly in the agora, as the future king of Sparta, and immediately relinquished the authority which he had provisionally exercised. However, the widow and her brother Leönidas raised slanderous accusations against him, of designs menacing to the life of the infant king, — accusations which he deemed it proper to obviate, by a temporary absence. Accordingly, he left Sparta and went to Krête, where he studied the polity and customs of the different cities; next, he visited Ionia and Egypt, and (as some authors affirmed) Libya, Iberia, and even India. While in Ionia, he is reported to have obtained from the descendants of Kreophylus a copy of the Homeric poems, which had not up to that time become known in Peloponnesus: there were not wanting authors, indeed, who said that he had conversed with Homer himself.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the young king Charilaus grew up and assumed the sceptre, as representing the Prokleid or Eurypontid family. But the reins of government had become more relaxed, and the disorders worse than ever, when Lykurgus returned. Finding that the two kings as well as the people were weary of so disastrous a condition, he set himself to the task of applying a corrective, and with this view consulted the Delphian oracle; from which he received strong assurances of the divine encouragement, together with one or more special injunctions (the primitive Rhetraë of the constitution), which he brought with him to Sparta.<sup>2</sup> He then suddenly presented himself in the agora, with thirty of the most distinguished Spartans, all in arms, as his guards and partisans. King Charilaus, though at first terrified, when informed of the designs of his uncle, stood forward willingly to second them; while the bulk of the Spartans respectfully submitted to the venerable Herakleid, who came as reformer and missionary

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Lykurg. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> For an instructive review of the text as well as the meaning of this ancient Rhetra, see Urlichs, Ueber die Lykurgischen Rhetrea, published since the first edition of this History. His refutation of the rash charges of Göttling seems to me complete: but his own conjectures are not all equally plausible; nor can I subscribe to his explanation of ἀφιστάσθαι.

from Delphi.<sup>1</sup> Such were the steps by which Lykurgus attained his ascendancy: we have now to see how he employed it.

His first proceeding, pursuant to the Rhetra or Compact from Delphi, was to constitute the Spartan senate, consisting of twenty-eight ancient men; making an aggregate of thirty, in conjunction with the two kings, who sat and voted in it. These were combined periodical assemblies of the Spartan people in open air, between the river Knakiôn and the bridge Babykion. No discussion was permitted in these assemblies,—their functions were limited to the simple acceptance or rejection of that which had previously been determined in the senate.<sup>2</sup> Such was

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Lykurg. c. 5-6. Hermippus, the scholar of Aristotle, is said to give the names of twenty out of these thirty devoted partisans.

There was, however, a different story, which represented that Lykurgus, on his return from his travels, found Charilaos governing like a despot. (Plutarch, Pontic. c. 2).

<sup>2</sup> The words of the old Rhetra—*Διὸς Ἑλλανίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν ἰδρυμένον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὥβας ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα, γὰρ σὺν ἡρχαγέταις, καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταφῶν Βασιλέως Κνακίωνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμνη δ' ἄγορὰν ἐκέρχεται.* (Plutarch, *ib.*)

The reading *ἀγορὰν* (last word but three) is that of Coray's edition. The readings proposed are *κυρίαν, ἀνωγὰν, ἀγορίαν*, etc. The MSS., however, are incurably corrupt, and none of the conjectures can be pronounced correct.

The Rhetra contains various remarkable archaisms,—*ἀπελλάζειν καταστήσαντα*,—the latter word in the sense of putting the question for corresponding to the function of the *Ἀφειστήρ* at Knidus, (Plutarch, *Græc.* c. 4; see Schneider, *Lexicon, ad. voc.*)

O. Müller connects *τριάκοντα* with *ὥβας*, and lays it down that there were thirty Obes at Sparta: I rather agree with those critics who place them after *ὠβάξαντα*, and refer the number thirty to the senate. Ulrich's Dissertation Ueber Die Lykurgisch. Rhetren (published in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1847, p. 204), introduces the word *πρεσβυγενέας* after *τριάκοντα*, which seems a just conjecture, when we look to the addition made by Theopompus. The statements of Müller about the Obes seem to me to rest on no authority.

The word Rhetra means a solemn compact, either originally entered into from, or subsequently sanctioned by, the gods, who are always parties to such agreements: see the old Treaty between the Eleians and the Athenians, *ἡ ἐν Ἐφάρτρᾳ*, between the two,—commemorated in the valuable inscription still preserved,—as ancient, according to Boeckh, as Olymp. 40-60, Corp. Inscript. No. 2, p. 26, part i.) The words of Tyrtæus implore the sanction of the compact between contracting parties: first the kings, then the sen-

Spartan political constitution as fixed by Lykurgus; but a century afterwards (so Plutarch's account runs), under the kings Polydôrus and Theopompus, two important alterations were made. A rider was then attached to the old Lykurgian Rhetra, by which it was provided that, "in case the people decided crookedly, the senate, with the kings, should reverse their decisions:"<sup>1</sup> while

the people — *εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἑνταπαμειβομένους* — where the participle last occurring applies not to the people alone, but to all the three. The Rhetra of Lykurgus emanated from the Delphian god; but the kings, senate and people all bound themselves, both to each other and to the gods, to obey it. The explanations given of the phrase by Nitzsch and Schömann (in Dr. Thirlwall's note, ch. viii. p. 334) seem to me less satisfactory than what appears in C. F. Hermann (*Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, s. 23).

Nitzsch (*Hist. Homer. sect. xiv. pp. 50–55*) does not take sufficient account of the distinction between the meaning of *ῥήτρα* in the early and in the later times. In the time of the Ephor Epitadeus, or of Agis the Third, he is right in saying that *ῥήτρα* is equivalent to *scitum*, — still, however, with an idea of greater solemnity and unchangeability than is implied in the word *νόμος*, analogous to what is understood by a fundamental or organic enactment in modern ideas. The old ideas, of a mandate from the Delphian god, and a compact between the kings and the citizens, which had once been connected with the word, gradually dropped away from it. There is no contradiction in Plutarch, therefore, such as that to which Nitzsch alludes (p. 54).

Kopstadt's Dissertation (pp. 22, 30) touches on the same subject. I agree with Kopstadt (*Dissert. pp. 28–30*), in thinking it probable that Plutarch copied the words of the old Lykurgian constitutional Rhetra, from the account given by Aristotle of the Spartan polity.

King Theopompus probably brought from the Delphian oracle the important rider which he tacked to the mandate as originally brought by Lykurgus — *οἱ βασιλεῖς Θεόπομος καὶ Πολύδωρος τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν*. The authority of the oracle, together with their own influence, would enable them to get these words accepted by the people.

<sup>1</sup> Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἐλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγένας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας εἰμεν. (Plutarch, *ib.*)

Plutarch tells us that the primitive Rhetra, anterior to this addition, specially enjoined the assembled citizens either to adopt or reject, without change, the Rhetra proposed by the kings and senate, and that the rider was introduced because the assembly had disobeyed this injunction, and adopted amendments of its own. It is this latter sense which he puts on the word *σκολιὰν*. Urlichs (*Ueber Lyc. Rhetr. p. 232*) and Nitzsch (*Hist. Homer. p. 54*) follow him, and the latter even construes the epithet *Εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἑνταπαμειβομένους* of Tyrtæus in a corresponding sense: he says, "*Populus iis (rhetris) εὐθείαις, i. e. nihil inflexis, suffragari jubetur: nam lex cuius Tyrtæus admonet, ita sanxerat — si populus rogationem inflexam (i. e. non*

another change, perhaps intended as a sort of compensation this bridle on the popular assembly, introduced into the constitution a new executive Directory of five men, called Ephors Board—annually chosen, by some capricious method, the result of which could not well be foreseen, and open to be filled by any Spartan citizen—either originally received, or gradually admitted, functions so extensive and commanding, in regard to internal administration and police, as to limit the authority of the king to little more than the exclusive command of the military. Herodotus was informed, at Sparta, that the ephors as we

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nisi ad suum arbitrium immutatam) accipere voluerit, senatores et abolerent totam."

Now, in the first place, it seems highly improbable that the primitive constitution with its antique simplicity, would contain any such preconceived restriction upon the competence of the assembly. That restriction of its formal commencement only from the rider annexed by king Cleomenes, which evidently betokens a previous dispute and refractory opposition on the part of the assembly,

In the second place, the explanation which these authors give of the words *σκολιὰν* and *εὐθείαις*, is not conformable to the ancient Greek. We find it in Homer and Hesiod: and these early analogies are the proof of seeing that we are dealing with a very ancient document. In Homer *σκολιὸς* and *σκολιδς* are used in a sense which almost exactly corresponds to *straight* and *wrong* (which words, indeed, in their primitive etymology, may be traced back to the meaning of *straight* and *crooked*). See Hesiod, Opp. l. 218, 221, 226, 230, 250, 262, 264; also Theogon. 97, and Fragment. Götting; where the phrases are constantly repeated, *ἰθεὶαι δίκαι*, *δίκαι, σκολιοὶ μῦθοι*. There is also the remarkable expression, (*ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιδν*: compare v. 263. *ἰθύνετε μῦθους*: also *ἰθεῖα*; *ῥεῖα*; xviii. 508. *ὅς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶπῃ*, etc.

If we judge by these analogies, we shall see that the words *εὐθείαις ῥήτραις*, mean "*straightforward, honest, statutes or conventions*" not *propositions adopted without change*, as Nitzsch supposes. And the words *σκολιὰν ἔλοιτο*, mean, "*adopt a wrong or dishonest determination*" a determination different from what was proposed to them.

These words gave to the kings and senate power to cancel any law of the public assembly which they disapproved. It retained only the power of refusing assent to some substantive propositions of the authority of the kings and senate, afterwards of the ephors. And this limit of power it seems always to have preserved.

Kopstadt explains well the expression *σκολιὰν*, as the antithetical epithet of Tyrtæus, *εὐθείαις ῥήτραις* (Dissertat. sect. 15, p. 124).



senate had been constituted by Lykurgus; but the authority of Aristotle, as well as the internal probability of the case, sanctions the belief that they were subsequently added.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the political constitution of Sparta ascribed to Lykurgus, it appears not to have differed materially from the rude organization exhibited in the Homeric poems, where we always find a council of chiefs or old men, and occasional meetings of a listening agora. It is hard to suppose that the Spartan kings can ever have governed without some formalities of this sort; so that the innovation (if innovation there really was) ascribed to Lykurgus, must have consisted in some new details respecting the senate and the agora, — in fixing the number<sup>2</sup> thirty, and the life-tenure of the former, — and the special place of meeting of the latter, as well as the extent of privilege which it was to exercise; consecrating the whole by the erection of the temples of Zeus Hellanius and Athênê Hellania. The view of the subject presented by Plutarch as well as by Plato,<sup>3</sup> as if the senate were an entire novelty, does not consist with the pictures of the old epic. Hence we may more naturally imagine that the Lykurgian political constitution, apart from the ephors who were afterwards tacked to it, presents only the old features of the heroic government of Greece, defined and regularized in a particular manner. The presence of two coexistent and coördinate kings, indeed, succeeding in hereditary descent, and both belonging to the gens of Herakleids, is

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 65: compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Aristotet. Polit. v. 2, 1 (where he gives the answer of king Theopompus).

Aristotle tells us that the ephors were chosen, but not *how* they were chosen; only, that it was in some manner excessively puerile, — *παῖδαριώδης γὰρ ἔστι λίαν* (ii. 6, 16).

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in his note to the passage of Aristotle, presumes that they were of course chosen in the same manner as the senators; but there seems no sufficient ground in Aristotle to countenance this. Nor is it easy to reconcile the words of Aristotle respecting the election of the senators, where he assimilates it to an *ἀλγεῖς δυναστευτικῇ* (Polit. v. 5, 8; ii. 6, 18), with the description which Plutarch (Lycurg. 26) gives of that election.

<sup>2</sup> Kopstadt agrees in this supposition, that the number of the senate was probably not peremptorily fixed before the Lykurgian reform (Dissertat. ut sup. sect. 13, p. 109).

<sup>3</sup> Plato, Legg. iii. p. 691; Plato, Epist. viii. p. 354, B.

something peculiar to Sparta, — the origin of which has no other explanation than a reference to the twin sons of Leda, Eurysthénès and Proklès. These two primitive kings are a type of the two lines of Spartan kings; for they have passed their lives in perpetual dissensions, which was the habitual state of the two contemporaneous kings at Sparta. The coexistence of the pair of kings, equal in power and thwarting each other, had often a baneful effect upon the course of public measures, it was, nevertheless, a security to the state against successful violence,<sup>1</sup> ending in the establishment of despotism, on the part of any ambitious individual among the royal line.

During five successive centuries of Spartan history, from the reign of Alcibiades downward, no such violence was effected by any of the kings,<sup>2</sup> until the times of Agis the Third and Kleomenès the Third, — 240 B. C. to 220 B. C. The independence of Greece had at this last-mentioned period irretrievably been lost, and the independent political action which she once had become subordinate to the more powerful force either of the Ætolian mountaineers (the rudest among her own subjects), or of the Epirotic, Macedonian, and Asiatic foreigners, preparatory to her final absorption by the Romans. But amongst all the states, Sparta had declined the most; her ascendancy was gone, and her peculiar training and discipline (to which she chiefly owed it) had degenerated in every way. Under the most unfavorable circumstances, two young kings, Agis and Kleomenès — the former a generous enthusiast, the latter more violent and ambitious, — conceived the design of restoring the Spartan constitution in its supposed pristine purity, with the view of reviving both the spirit of the people and the ascendency of the state. But the Lykurgian constitution had been, even

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Legg.* iii. p. 691; *Aristot. Polit.* ii. 6, 20.

<sup>2</sup> The conspiracy of Pausanias, after the repulse of Xerxes, was not for the liberty of combined Hellas, to constitute himself satrap of Hellas against the Persian monarch, rather than against the established Lacedæmonian government; though undoubtedly one portion of his project was to induce the Helots to revolt, and Aristotle treats him as specially aimed at the power of the ephors (*Polit.* v. 5, 6; compare *Thucyd.* ii. 65, *Herodot.* v. 32).

time of Xenophon,<sup>1</sup> in part, an *idéal* not fully realized in practice, — much less was it a reality in the days of Kleomenês and Agis; moreover, it was an *idéal* which admitted of being colored according to the fancy or feelings of those reformers who professed, and probably believed, that they were aiming at its genuine restoration. What the reforming kings found most in their way, was the uncontrolled authority, and the conservative dispositions, of the ephors, — which they naturally contrasted with the original fulness of the kingly power, when kings and senate stood alone. Among the various ways in which men's ideas of what the primitive constitution *had* been, were modified by the feelings of their own time (we shall presently see some other instances of this), is probably to be reckoned the assertion of Kleomenês respecting the first appointment of the ephors. Kleomenês affirmed that the ephors had originally been nothing more than subordinates and deputies of the kings, chosen by the latter to perform for a time their duties during the long absence of the Messenian war. Starting from this humble position, and profiting by the dissensions of the two kings,<sup>2</sup> they had in process of time, especially by the ambition of the ephor Asterôpus, found means first to constitute themselves an independent board, then to usurp to themselves more and more of the kingly authority, until they at last reduced the kings to a state of intolerable humiliation and impotence. As a proof of the primitive relation between the kings and the ephors, he alluded to that which was the custom at Sparta in his own time. When the ephors sent for either of the kings, the latter had a right to refuse obedience to two successive summonses, but the third summons he was bound to obey.<sup>3</sup>

It is obvious that the fact here adduced by Kleomenês (a curious point in Spartan manners) contributes little to prove the conclusion which he deduced from it, of the original nomination of the ephors as mere deputies by the kings. That they were first appointed at the time of the Messenian war is probable, and coincides with the tale that king Theopompus was a consenting

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Republic. Laced. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Agis, c. 12. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον (the ephors) ἰσχύειν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Kleomenês, c. 10. σημείον δὲ τοῦτον, τὸ μέχρι νῦν, μεταπεμπομένων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἐφόρων, etc.

party to the measure, — that their functions were comparatively circumscribed, and extended by successive increments, is also probable; but they seem to have been beginning a board of specially popular origin, in contrast to the kings and the senate. One proof of this is to be found in the ancient oath, which was every month interchanged between the kings and the ephors; the king swearing for himself would exercise his regal functions according to the laws, — the ephors swearing on behalf of the city, that their authority should on that condition remain unshaken.<sup>1</sup> The compact, which probably formed a part of the ceremony of the monthly sacrifices offered by the king,<sup>2</sup> continued at a time when it must have become a pure form, and when the kings had long been subordinate in power to the ephors. Evidently began first as a reality, — when the king was pre-eminently and effective chief of the state, and when the ephors, clothed with functions chiefly defensive, served as guarantees to the king against abuse of the regal authority. Plato, Aristotle, Cicero,<sup>3</sup> all interpret the original institution of the ephors as designed to protect the people and restrain the kings: and Polybius assimilates them to the tribunes at Rome.

Such were the relations which had once subsisted between the kings and the ephors: though in later times these had been so completely reversed, that Polybius considers the kings former as essentially subordinate to the latter, — reckoning it a point of duty in the kings to respect the ephors as fathers.<sup>4</sup> And such is decidedly the state of things that

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Republic. Lacedæmon. c. 15. *Καὶ ὅρκους μὲν ἄλλοι μῆνα ποιοῦνται· Ἐφοροὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὅρκος ἐστὶ, τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους σέειν. τῇ δὲ πόλει, ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου, ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι.*

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vi. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, Legg. iii. p. 692; Aristot. Polit. v. 11, 1; Cicero de Legg. ii. 33, ed. Maii — “Ut contra consulare imperium tribuni illi (ephori) contra vim regiam constituti;” — also, De Legg. iii. 7. Max. iv. 1.

Compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Tittmann, Griechisch. Staatsrecht. p. 108, seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. xxiv. 8.

all the better-known period of history which we shall hereafter traverse. The ephors are the general directors of public affairs<sup>1</sup> and the supreme controlling board, holding in check every other authority in the state, without any assignable limit to their powers. The extraordinary ascendancy of these magistrates is particularly manifested in the fact stated by Aristotle, that they exempted themselves from the public discipline, so that their self-indulgent year of office stood in marked contrast with the toilsome exercises and sober mien common to rich and poor alike. The kings are reduced to a certain number of special functions, combined with privileges partly religious, partly honorary: their most important political attribute is, that they are *ex officio* generals of the military force on foreign expeditions. But even here, we trace the sensible decline of their power. For whereas Herodotus was informed, and it probably had been the old privilege, that the king could levy war against whomsoever he chose, and that no Spartan could impede him on pain of committing sacrilege,<sup>2</sup>—we shall see, throughout the best-known periods of this history, that it is usually the ephors (with or without the senate and public assembly) who determine upon war,—the king only takes the command when the army is put on the march. Aristotle seems to treat the Spartan king as a sort of hereditary general; but even in this privilege, shackles were put upon him,—for two, out of the five ephors, accompanied the army, and their power seems to have been not seldom invoked to insure obedience to his orders.<sup>3</sup>

The direct political powers of the kings were thus greatly curtailed; yet importance, in many ways, was still left to them.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 14–16; 'Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ διαίτα τῶν Ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολογούμενη τῷ βουλευματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνεμμένη λίαν ἐστί· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρὸν, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vi. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. ii. 7, 4; Xenoph. Republ. Laced. c. 13. Πανσανίας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουρὰν, Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 4, 29; φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ Ἐφοροί, iiii. 2, 23.

A special restriction was put on the functions of the king, as military commander-in-chief, in 417 B. C., after the ill-conducted expedition of Agis, son of Archidamus, against Argos. It was then provided that ten Spartan counsellors should always accompany the king in every expedition (Thucyd. v. 63)

They possessed large royal domains, in many of the of the Perioeci: they received frequent occasional presents when victims were offered to the gods, the skins and portions belonged to them as perquisites:<sup>1</sup> they had their the senate, which, if they were absent, were given on half, by such of the other senators as were most near to them: the adoption of children received its formal establishment in their presence, — and conflicting claims at the hand of an unbequeathed orphan heiress, were adjudged by them. But above all, their root was deep in the feelings of the people. Their preëminent lineage connected the entire state with a divine paternity. They, the chief Herakleids, were the special grantees of the soil of Sparta to the gods, — the occupation of the Dorians being only sanctioned and blest by Zeus for the purpose of establishing the chief Herakles in the valley of the Eurotas.<sup>2</sup> They represented the state in its relations with the gods, being by right persons of Zeus Lacedæmon, (the ideas of the god and the country merging into one), and of Zeus Uranius, and offering the sacrifices necessary to insure divine protection to the state. Though individual persons might sometimes be put aside, and in the absence of a new divine revelation could induce the state to step out of the genuine lineage of Eurysthenês and Procles. Moreover, the remarkable mourning ceremony, which took place at the death of every king, seems to indicate that the royal families — which counted themselves Achæan,<sup>3</sup> not Lacedæmonian.

<sup>1</sup> The hide-money (*δερματικὸν*) arising from the numerous victims at public sacrifices at Athens, is accounted for as a special item of revenue in the careful economy of that city: see Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, iii. 7, p. 333; Eng. Trans. *Corpus Inscriptionum*. No. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* 1, ed. Bergk; Strabo, xviii. p. 362: —

Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης  
 Ζεὸς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·  
 Οἷσιν ἡμεῖς προλιπόντες Ἑρίνεον ἡνεμόεντα  
 Εἵρεϊαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

Compare Thucyd. v. 16; Herodot. v. 39; Xenoph. *Hellen.* iii. 3, § 1; Lysand. c. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. v. 72. See the account in Plutarch, of the abortive attempt of Lysander, to make the kingly dignity elective, by putting forward as his successor the son of Apollo (Plutarch, *Lysand.* c. 25–26).

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were considered as the great common bond of union between the three component parts of the population of Laconia, — Spartans, Pericæi, and Helots. Not merely was it required, on this occasion, that two members of every house in Sparta should appear in sackcloth and ashes, — but the death of the king was formally made known throughout every part of Laconia, and deputies from the townships of the Pericæi, and the villages of the Helots, to the number of several thousand, were summoned to Sparta to take their share in the profuse and public demonstrations of sorrow,<sup>1</sup> which lasted for ten days, and which imparted to the funeral obsequies a superhuman solemnity. Nor ought we to forget, in enumerating the privileges of the Spartan king, that he (conjointly with two officers called Pythii, nominated by him,) carried on the communications between the state and the temple of Delphi, and had the custody of oracles and prophecies generally. In most of the Grecian states, such inspired declarations were treasured up, and consulted in cases of public emergency: but the intercourse of Sparta with the Delphian oracle was peculiarly frequent and intimate, and the responses of the Pythian priestess met with more reverential attention from the Spartans than from any other Greeks.<sup>2</sup> So much the more important were the king's functions, as the medium of this intercourse: the oracle always upheld his dignity, and often even seconded his underhand personal schemes.<sup>3</sup>

Sustained by so great a force of traditional reverence, a Spartan king, of military talent and individual energy, like Agesilaus, exercised great ascendancy; but such cases were very rare, and we shall find the king throughout the historical period only a secondary force, available on special occasions. For real political orders, in the greatest cases as well as the least, the Spartan looks to the council of ephors, to whom obedience is paid with a degree of precision which nothing short of the Spartan discipline could have brought about, — by the most powerful

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 1. "Ἄγχις — ἐτυχε σεμνοτέρως ἢ κατ' ἀνδρῶν ποταφῆς.

<sup>2</sup> For the privileges of the Spartan kings, see Herodot. vi. 56–57; Xenophon, Republ. Laced. c. 15; Plato, Alcib. i. p. 123.

Herodot. vi. 66, and Thucyd. v. 16, furnish examples of this.

citizens not less than by the meanest.<sup>1</sup> Both the internal and the foreign affairs of the state are in the hands of the who exercise an authority approaching to despotism, and together without accountability. They appoint and direct of three hundred young and active citizens, who perform immediate police service of Laconia: they cashier at any subordinate functionary, and inflict fine or arrest at the discretion: they assemble the military force, on occasion of foreign war, and determine its destination, though the king has the actual command of it: they imprison on suspicion of treason the regent or the king himself:<sup>2</sup> they sit as judges, sometimes individually and sometimes as a board, upon causes and complaints of great moment, and they judge without the restraint of written law, the use of which was peremptorily forbidden by a special

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Republ. Laced.* c. 8, 2, and *Agesilaus*, cap. 7, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. *Rep. Laced.* 8, 4; Thucyd. i. 131; Aristot. *Polit.* i. 13, 1. *ἀρχὴν λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον.* Plutarch, *Lycurg.* c. 13, — *νόμοις ἐγγράφοις.*

Plato, in his *Republic*, in like manner disapproves of any general laws, tying up beforehand the discretion of perfectly educated magistrates, who will always do what is best on each special occasion. *public*, iv. p. 425).

<sup>3</sup> Besides the primitive constitutional Rhetra mentioned above, various other Rhetrae are also attributed to Lykurgus: and Plutarch mentions three under the title of "The Three Rhetrae," as if they were only genuine Lykurgian Rhetrae, or at least stood distinguished by peculiar sanctity from all others (*Plutarch, Quæst. Roman.* c. 87. c. 26).

These three were (*Plutarch, Lycurg.* c. 13; comp. *Apophthegmata* 227): 1. Not to resort to written laws. 2. Not to employ in hostilities any other tools than the axe and the saw. 3. Not to undertake expeditions often against the same enemies.

I agree with Nitzsch (*Histor. Homer.* pp. 61–65) that these Rhetrae, doubtless not actually Lykurgian, are, nevertheless, ancient (that is, dating somewhere between 650–550 B. C.) and not the mere fictitious inventions of later writers, as Schömann (*Ant. Jur. Pub.* iv. 1; xiv. p. 132) and Ullrich seem to believe. And though Plutarch specifies the number three, it seems to have been still more, as the language of Tyrtæus must indicate: out of which, from causes which we do not now understand, three which Plutarch distinguishes excited particular notice.

These maxims or precepts of state were probably preserved as *dicta* of the Delphian oracle, from which authority, doubtless, they may have emanated, — such as the famous ancient prophecy 'Αἰ



erroneously connected with Lykurgus himself, but at any rate ancient. On certain occasions of peculiar moment, they take the sense of the senate and the public assembly,<sup>1</sup> — such seems to have been the habit on questions of war and peace. It appears, however, that persons charged with homicide, treason, or capital offences generally, were tried before the senate. We read of several instances in which the kings were tried and severely fined, and in which their houses were condemned to be razed to the ground, probably by the senate, on the proposition of the ephors: in one instance, it seems that the ephors inflicted by their own authority a fine even upon Agesilaus.<sup>2</sup>

War and peace appear to have been submitted, on most, if not on all occasions, to the senate and the public assembly; no matter could reach the latter until it had passed through the former. And we find some few occasions on which the decision of the public assembly was a real expression of opinion, and operative as to the result, — as, for example, the assembly which immedi-

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Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν (Krebs, *Lectiones Diodoræ*, p. 140. Aristotel. *Περὶ Πολιτειῶν*, ap. Schol. ad Eurip. *Andromach.* 446. Schömann, *Comm. ad Plutarch. Ag. et Cleomen.* p. 123).

Nitzsch has good remarks in explanation of the prohibition against "using written laws." This prohibition was probably called forth by the circumstance that other Grecian states were employing lawgivers like Zaleukus, Drako, Charondas, or Solon, — to present them, at once, with a series of written enactments, or provisions. Some Spartans may have proposed that an analogous lawgiver should be nominated for Sparta: upon which proposition a negative was put in the most solemn manner possible, by a formal Rhetra, perhaps passed after advice from Delphi. There is no such contradiction, therefore, (when we thus conceive the event,) as some authors represent, in forbidding the use of written laws by a Rhetra itself, put into writing. To employ a phrase in greater analogy with modern controversies — "The Spartans, on the direction of the oracle, resolve to retain their unwritten common law, and not to codify."

<sup>1</sup> Ἐδόξε τοῖς Ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 2, 23).

<sup>2</sup> The case of *Leotychides*, Herod. vi. 72; of *Pleistoanax*, Thucyd. ii. 21-v. 16; *Agis the Second*, Thucyd. v. 63; *Agis the Third*, Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 19: see Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, c. 5.

Respecting the ephors generally, see Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterthumskunde*, v. 4, 42, vol. i. p. 223; Cragius, *Rep. Lac.* ii. 4, p. 121.

Aristotle distinctly marks the ephors as ἀντιπρόσωποι: so that the story alluded to briefly in the *Rhetoric* (iii. 18) is not easy to be understood.

ately preceded and resolved upon the Peloponnesian war. in addition to the serious hazard of the case, and the caution of a Spartan temperament, there was the great weight and experience of king Archidamus opposed to though the ephors were favorable to it.<sup>1</sup> The public assembly under such peculiar circumstances, really manifested an and came to a division. But, for the most part, it seems been little better than an inoperative formality. The rule permitted no open discussion, nor could any private speak except by special leave from the magistrates. even the general liberty to discuss, if given, might have no avail, for not only was there no power of public speech no habit of canvassing public measures, at Sparta; not more characteristic of the government than the extreme of its proceedings.<sup>2</sup> The propositions brought forward by the magistrates were either accepted or rejected, without any of amending. There could be no attraction to invite the people to be present at such an assembly: and we may gather from the language of Xenophon that, in his time, it consisted of a certain number of notables specially summoned in addition to the senate, which latter body is itself called "the lesser assembly."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the constant and formidable diminution of the number of qualified citizens was alone sufficient to thin the assembly, as well as to break down any force which it might once have possessed.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 67, 80, 87. *ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν τὸν εἰωθότα.*

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iv. 68. *τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν*: compare iv. 7 remarkable expression about so distinguished a man as Brasidas *ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν*, and iv. 24, about the Lacedæmonian envoys to Athens. Compare Schömann, *Antiq. Jur. Pub. Græc.* p. 122. Aristotel. *Polit.* ii. 8, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν* (Xenoph. *Hellen.* iii. 3) means the *γέροντες*, or senate, and none besides, except the ephors evoked it. (See Lachmann, *Spart. Verfass.* sect. 12, p. 216.) What is more to be noted, is the expression *οἱ ἐκκληῖται* as the equivalent of *ἐκκλησία* (compare *Hellen.* v. 2, 11; vi. 3, 3), evidently showing a limited number of persons convened: see, also, ii. 4, 38; iv. 6, Thucyd. v. 77.

The expression *οἱ ἐκκληῖται* could never have got into use as an equivalent for the Athenian *ecclesia*.

An assembly to  
a formality, and  
for the passing of  
rare occurrence  
little of a practice.  
The senate, a power  
the only real check  
extent a concurrence  
and imposing laws  
of by Demosthenes  
the case. Its  
criminal justice,  
was arraigned.<sup>1</sup>  
find the senators  
with corruption  
until sixty years  
may readily be  
period of extreme  
extraordinary  
doubtless tolerance  
body as a concourse

The brief shall  
show that, though  
living under what

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<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Rep.  
cont. Leptin. c. 1.  
language of Demosthenes  
Plutarch (Agamemnon)  
who were put to death  
imminent danger  
first time that arose

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit.  
Pausanias, — περὶ  
Thucyd. v. 16, —  
and able Gylippus

<sup>3</sup> The ephors  
every Spartan  
despotical element  
to little restraint  
Polit. ii. 8, 10 ;

a close, unscrupulous, and well-obeyed oligarchy,—in within it, as subordinate, those portions which had one dominant, the kings and the senate, and softening the without abating the mischief, of the system, by its annual of the ruling ephors. We must at the same time distinguish government from the Lykurgian discipline and education doubtless tended much to equalize rich and poor, in real practical life, habits, and enjoyments. Herodotus (and, ingly, also, Xenophon) thought that the form just described that which the government had originally received from the of Lykurgus. Now, though there is good reason for supposing otherwise, and for believing the ephors to be a subsequent institution,—yet, the mere fact that Herodotus was so informed of Sparta, points our attention to one important attribute of Spartan polity, which it is proper to bring into view. That attribute is, its unparalleled steadiness, for four or five successive centuries, in the midst of governments like the Grecian, which had undergone more or less of fluctuation. No considerable revolution—not even any palpable or formal change occurred in it, from the days of the Messenian war, down to the reign of Agis the Third: in spite of the irreparable blow which the loss of power and territory of the state sustained from Epaminondas and the Thebans, the form of government, nevertheless, remained unchanged. It was the only government in Greece which could trace an unbroken, peaceable descent from a high antiquity to its real or supposed founder. Now this was one of the main circumstances (among others which will hereafter be mentioned) of the astonishing ascendancy which the Spartans acquired over the Hellenic mind, and which they will be found at all to deserve by any superior ability in the conduct of public affairs. The steadiness of their political sympathies,—even at one time, by putting down the tyrants, or despots, and at another by overthrowing the democracies,—stood in the place of the stability and even the recognized failings of their government were covered by the sentiment of respect for its early commencement and uninterrupted continuance. If such a feeling acted on the Greeks generally,<sup>1</sup> much more powerful was its action on

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<sup>1</sup> A specimen of the way in which this antiquity was lauded, may be seen in Isokratēs, Or. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 288.

Spartans themselves, in inflaming that haughty exclusiveness for which they stood distinguished. And it is to be observed that the Spartan mind continued to be cast on the old-fashioned scale, and unsusceptible of modernizing influences, longer than that of most other people of Greece. The ancient legendary faith, and devoted submission to the Delphian oracle, remained among them unabated, at a time when various influences had considerably undermined it among their fellow-Hellens and neighbors. But though the unchanged title and forms of the government thus contributed to its imposing effect, both at home and abroad, the causes of internal degeneracy were not the less really at work, in undermining its efficiency. It has been already stated, that the number of qualified citizens went on continually diminishing, and even of this diminished number a larger proportion than before were needy, since the landed property tended constantly to concentrate itself in fewer hands. There grew up in this way a body of discontent, which had not originally existed, both among the poorer citizens, and among those who had lost their franchise as citizens; thus aggravating the danger arising from Pericæi and Helots, who will be presently noticed.

We pass from the political constitution of Sparta to the civil ranks and distribution, economical relations, and lastly, the peculiar system of habits, education, and discipline, said to have been established among the Lacedæmonians by Lykurgus. Here, again, we shall find ourselves imperfectly informed as to the existing institutions, and surrounded by confusion when we try to explain how those institutions arose.

It seems, however, ascertained that the Dorians, in all their settlements, were divided into three tribes,—the Hylleis, the Pamphyli, and the Dymanes: in all Dorian cities, moreover, there were distinguished Herakleid families, from whom cækists were chosen when new colonies were formed. These three tribes can be traced at Argos, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, Megara, Korkyra, and seemingly, also, at Sparta.<sup>1</sup> The Hylleis recognized, as their eponym and progenitor, Hyllus, the son of Héra-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. v. 68; Stephan. Byz. Ὑλλέες and Δυμῶν; O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 5, 2; Boeckh. ad Corp. Inscrip. No. 1123.

Thucyd. i. 24, about Phalius, the Herakleid, at Corinth.

klês, and were therefore, in their own belief, descende  
Hêraklês himself: we may suppose the Herakleids, spec  
called, comprising the two regal families, to have been th  
brethren of the tribe of Hylleis, the whole of whom are  
times spoken of as Herakleids, or descendants of Hê  
But there seem to have been also at Sparta, as in other  
towns, non-Dorian inhabitants, apart from these three tril  
embodied in tribes of their own. One of these, the  
said to have come from Thebes as allies of the Dorian ir  
is named by Aristotle, Pindar, and Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> — wh  
Ægiæleis at Sikyôn, the tribe Hyrnêthia at Argos and Ep  
and others, whose titles we do not know, at Corinth, repr  
like manner, the non-Dorian portions of their respective  
nities.<sup>3</sup> At Corinth, the total number of tribes is said  
been eight.<sup>4</sup> But at Sparta, though we seem to make  
existence of the three Dorian tribes, we do not know ho  
tribes there were in all: still less do we know what rela  
Obæ, or Obes, another subordinate distribution of the  
bore to the tribes. In the ancient Rhetra of Lykur  
Tribes and Obês are directed to be maintained unalter  
the statement of O. Müller and Boeckh<sup>5</sup> — that there we

<sup>1</sup> See Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* 8, 1, ed. Schnoidewin, and Pindar, *Pyth.* 71, where the expressions "descendants of Hêraklês" plainly co  
more than the two kingly families. Plutarch, *Lysand.* c. 22; Dio

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. iv. 149; Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 67; Aristot. *Λακων. Πολιτ.*  
*Fragm.* ed. Neuman. The Talthybiadæ, or heralds, at Sparta,  
family or caste apart (Herod. vii. 134).

O. Müller supposes, without any proof, that the Ægeids *must*  
adopted into one of the three Dorian tribes; this is one of the  
from his fundamental supposition, that Sparta is the type of pu  
(vol. ii. p. 78). Kopstadt thinks (*Dissertat.* p. 67) that I have dor  
to O. Müller, in not assenting to his proof: but, on studying the  
again, I can see no reason for modifying what is here stated in the  
Section of Schömann's work (*Antiq. Jur. Publ. Græc.* iv. 1, 6,  
this subject asserts a great deal more than can be proved.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. v. 68-92; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscrip. Nos.* 1130, 1131; Ste  
v. *Χρυσίθιον*; Pausan. ii. 28, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Photius *Πάντα ὀκτώ*; also, Proverb. Vatic. Suidas, xi. 64  
Hesychius, v. *Κυνόφαλοι*.

<sup>5</sup> Müller, *Dorians*, iii. 5, 3-7; Boeckh. *ad Corp. Inscription.* p  
3, p. 609.

Obês in all, ten to each tribe — rests upon no other evidence than a peculiar punctuation of this Rhetra, which various other critics reject; and seemingly, with good reason. We are thus left without any information respecting the Obê, though we know that it was an old, peculiar, and lasting division among the Spartan people, since it occurs in the oldest Rhetra of Lykurgus, as well as in late inscriptions of the date of the Roman empire. In similar inscriptions, and in the account of Pausanias, there is, however, recognized a classification of Spartans distinct from and independent of the three old Dorian tribes, and founded upon the different quarters of the city, — Limnæ, Mesoa, Pitanê, and Kynosura;<sup>1</sup> from one of these four was derived the usual description of a Spartan in the days of Herodotus. There is reason to suppose that the old Dorian tribes became antiquated at Sparta, (as the four old Ionian tribes did at Athens,) and that the topical classification derived from the quarters of the city superseded it, — these quarters having been originally the separate villages, of the aggregate of which Sparta was composed.<sup>2</sup> That the number of the old senators, thirty, was connected with the three Dorian tribes, deriving ten members from each, is probable enough, though there is no proof of it.

Of the population of Laconia, three main divisions are recognized, — Spartans, Pericæti, and Helots. The first of the three were the full qualified citizens, who lived in Sparta itself, fulfilled all the exigences of the Lykurgæan discipline, paid their quota to the Syssitia, or public mess, and were alone eligible to honors<sup>3</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iii. 16, 6; Herodot. iii. 55; Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1241, 1338, 1347, 1425; Steph. Byz. v. Μεσóa; Strabo, viii. p. 364; Hesych. v. Πιτανή.

There is much confusion and discrepancy of opinion about the Spartan tribes. Cragius admits six (De Republ. Lacon. i. 6); Meursius, eight (Rep. Lacon. i. 7); Barthélemy (Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, iv. p. 185) makes them five. Manso has discussed the subject at large, but I think not very satisfactorily, in the eighth Beilage to the first book of his History of Sparta (vol. ii. p. 125); and Dr. Thirlwall's second Appendix (vol. i. p. 517) both notices all the different modern opinions on this obscure topic, and adds several useful criticisms. Our scanty stock of original evidence leaves much room for divergent hypotheses, and little chance of any certain conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> One or two Pericætic officers appear in military command towards the

and the community to which he belonged received their orders only from Sparta, having no political sphere of their own, and no share in determining the movements of the Spartan authorities. In the island of Kythêra,<sup>1</sup> which formed one of the Pericæic townships, a Spartan bailiff resided as administrator. But whether the same was the case with others, we cannot affirm: nor is it safe to reason from one of these townships to all,—there may have been considerable differences in the mode of dealing with one and another. For they were spread through the whole of Laconia, some near and some distant from Sparta: the free inhabitants of Amyklæ must have been Pericæi, as well as those of Kythêra, Thuria, Ætheia, or Aulôn: nor can we presume that the feeling on the part of the Spartan authorities towards all of them was the same. Between the Spartans and their neighbors, the numerous Pericæi of Amyklæ, there must have subsisted a degree of intercourse and mutual relation in which the more distant Pericæi did not partake,—besides, that both the religious edifices and the festivals of Amyklæ were most reverentially adopted by the Spartans and exalted into a national dignity: and we seem to perceive, on some occasions, a degree of consideration manifested for the Amyklæan hoplites,<sup>2</sup> such as perhaps other Pericæi might not have obtained. The class-name, Pericæi,<sup>3</sup>—circum-

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Mr. Clinton (Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 401) has collected the names of above sixty out of the one hundred.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iv. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 5, 11; Herod. ix. 7; Thucyd. v. 18–23. The Amyklæan festival of the Hyacinthia, and the Amyklæan temple of Apollo, seem to stand foremost in the mind of the Spartan authorities. *Αἱροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύρατα τῶν περιόικων* (Thucyd. iv. 8), who are ready before the rest, and march against the Athenians at Pylus, probably include the Amyklæans.

Laconia generally is called by Thucydides (iii. 16) as the *περιόικις* of Sparta.

<sup>3</sup> The word *περιόικοι* is sometimes used to signify simply “surrounding neighbor states,” in its natural geographical sense: see Thucyd. i. 17, and Aristot. Polit. ii. 7, 1.

But the more usual employment of it is, to mean, the unprivileged or less privileged members of the same political aggregate living without the city, in contrast with the full-privileged burghers who lived within it. Aristotle uses it to signify, in Krête, the class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Helots (Pol. ii. 7, 3): there did not exist in Krête any class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Pericæi. In Krête, there were not two stages of infe-



residents, or dwellers around the city, — usually denoted native inhabitants of inferior political condition as contrasted with the

riority, — there was only one, and that one is marked by the word *περίοικοι*; while the Lacedæmonian Periœkus had the Helot below him. To an Athenian the word conveyed the idea of undefined degradation.

To understand better the *status* of the Periœkus, we may contrast him with the Metœkus, or Metic. The latter resides in the city, but he is an alien resident on sufferance, not a native: he pays a special tax, stands excluded from all political functions, and cannot even approach the magistratè except through a friendly citizen, or Prostatès) *ἐνὶ προστάτου οἰκεῖν* — Lysurgus cont. Leocrat. c. 21–53): he bears arms for the defence of the state. The situation of a Metic was, however, very different in different cities of Greece. At Athens, that class were well-protected in person and property, numerous and domiciliated: at Sparta, there were at first none, — the Xenêlasy excluded them; but this must have been relaxed long before the days of Agis the Third.

The Periœkus differs from the Metic, in being a native of the soil, subject by birth to the city law.

M. Kopstadt (in his Dissertation above cited, on Lacedæmonian affairs, sect. 7, p. 60) expresses much surprise at that which I advance in this note respecting Krête and Lacedæmon, — that in Krête there was no class of men analogous to the Lacedæmonian Periœki, but only two classes, — i. e. free citizens and Helots. He thinks that this position is “*prorsus falsum*.”

But I advance nothing more here than what is distinctly stated by Aristotle, as Kopstadt himself admits (pp. 60, 71). Aristotle calls the subject class in Krête by the name of *Περίοικοι*. And in this case, the general presumptions go far to sustain the authority of Aristotle. For Sparta was a dominant or capital city, including in its dependence not only a considerable territory, but a considerable number of inferior, distinct, organized townships. In Krête, on the contrary, each autonomous state included only a town with its circumjacent territory, but without any annexed townships. There was, therefore, no basis for the intermediate class called, in Laconia, Periœki: just as Kopstadt himself remarks (p. 78) about the Dorian city of Megara. There were only the two classes of free Krêtean citizens, and serf-cultivators in various modifications and subdivisions.

Kopstadt (following Hoeck, Krête, b. iii. vol. iii. p. 23) says that the authority of Aristotle on this point is overborne by that of Dosiadas and Sosikratès, — authors who wrote specially on Krêtean affairs. Now if we were driven to make a choice, I confess that I should prefer the testimony of Aristotle, — considering that we know little or nothing respecting the other two. But in this case I do not think that we are driven to make a choice: Dosiadas (ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 143) is not cited in terms, so that we cannot affirm him to contradict Aristotle: and Sosikratès (upon whom Hoeck and Kopstadt rely) says something which does not necessarily contradict him,

full-privileged burghers who lived in the city, but it did not mark any precise or uniform degree of inferiority. It is sometimes so used by Aristotle as to imply a condition no better than that of the Helots, so that, in a large sense, all the inhabitants of Laconia (Helots as well as the rest) might have been included in it. But when used in reference to Laconia, it bears a technical sense, whereby it is placed in contraposition with the Spartan on one side, and with the Helot on the other: it means, native free-men and proprietors, grouped in subordinate communities<sup>1</sup> with more or less power of local management, but (like the subject towns belonging to Bern, Zurich, and most of the old thirteen cantons of Switzerland) embodied in the Lacedæmonian aggregate, which was governed exclusively by the kings, senate, and citizens of Sparta.

When we come to describe the democracy of Athens after the revolution of Kleisthenes, we shall find the demes, or local townships and villages of Attica, incorporated as equal and constituent fractions of the integer called The Deme (or The City) of Athens, so that a demot of Acharnæ or Sphêttus is at the same time a full Athenian citizen. But the relation of the Perioæic townships to Sparta is one of inequality and obedience, though both belong to the same political aggregate, and make up together the free Lacedæmonian community. In like manner, Orneæ and other places were townships of men personally free, but politically dependent on Argos, — Akræphiæ on Thebes, — Chæroneia on Orchomenus, — and various Thessalian towns on Pharsalus and Larissa.<sup>2</sup> Such, moreover, was, in the main, the state into which

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but admits of being explained so as to place the two witnesses in harmony with each other.

Sosikratēs says (ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 263), *Τὴν μὲν κοινὴν δουλείαν οἱ Κρητὲς καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμῖωτας, τοὺς δὲ περιόικους ὑπηκόους*. Now the word *περιοίκους* seems to be here used just as Aristotle would have used it, to comprehend the Krêtan serfs universally: it is not distinguished from *ἀνῶται* and *ἀφαμῖωται*, but comprehends both of them as different species under a generic term. The authority of Aristotle affords a reason for preferring to construe the passage in this manner, and the words appear to me to admit of it fairly.

<sup>1</sup> The πόλεις of the Lacedæmonian Perioæi are often noticed: see Xenophon (Agesilaus, ii. 24; Laced. Repub. xv. 3; Hellenic. vi. 5, 21).

<sup>2</sup> Herod. viii. 73-135; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1, 8; Thucyd. iv. 76-94.

Athens would have brought her allies, and Thebes, the free Bœotian communities,<sup>1</sup> if the policy of either of these cities had permanently prospered. This condition carried with it a sentiment of degradation, and a painful negation of that autonomy for which every Grecian community thirsted; while being maintained through superior force, it had a natural tendency, perhaps without the deliberate wish of the reigning city, to degenerate into practical oppression. But in addition to this general tendency, the peculiar education of a Spartan, while it imparted force, fortitude, and regimental precision, was at the same time so rigorously peculiar, that it rendered him harsh, unaccommodating, and incapable of sympathizing with the ordinary march of Grecian feeling, — not to mention the rapacity and love of money, which is attested, by good evidence, as belonging to the Spartan character,<sup>2</sup> and which we should hardly have expected to find in the pupils of Lykurgus. As Harmosts out of their native city,<sup>3</sup> and in relations with inferiors, the Spartans seem to have been more unpopular than other Greeks, and we may presume that a similar haughty roughness pervaded their dealings with their own Perioeki; who were bound to them certainly by no tie of affection, and who for the most part revolted after the battle of Leuktra, as soon as the invasion of Laconia by Epameinondas enabled them to do so with safety.

Isokratês, taking his point of departure from the old Herakleid legend, with its instantaneous conquest and triple partition of all Dorian Peloponnesus, among the three Herakleid brethren, deduces the first origin of the Periœkic townships from internal seditions among the conquerors of Sparta. According to him, the period immediately succeeding the conquest was one of fierce

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<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3, 5, 9, 19. Isokratês, writing in the days of Theban power, after the battle of Leuktra, characterizes the Bœotian towns as *περίοικοι* of Thebes (Or. viii. De Pace, p. 182); compare Orat. xiv. Plataic. pp. 299–303. Xenophon holds the same language, Hellen. v. 4, 46: compare Plutarch, Agesilaus, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 77–95; vi. 105. Isokratês (Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 283), Σπαρτιάτας δὲ ὑπεροπτικοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, οἷον περ αὐτοὺς εἶναι πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν. Compare his Oratio de Pace (Or. viii. pp. 180–181); Oratio Panegyri. (Or. iv. pp. 64–67).

intestine warfare in newly-conquered Sparta, between the Few and the Many, — the oligarchy and the demus. The former being victorious, two important measures were the consequences of their victory. They banished the defeated Many from Sparta into Laconia, retaining the residence in Sparta exclusively for themselves; they assigned to them the smallest and least fertile half of Laconia, monopolizing the larger and better for themselves; and they disseminated them into many very small townships, or subordinate little communities, while they concentrated themselves entirely at Sparta. To these precautions for insuring dominion, they added another not less important. They established among their own Spartan citizens equality of legal privilege and democratical government, so as to take the greatest securities for internal harmony; which harmony, according to the judgment of Isokratês, had been but too effectually perpetuated, enabling the Spartans to achieve their dominion over oppressed Greece, — like the accord of pirates<sup>1</sup> for the spoliation of the peaceful. The Pericæic townships, he tells us, while deprived of all the privileges of freemen, were exposed to all the toils, as well as to an unfair share of the dangers, of war. The Spartan authorities put them in situations and upon enterprises which they deemed too dangerous for their own citizens; and, what was still worse, the ephors possessed the power of putting to death, without any form of preliminary trial, as many Pericæi as they pleased.<sup>2</sup>

The statement here delivered by Isokratês, respecting the first origin of the distinction of Spartans and Périœki, is nothing better than a conjecture, nor is it even a probable conjecture, since it is based on the historical truth of the old Herakleid legend, and transports the disputes of his own time, between the oligarchy and the demus, into an early period, to which such dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Isokratês, Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 280. ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν δικαίως ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ λήστας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδικίας ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμονόοντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολλύουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Isokratês, Orat. xii. (Panathenaic.) pp. 270–271. The statement in the same oration (p. 246), that the Lacedæmonians “had put to death without trial more *Greeks* (πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων) than had ever been tried at Athens since Athens was a city,” refers to their allies or dependents out of Laconia.

putes do not belong. Nor is there anything, so far as our knowledge of Grecian history extends, to bear out his assertion, that the Spartans took to themselves the least dangerous post in the field, and threw undue peril upon their Perioeki. Such dastardly temper was not among the sins of Sparta; but it is undoubtedly true that, as the number of citizens continually diminished, so the Perioeki came to constitute, in the later times, a larger and larger proportion of the Spartan force. Yet the power which Isokratês represents to have been vested in the ephors, of putting to death Perioeki without preliminary trial, we may fully believe to be real, and to have been exercised as often as the occasion seemed to call for it. We shall notice, presently, the way in which these magistrates dealt with the Helots, and shall see ample reason from thence to draw the conclusion that, whenever the ephors believed any man to be dangerous to the public peace, — whether an inferior Spartan, a Perioekus, or a Helot, — the most summary mode of getting rid of him would be considered as the best. Towards Spartans of rank and consideration, they were doubtless careful and measured in their application of punishment, but the same necessity for circumspection did not exist with regard to the inferior classes: moreover, the feeling that the exigences of justice required a fair trial before punishment was inflicted, belongs to Athenian associations much more than to Spartan. How often any such summary executions may have taken place, we have no information.

We may remark that the account which Isokratês has here given of the origin of the Laconian Perioeki is not essentially irreconcilable with that of Ephorus,<sup>1</sup> who recounted that Eurysthenês and Proklês, on first conquering Laconia, had granted to the preëxisting population equal rights with the Dorians, — but that Agis, son of Eurysthenês, had deprived them of this equal position, and degraded them into dependent subjects of the latter. At least, the two narratives both agree in presuming that the Perioeki had once enjoyed a better position, from which they had been extruded by violence. And the policy which Isokratês ascribes to the victorious Spartan oligarchs, — of driving out the demus from concentrated residence in the city to disseminated

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<sup>1</sup> Ephorus, *Fragm.* 18, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo, viii. p. 365.

residence in many separate and insignificant townships, — seems to be the expression of that proceeding which in his time was numbered among the most efficient precautions against refractory subjects, — the *Diœkisis*, or breaking up of a town-aggregate into villages. We cannot assign to the statement any historical authority.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the division of Laconia into six districts, together with its distribution into townships (or the distribution of settlers into preëxisting townships), which Ephorus ascribed to the first Dorian kings, are all deductions from the primitive legendary account, which described the Dorian conquest as achieved by one stroke, and must all be dismissed, if we suppose it to have been achieved gradually. This gradual conquest is admitted by O. Müller, and by many of the ablest subsequent inquirers, — who, nevertheless, seem to have the contrary supposition involuntarily present to their minds when they criticize the early Spartan history, and always unconsciously imagine the Spartans as masters of all Laconia. We cannot even assert that Laconia was ever under one government before the consummation of the successive conquests of Sparta.

Of the assertion of O. Müller — repeated by Schömann<sup>2</sup> — “that the difference of races was strictly preserved, and that

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Arnold (in his Dissertation on the Spartan Constitution, appended to the first volume of his *Thucydides*, p. 643) places greater confidence in the historical value of this narrative of Isokratês than I am inclined to do. On the other hand, Mr. G. C. Lewis, in his Review of Dr. Arnold's Dissertation (*Philological Museum*, vol. ii. p. 45), considers the “account of Isokratês as completely inconsistent with that of Ephorus;” which is saying rather more, perhaps, than the tenor of the two strictly warrants. In Mr. Lewis's excellent article, most of the difficult points respecting the Spartan constitution will be found raised and discussed in a manner highly instructive.

Another point in the statement of Isokratês is, that the Dorians, at the time of the original conquest of Laconia, were only two thousand in number (*Or. xii. Panath.* p. 286). Mr. Clinton rejects this estimate as too small, and observes, “I suspect that Isokratês, in describing the numbers of the Dorians at the original conquest, has adapted to the description the actual numbers of the Spartans in his own time.” (*Fast. Hellen.* ii. p. 408.)

This seems to me a probable conjecture, and it illustrates as well the absence of data under which Isokratês or his informants labored, as the method which they took to supply the deficiency.

<sup>2</sup> Schömann, *Antiq. Jurisp. Græcorum*, iv. 1, 5, p. 112.

the Perioeki were always considered as Achæans,"—I find no proof, and I believe it to be erroneous. Respecting Pharis, Geronthræ, and Amyklæ, three Perioekic towns, Pausanias gives us to understand that the preëxisting inhabitants either retired or were expelled on the Dorian conquest, and that a Dorian population replaced them.<sup>1</sup> Without placing great faith in this statement, for which Pausanias could hardly have any good authority, we may yet accept it as representing the probabilities of the case, and as counterbalancing the unsupported hypothesis of Müller. The Perioekic townships were probably composed either of Dorians entirely, or of Dorians incorporated in greater or less proportion with the preëxisting inhabitants. But whatever difference of race there may once have been, it was effaced before the historical times,<sup>2</sup> during which we find no proof of

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 22, 5. The statement of Müller is to be found (History of the Dorians, iii. 2, 1): he quotes a passage of Pausanias, which is noway to the point.

Mr. G. C. Lewis (Philolog. Mus. ut. sup. p. 41) is of the same opinion as Müller.

<sup>2</sup> M. Kopstadt (in the learned Dissertation which I have before alluded to, De Rerum Laconicarum Constitutionis Lycurgæ Origine et Indole, cap. ii. p. 31) controverts this position respecting the Perioeki. He appears to understand it in a sense which my words hardly present,—at least, a sense, which I did not intend them to present: as if the majority of inhabitants in each of the hundred Perioekic towns were Dorians,—“ut per centum Laconiæ oppida distributi ubique majorem incolarum numerum efficerent,” (p. 32.) I meant only to affirm that some of the Perioekic towns, such as Amyklæ, were wholly, or almost wholly, Dorian; many others of them partially Dorian. But what may have been the comparative numbers (probably different in each town) of Dorian and non-Dorian inhabitants,—there are no means of determining. M. Kopstadt (p. 35) admits that Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, were Perioekic towns peopled by Dorians; and if this be true, it negatives the general maxim on the faith of which he contradicts what I affirm: his maxim is—“nunquam Dorienses à Doriensibus nisi bello victi erant, civitate æquoque jure privati sunt,” (p. 31.) It is very unsafe to lay down such large positions respecting a supposed uniformity of Dorian rules and practice. The high authority of O. Müller has been extremely misleading in this respect.

It is plain that Herodotus (compare his expression, viii. 73 and i. 145) conceived all the free inhabitants of Laconia not as Achæans, but as Dorians. He believes in the story of the legend, that the Achæans, driven out of Laconia by the invading Dorians and Herakleidæ, occupied the territory in the

Achæans, known as such, in Laconia. The Herakleids, the Ægeids, and the Talthybiads, all of whom belong to Sparta, seem to be the only examples of separate races, partially distinguishable from Dorians, known after the beginning of authentic history. The Spartans and the Pericæi constitute one political aggregate, and that too so completely melted together in the general opinion (speaking of the times before the battle of Leuktra), that the peace of Antalkidas, which guaranteed autonomy to every separate Grecian city, was never so construed as to divorce the Pericæic towns from Sparta. Both are known as Laconians, or Lacedæmonians, and Sparta is regarded by Herodotus only as the first and bravest among the many and brave Lacedæmonian cities.<sup>1</sup> The victors at Olympia are proclaimed, not as Spartans, but as Laconians, — a title alike borne by the Pericæi. And many of the numerous winners, whose names we read in the Olympic lists as Laconians, may probably have belonged to Amyklæ or other Pericæic towns.

The Pericæic hoplites constituted always a large — in later times a preponderant — numerical proportion of the Lacedæmonian army, and must undoubtedly have been trained, more or less perfectly, in the peculiar military tactics of Sparta; since they were called upon to obey the same orders as the Spartans in the field,<sup>2</sup> and to perform the same evolutions. Some cases appear, though rare, in which a Pericæus has high command in a foreign expedition. In the time of Aristotle, the larger proportion of Laconia (then meaning only the country eastward of Taygetus,

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north-west of Peloponnesus which was afterwards called Achæa, — expelling from it the Ionians. Whatever may be the truth about this legendary statement, — and whatever may have been the original proportions of Dorians and Achæans in Laconia, — these two races had (in the fifth century B. C.) become confounded in one undistinguishable ethnical and political aggregate called Laconian, or Lacedæmonian, — comprising both Spartans and Pericæi, though with very unequal political franchises, and very material differences in individual training and habits. The case was different in Thessaly, where the Thessalians held in dependence Magnètes, Perrhæbi, and Achæans: the separate nationality of these latter was never lost.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. viii. 6-22. They did not, however, partake in the Lykurgæan discipline; but they seem to be named *οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας παῖδες*, as contrasted with *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς* (Sosibius ap. Athenæ. xv. p. 674).



since the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas had been con summated) belonged to Spartan citizens,<sup>1</sup> but the remaining smaller half must have been the property of the Perieki, who must besides have carried on most of the commerce of export and import, — the metallurgic enterprise, and the distribution of internal produce, — which the territory exhibited; since no Spartan ever meddled in such occupations. And thus the peculiar training of Lykurgus, by throwing all these employments into the hands of the Perieki, opened to them a new source of importance, which the dependent townships of Argos, of Thebes, or of Orchomenus, would not enjoy.

The Helots of Laconia were Coloni, or serfs, bound to the soil, who tilled it for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors certainly, — probably, of Perieki proprietors also. They were the rustic population of the country, who dwelt, not in towns, but either in small villages<sup>2</sup> or in detached farms, both in the district imme-

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν, οὐκ ἐξετάζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς.

Mr. G. C. Lewis, in the article above alluded to (Philolog. Mus. ii. p. 54), says, about the Perieki: "They lived in the country or in small towns of the Laconian territory, and cultivated the land, which they did not hold of any individual citizen, but paid for it a tribute or rent to the state; being exactly in the same condition as the *possessores* of the Roman domain, or the Ryots, in Hindostan, before the introduction of the Permanent Settlement." It may be doubted, I think, whether the Perieki paid any such rent or tribute as that which Mr. Lewis here supposes. The passage just cited from Aristotle seems to show that they paid direct taxation individually, and just upon the same principle as the Spartan citizens, who are distinguished only by being larger landed-proprietors. But though the principle of taxation be the same, there was practical injustice (according to Aristotle) in the mode of assessing it. "The Spartan citizens (he observes) being the largest landed-proprietors, take care not to canvass strictly *each other's payment of property-tax*," — i. e. they wink mutually at each other's evasions. If the Spartans had been the *only* persons who paid *εἰσφορά*, or property-tax, this observation of Aristotle would have had no meaning. In principle, the tax was assessed, both on their larger properties and on the smaller properties of the Perieki: in practice, the Spartans helped each other to evade the due proportion.

<sup>2</sup> The village-character of the Helots is distinctly marked by Livy, xxxiv. 27, in describing the inflictions of the despot Nabis: "Iliotarum quidam (hi sunt jam inde antiquitus *castellani*, agreste genus) transfugere voluisse insimulati, per omnes *vicos* sub verberibus acti necantur."

diately surrounding Sparta, and round the Perioëkic Laconian towns also. Of course, there were also Helots who lived in Sparta and other towns, and did the work of domestic slaves, — but such was not the general character of the class. We cannot doubt that the Dorian conquest from Sparta found this class in the condition of villagers and detached rustics; but whether they were dependent upon preëxisting Achæan proprietors, or independent, like much of the Arcadian village population, is a question which we cannot answer. In either case, however, it is easy to conceive that the village lands (with the cultivators upon them) were the most easy to appropriate for the benefit of masters resident at Sparta; while the towns, with the district immediately around them, furnished both dwelling and maintenance to the outgoing detachments of Dorians. If the Spartans had succeeded in their attempt to enlarge their territory by the conquest of Arcadia,<sup>1</sup> they might very probably have converted Tegea and Mantinea into Perioëkic towns, with a diminished territory inhabited (either wholly or in part) by Dorian settlers, — while they would have made over to proprietors in Sparta much of the village lands of the Mænalii, Azanes, and Parrhasii, Helotizing the inhabitants. The distinction between a town and a village population seems the main ground of the different treatment of Helots and Perioëki in Laconia. A considerable proportion of the Helots were of genuine Dorian race, being the Dorian Messenians west of Mount Taygetus, subsequently conquered and aggregated to this class of dependent cultivators, who, as a class, must have begun to exist from the very first establishment of the invading Dorians in the district round Sparta. From whence the name of Helots arose, we do not clearly make out: Ephorus deduced it from the town of Helus, on the southern coast, which the Spartans are said to have taken after a resistance so obstinate as to provoke them to deal very rigorously with the captives. There are many reasons for rejecting this story, and another etymology has been proposed, according to which Helot is synonymous with *captive*: this is more plausible, yet still not convincing.<sup>2</sup> The Helots lived in the rural villages, as *adscripti glebæ*,

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 66. ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν Δέλφοις ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.

<sup>2</sup> See O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 3, 1; Ephorus ap. Strabo, viii. p. 365; Harpocration, v. Ἑλλώτες.

cultivating their lands and paying over their rent to the master at Sparta, but enjoying their homes, wives, families, and mutual neighborly feelings, apart from the master's view. They were never sold out of the country, and probably never sold at all; belonging, not so much to the master as to the state, which constantly called upon them for military service, and recompensed their bravery or activity with a grant of freedom. Meno, the Thessalian of Pharsalus, took out three hundred Penestæ of his own, to aid the Athenians against Amphipolis: these Thessalian Penestæ were in many points analogous to the Helots, but no individual Spartan possessed the like power over the latter. The Helots were thus a part of the state, having their domestic and social sympathies developed, a certain power of acquiring property,<sup>1</sup> and the consciousness of Grecian lineage and dialect,—points of marked superiority over the foreigners who formed the slave population of Athens or Chios. They seem to have been noway inferior to any village population of Greece; while the Grecian observer sympathized with them more strongly than with the bought slaves of other states,—not to mention that their homogeneous aspect, their numbers, and their employment in military service, rendered them more conspicuous to the eye.

The service in the Spartan house was all performed by members of the Helot class; for there seem to have been few, if any, other slaves in the country. The various anecdotes which are told respecting their treatment at Sparta, betoken less of cruelty than of ostentatious scorn,<sup>2</sup>—a sentiment which we are noway surprised to discover among the citizens at the mess-table. But the great mass of the Helots, who dwelt in the country, were objects of a very different sentiment on the part of the Spartan ephors, who knew their bravery, energy, and standing discontent,

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<sup>1</sup> Kleomenes the Third, offered manumission to every Helot, who could pay down five Attic minæ: he was in great immediate want of money, and he raised, by this means, five hundred talents. Six thousand Helots must thus have been in a condition to find five minæ each, which was a very considerable sum (Plutarch, Kleomenes, c. 23).

<sup>2</sup> Such is the statement, that Helots were compelled to appear in a state of drunkenness, in order to excite in the youths a sentiment of repugnance against intoxication (Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 28; also, *Adversus Stoicos de Commun. Notit.* c. 19, p. 1067).

and yet were forced to employ them as an essential portion of the state army. The Helots commonly served as light-armed, in which capacity the Spartan hoplites could not dispense with their attendance. At the battle of Plataea, every Spartan hoplite had seven Helots,<sup>1</sup> and every Pericæic hoplite one Helot, to attend him:<sup>2</sup> but, even in camp, the Spartan arrangements were framed to guard against any sudden mutiny of these light-armed companions, while, at home, the citizen habitually kept his shield disjoined from its holding-ring, to prevent the possibility of its being snatched for the like purpose. Sometimes, select Helots were clothed in heavy armor, and thus served in the ranks, receiving manumission from the state as the reward of distinguished bravery.<sup>3</sup>

But Sparta, even at the maximum of her power, was more than once endangered by the reality, and always beset with the apprehension, of Helotic revolt. To prevent or suppress it, the ephors submitted to insert express stipulations for aid in their treaties with Athens, — to invite Athenian troops into the heart of Laconia, — and to practice combinations of cunning and atrocity which even yet stand without parallel in the long list of precautions for fortifying unjust dominion. It was in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, after the Helots had been called upon for signal military efforts in various ways, and when the Athenians and Messenians were in possession of Pylus, that the ephors felt especially apprehensive of an outbreak. Anxious to single

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ix. 29. The Spartans, at Thermopylæ, seem to have been attended each by only one Helot (vii. 229).

O. Müller seems to consider that the light-armed, who attended the Pericæic hoplites at Plataea, were *not* Helots (Dor. iii. 3, 6). Herodotus does not distinctly say that they were so, but I see no reason for admitting two different classes of light-armed in the Spartan military force.

The calculation which Müller gives of the number of Pericæi and Helots altogether, proceeds upon very untrustworthy data. Among them is to be noticed his supposition that *πολιτικὴ χώρα* means the district of Sparta as distinguished from Laconia, which is contrary to the passage in Polybius (vi. 45): *πολιτικὴ χώρα*, in Polybius, means the territory of the state generally.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 12, 4; Kritias, De Lacedæm. Repub. ap. Libanum, Orat. de Servitute, t. ii. p. 85, Reisk. *ὡς ἀπιστίας εἰνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἑλλώτας ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιατῆς οἰκοὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὴν πάγκατα, etc.*

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 101; iv. 80; v. 14–23.

out the most forward and daring Helots, as the men from whom they had most to dread, they issued proclamation that every member of that class who had rendered distinguished services should make his claims known at Sparta, promising liberty to the most deserving. A large number of Helots came forward to claim the boon: not less than two thousand of them were approved, formally manumitted, and led in solemn procession round the temples, with garlands on their heads, as an inauguration to their coming life of freedom. But the treacherous garland only marked them out as victims for the sacrifice: every man of them forthwith disappeared, — the manner of their death was an untold mystery.

For this dark and bloody deed, Thucydides is our witness,<sup>1</sup> and Thucydides describing a contemporary matter into which he had inquired. Upon any less evidence we should have hesitated to believe the statement; but standing as it thus does above all suspicion, it speaks volumes as to the inhuman character of the Lacedæmonian government, while it lays open to us at the same time the intensity of their fears from the Helots. In the assassination of this fated regiment of brave men, a large number of auxiliaries and instruments must have been concerned: yet Thucydides, with all his inquiries, could not find out how any of them perished: he tells us, that no man knew. We see here a fact which demonstrates unequivocally the impenetrable mystery in which the proceedings of the Spartan government were wrapped, — the absence not only of public discussion, but of public curiosity, — and the perfection with which the ephors reigned over the will, the hands, and the tongues, of their Spartan subjects. The Venetian Council of Ten, with all the facilities for nocturnal drowning which their city presented, could hardly have accomplished so vast a *coup-d'état* with such invisible means. And we may judge from hence, even if we had no other evidence, how little the habits of a public assembly could have suited either the temper of mind or the march of government at Sparta.

Other proceedings, ascribed to the ephors against the Helots, are conceived in the same spirit as the incident just recounted

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iv. 80. οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἠφάνισάν τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾔσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη.

from Thucydides, though they do not carry with them the same certain attestation. It was a part of the institutions of Lykurgus (according to a statement which Plutarch professes to have borrowed from Aristotle) that the ephors should every year declare war against the Helots, in order that the murder of them might be rendered innocent; and that active young Spartans should be armed with daggers and sent about Laconia, in order that they might, either in solitude or at night, assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable.<sup>1</sup> This last measure passes by the name of the *Krypteia*, yet we find some difficulty in determining to what extent it was ever realized. That the ephors, indeed, would not be restrained by any scruples of justice or humanity, is plainly shown by the murder of the two thousand Helots above noticed; but this latter incident really answered its purpose, while a standing practice, such as that of the *Krypteia*, and a formal notice of war given beforehand, would provoke the reaction of despair rather than enforce tranquillity. There seems, indeed, good evidence that the *Krypteia* was a real practice,<sup>2</sup> — that the ephors kept up a system of police or espionage throughout Laconia, by the employment of active young citizens, who lived a hard and solitary life, and suffered their motions to be as little detected as possible. The ephors might naturally enough take this method of keeping watch both over the *Periœkic* townships and the Helot villages, and the assassination of individual Helots by these police-men, or *Krypts*, would probably pass unnoticed. But it is impossible to believe in any standing murderous order, or deliberate annual assassination of Helots, for the purpose of intimidation, as Aristotle is alleged to have represented, — for we may well doubt whether he really did make such a representation, when we see that he takes no notice of this measure in his *Politics*, where he speaks at some length both of the Spartan constitution and of the Helots. The well-known hatred and fear, entertained by the Spartans towards their Helots, has probably colored Plutarch's description of the *Krypteia*, so as to

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Lycurg.* c. 28; *Heraclides Pontic.* p. 504, ed. Crag

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Legg.* i. p. 633: the words of the Lacedæmonian Megillus designate an existing Spartan custom. Compare the same treatise, vi. p. 763, where Ast suspects, without reason, the genuineness of the word *κρυπτοί*.

exaggerate those unpunished murders which occasionally happened into a constant phenomenon with express design. A similar deduction is to be made from the statement of Myrôn of Priênê,<sup>1</sup> who alleged that they were beaten every year without any special fault, in order to put them in mind of their slavery, — and that those Helots, whose superior beauty or stature placed them above the visible stamp of their condition, were put to death; while such masters as neglected to keep down the spirit of their vigorous Helots were punished. That secrecy, for which the ephors were so remarkable, seems enough of itself to refute the assertion that they publicly proclaimed war against the Helots; though we may well believe that this unhappy class of men may have been noticed as objects for jealous observation in the annual ephoric oath of office. Whatever may have been the treatment of the Helots in later times, it is at all events hardly to be supposed that any regulation hostile to them can have emanated from Lykurgus. For the dangers arising from that source did not become serious until after the Messenian war, — nor, indeed, until after the gradual diminution of the number of Spartan citizens had made itself felt.

The manumitted Helots did not pass into the class of Perioeci, — for this purpose a special grant, of the freedom of some Perioecic township, would probably be required, — but constituted a class apart, known at the time of the Peloponnesian war by the name of Neodamôdes. Being persons who had earned their liberty by signal bravery, they were of course regarded by the ephors with peculiar apprehension, and, if possible, employed on foreign service,<sup>2</sup> or planted on some foreign soil as settlers. In what manner these freedmen employed themselves, we find no distinct information; but we can hardly doubt that they quitted the Helot village and field, together with the rural costume (the leather cap and sheepskin) which the Helot commonly wore, and the change of which exposed him to suspicion, if not to punishment, from his jealous masters. Probably they, as well as the disfranchised Spartan citizens (called Hypomeiones,

<sup>1</sup> Myron. ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 657. ἐπικόπτειν τοὺς ἀδρουμένους does not strictly mean "to put to death."

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 34.

or Inferiors, became congregated at Sparta, and found employment either in various trades or in the service of the government.

It has been necessary to give this short sketch of the orders of men who inhabited Laconia, in order to enable us to understand the statements given about the legislation of Lykurgus. The arrangements ascribed to that lawgiver, in the way that Plutarch describes them, presuppose, and do not create, the three orders of Spartans, Perieki, and Helots. We are told by Plutarch that the disorders which Lykurgus found existing in the state arose in a great measure from the gross inequality of property, and from the luxurious indolence and unprincipled rapacity of the rich,—who had drawn to themselves the greater proportion of the lands in the country, leaving a large body of poor, without any lot of land, in hopeless misery and degradation. To this inequality (according to Plutarch) the reforming legislator applied at once a stringent remedy. He redistributed the whole territory belonging to Sparta, as well as the remainder of Laconia; the former, in nine thousand equal lots, one to each Spartan citizen; the latter, in thirty thousand equal lots, one to each Periekius: of this alleged distribution, I shall speak farther presently. Moreover, he banished the use of gold and silver money, tolerating nothing in the shape of circulating medium but pieces of iron, heavy and scarcely portable; and he forbade<sup>1</sup> to the Spartan citizen every species of industrious or money-seeking occupation, agriculture included. He farther constituted, —though not without strenuous opposition, during the course of which his eye is said to have been knocked out by a violent youth, named Alkander, — the *Syssitia*, or public mess. A certain number of joint tables were provided, and every citizen was required to belong to some one of them, and habitually to take his meals at it,<sup>2</sup>—no new member being admissible without an unanimous ballot in his favor by the previous occupants. Each provided from his lot of land a specified quota of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a small contribution of money for condiments: game was obtained in addition by hunting in the

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Lykurg.* c. 15; substantially confirmed by Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* c. 1, 5.



public forests of the state, while every one who sacrificed to the gods,<sup>1</sup> sent to his mess-table a part of the victim killed. From boyhood to old age, every Spartan citizen took his sober meals at this public mess, where all shared alike; nor was distinction of any kind allowed, except on signal occasions of service rendered by an individual to the state.

These public Syssitia, under the management of the Polemarchs, were connected with the military distribution, the constant gymnastic training, and the rigorous discipline of detail, enforced by Lykurgus. From the early age of seven years, throughout his whole life, as youth and man no less than as boy, the Spartan citizen lived habitually in public, always either himself under drill, gymnastic and military, or a critic and spectator of others, — always under the fetters and observances of a rule partly military, partly monastic, — estranged from the independence of a separate home, — seeing his wife, during the first years after marriage, only by stealth, and maintaining little peculiar relation with his children. The supervision, not only of his fellow-citizens, but also of authorized censors, or captains nominated by the state, was perpetually acting upon him: his day was passed in public exercises and meals, his nights in the public barrack to which he belonged. Besides the particular military drill, whereby the complicated movements required from a body of Lacedæmonian hoplites in the field, were made familiar to him from his youth, — he also became subject to severe bodily discipline of other kinds, calculated to impart strength, activity, and endurance. To manifest a daring and pugnacious spirit, — to sustain the greatest bodily torture unmoved, — to endure hunger and thirst, heat, cold, and fatigue, — to tread the worst ground barefoot, — to wear the same garment winter and summer, — to suppress external manifestations of feeling, and to exhibit in public, when action was not called for, a bearing shy, silent, and motionless as a statue, — all these were the virtues of the accomplished Spartan youth.<sup>2</sup> Two squadrons

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<sup>1</sup> See the authors quoted in Athenæus, iv. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 2-3, 3-5, 4-6. The extreme pains taken to enforce *saprepia* (fortitude and endurance) in the Spartan system is especially dwelt upon by Aristotle (Politica, ii. 6, 5-16); compare Plato, De Legibus, i. p.

were often matched against each other to contend (without arms) in the little insular circumscription called the *Platanistôn*, and these contests were carried on, under the eye of the authorities, with the utmost extremity of fury. Nor was the competition among them less obstinate, to bear without murmuring the cruel scourgings inflicted before the altar of Artemis Orthia, supposed to be highly acceptable to the goddess, though they sometimes terminated even in the death of the uncomplaining sufferer.<sup>1</sup> Besides the various descriptions of gymnastic contests, the youths were instructed in the choric dances employed in festivals of the

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633; Xenophon, *De Laced. Repub.* ii. 9, with the references in Schneider's note, — likewise Cragius, *De Republica Laced.* iii. 8, p. 325.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that these violent contentions of the youth, wherein kicking, biting, gouging out each other's eyes, was resorted to, — as well as the *διαμαρτίῳσις*, or scourging-match, before the altar of Artemis, — lasted down to the closing days of Sparta, and were actually seen by Cicero, Plutarch, and even Pausanias. Plutarch had seen several persons die under the suffering (Plutarch, *Lykurg.* c. 16, 18–30; and *Instituta Laconica*, p. 239; Pausan. iii. 14, 9, 16, 7; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disp.* ii. 15).

The voluntary tortures, undergone by the young men among the Mandan tribe of Indians, at their annual religious festival, in the presence of the elders of the tribe, — afford a striking illustration of the same principles and tendencies as this Spartan *διαμαρτίῳσις*. They are endured partly under the influence of religious feelings, as an acceptable offering to the Great Spirit, — partly as a point of emulation and glory on the part of the young men, to show themselves worthy and unconquerable in the eyes of their seniors. The intensity of these tortures is, indeed, frightful to read, and far surpasses in that respect anything ever witnessed at Sparta. It would be incredible, were it not attested by a trustworthy eye-witness.

See Mr. Catlin's *Letters on the North American Indians*, Letter 22, vol. i. p. 157, *seq.*

"These religious ceremonies are held, in part, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive at manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture; which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, — enables the chiefs who are spectators of the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability, to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lot of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of emergency." — Again, p. 173, etc.

The *καρπεία* or power of endurance (*Aristot. Pol.* ii. 6, 5–16) which formed one of the prominent objects of the Lycurgean training, dwindles into nothing compared to that of the Mandan Indians.

gods, which contributed to impart to them methodized and harmonious movements. Hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia was encouraged, as a means of inuring them to fatigue and privation. The nourishment supplied to the youthful Spartans was purposely kept insufficient, but they were allowed to make up the deficiency not only by hunting, but even by stealing whatever they could lay hands upon, provided they could do so without being detected in the fact; in which latter case they were severely chastised.<sup>1</sup> In reference simply to bodily results,<sup>2</sup> the training at Sparta was excellent, combining strength and agility with universal aptitude and endurance, and steering clear of that mistake by which Thebes and other cities impaired the effect of their gymnastics, — the attempt to create an athletic habit, suited for the games, but suited for nothing else.

Of all the attributes of this remarkable community, there is none more difficult to make out clearly than the condition and character of the Spartan women. Aristotle asserts that, in his time, they were imperious and unruly, without being really so brave and useful in moments of danger as other Grecian females;<sup>3</sup> that they possessed great influence over the men, and even exercised much ascendancy over the course of public affairs; and

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 6, 14; and *De Repub. Lac.* c. 2, 6; Isokratēs, *Or.* xii. (Panath.) p. 277. It is these licensed expeditions for thieving, I presume, to which Isokratēs alludes, when he speaks of τῆς παίδων αὐτονομίας at Sparta, which, in its natural sense, would be the reverse of the truth (p. 277).

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* viii. 3, 3, — the remark is curious, — νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἐξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τὰ τ' εἶδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων· οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἡμαρτον τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, etc. Compare the remark in Plato, *Protagoras* p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 6, 5; Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, c. 31. Aristotle alludes to the conduct of the Spartan women on the occasion of the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, as an evidence of his opinion respecting their want of courage. His judgment in this respect seems hard upon them, and he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite as much from the agony of wounded honor as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering army in Sparta was.

that nearly half the landed property of Laconia had come to belong to them. The exemption of the women from all control, formed, in his eye, a pointed contrast with the rigorous discipline imposed upon the men,—and a contrast hardly less pointed with the condition of women in other Grecian cities, where they were habitually confined to the interior of the house, and seldom appeared in public. While the Spartan husband went through the hard details of his ascetic life, and dined on the plainest fare at the *Pheidition*, or mess, the wife (it appears) maintained an ample and luxurious establishment at home; and the desire to provide for such outlay was one of the causes of that love of money which prevailed among men forbidden to enjoy it in the ordinary ways. To explain this antithesis between the treatment of the two sexes at Sparta, Aristotle was informed that Lykurgus had tried to bring the women no less than the men under a system of discipline, but that they made so obstinate a resistance as to compel him to desist.<sup>1</sup>

The view here given by the philosopher, and deserving of course careful attention, is not easy to reconcile with that of Xenophon and Plutarch, who look upon the Spartan women from a different side, and represent them as worthy and homogeneous companions to the men. The Lykurgian system (as these authors describe it) considering the women as a part of the state, and not as a part of the house, placed them under training hardly less than the men. Its grand purpose, the maintenance of a vigorous breed of citizens, determined both the treatment of the younger women, and the regulations as to the intercourse of the sexes. “Female slaves are good enough (Lykurgus thought) to sit at home spinning and weaving,—but who can expect a splendid offspring, the appropriate mission and duty of a free Spartan woman towards her country, from mothers brought up in such occupations?”<sup>2</sup> Pursuant to these views, the Spartan damsels underwent a bodily training analogous to that of the Spartan youth,—being formally exercised, and contending with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing, agreeably to the forms of the Grecian *agônes*. They seem to have worn a

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 5, 8, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 3-4; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 13-14.

light tunic, cut open at the skirts, so as to leave the limbs both free and exposed to view, — hence Plutarch speaks of them as completely uncovered, while other critics, in different quarters of Greece, heaped similar reproach upon the practice, as if it had been perfect nakedness.<sup>1</sup> The presence of the Spartan youths, and even of the kings and the body of citizens, at these exercises, lent animation to the scene. In like manner, the young women marched in the religious processions, sung and danced at particular festivals, and witnessed as spectators the exercises and contentions of the youths; so that the two sexes were perpetually intermingled with each other in public, in a way foreign to the habits, as well as repugnant to the feelings, of other Grecian states. We may well conceive that such an education imparted to the women both a demonstrative character and an eager interest in masculine accomplishments, so that the expression of their praise was the strongest stimulus, and that of their reproach the bitterest humiliation, to the youthful troop who heard it.

The age of marriage (which in some of the unrestricted cities of Greece was so early as to deteriorate visibly the breed of citizens)<sup>2</sup> was deferred by the Spartan law, both in women and men, until the period supposed to be most consistent with the perfection of the offspring. And when we read the restriction which Spartan custom imposed upon the intercourse even between married persons, we shall conclude without hesitation that the public intermixture of the sexes, in the way just described, led to no such liberties, between persons not married, as might be likely to arise from it under other circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Androm.* 598; Cicero, *Tuscul. Quæst.* ii. 15. The epithet *φαυνομυρίδες*, as old as the poet Ibykus, shows that the Spartan women were not uncovered (see Julius Pollux, vii. 55).

It is scarcely worth while to notice the poetical allusions of Ovid and Propertius.

How completely the practice of gymnastic and military training for young women, analogous to that of the other sex, was approved by Plato, may be seen from the injunctions in his *Republic*.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 14, 4.

<sup>3</sup> "It is certain (observes Dr. Thirlwall, speaking of the Spartan unmarried women) that in this respect the Spartan morals were as pure as those of any ancient, perhaps of any modern, people." (*History of Greece*, ch. viii. vol i. p. 371.)

Marriage was almost universal among the citizens, enforced by general opinion at least, if not by law. The young Spartan carried away his bride by a simulated abduction, but she still seems, for some time at least, to have continued to reside with her family, visiting her husband in his barrack in the disguise of male attire, and on short and stolen occasions.<sup>1</sup> To some married couples, according to Plutarch, it happened, that they had been married long enough to have two or three children, while they had scarcely seen each other apart by daylight. Secret intrigue on the part of married women was unknown at Sparta; but to bring together the finest couples was regarded by the citizens as desirable, and by the lawgiver as a duty. No personal feeling or jealousy on the part of the husband found sympathy from any one, — and he permitted without difficulty, sometimes actively encouraged, compliances on the part of his wife, consistent with this generally acknowledged object. So far was such toleration carried, that there were some married women who were recognized mistresses of two houses,<sup>2</sup> and mothers of two distinct families, — a sort of bigamy strictly forbidden to the men, and never permitted, except in the remarkable case of king Anaxandrides, when the royal Herakleidan line of Eurysthenes was in danger of becoming extinct. The wife of Anaxandrides being childless, the ephors strongly urged him, on grounds of public necessity, to repudiate her and marry another. But he refused to dismiss a wife who had given him no cause of complaint; upon which, when they found him inexorable, they desired him to retain her, but to marry another wife besides, in order that at any rate there might be issue to the Eurystheneid line. "He thus (says

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Lycurg.* c. 15; Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* i. 5. Xenophon does not make any allusion to the abduction as a general custom. There occurred cases in which it was real and violent: see Herod. v. 65. Demaratus carried off and married the betrothed bride of Leotyehides.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* i. 9. *Εἰ δὲ τις αὐτὴν γυναῖκα μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιστο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τοῦτω νόμον ἐποίησεν, ἥτινα ἂν εὐτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὀρέσθαι, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα, ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχώρει. Αἱ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες δίττους οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, αἱ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιεῦνται.*

Herodotus) married two wives, and inhabited two family-hearths, a proceeding unknown at Sparta;”<sup>1</sup> yet the same privilege which, according to Xenophon, some Spartan women enjoyed without reproach from any one, and with perfect harmony between the inmates of both their houses. O. Müller<sup>2</sup> remarks — and the evidence, as far as we know it, bears him out — that love-marriages and genuine affection towards a wife were “more familiar to Sparta than to Athens; though in the former, marital jealousy was a sentiment neither indulged nor recognized, — while in the latter, it was intense and universal.”<sup>3</sup>

To reconcile the careful gymnastic training, which Xenophon and Plutarch mention, with that uncontrolled luxury and relaxation which Aristotle condemns in the Spartan women, we may perhaps suppose that, in the time of the latter, the women of high position and wealth had contrived to emancipate themselves from the general obligation, and that it is of such particular cases that he chiefly speaks. He dwells especially upon the increasing tendency to accumulate property in the hands of the women,<sup>4</sup> which seems to have been still more conspicuous a century afterwards, in the reign of Agis the Third. And we may readily imagine that one of the employments of wealth thus acquired would be to purchase exemption from laborious training, — an object more easy to accomplish in their case than in that of the men, whose services were required by the state as soldiers. By what steps so large a proportion as two-fifths of the landed property of the state came to be possessed by women, he partially explains to us. There were (he says) many sole heiresses, — the dowries given by fathers to their daughters were very large, — and the father had unlimited power of testamentary bequest,

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. v. 39-40. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο, διξὺς ἰστίας οἰκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμᾶ Σπαρτητικὰ.*

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Hist. of Dorians*, iv. 4, 1. The stories recounted by Plutarch, (Agis, c. 20; Kleomenês, c. 37-38,) of the conduct of Agesistrata and Kratesikleia, the wives of Agis and Kleomenês, and of the wife of Panteus (whom he does not name) on occasion of the deaths of their respective husbands, illustrate powerfully the strong conjugal affection of a Spartan woman, and her devoted adherence and fortitude in sharing with her husband the last extremities of suffering.

<sup>3</sup> See the Oration of Lysias, *De Cæde Eratosthenis*, Orat. i. p. 94. *see*

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, Agis, c. 4.

which he was disposed to use to the advantage of his daughter over his son. In conjunction with this last circumstance, we have to notice that peculiar sympathy and yielding disposition towards women in the Spartan mind, of which Aristotle also speaks,<sup>1</sup> and which he ascribes to the warlike temper both of the citizen and the state, — *Arês* bearing the yoke of *Aphroditê*. But, apart from such a consideration, if we suppose, on the part of a wealthy Spartan father, the simple disposition to treat sons and daughters alike as to bequest, — nearly one half of the inherited mass of property would naturally be found in the hands of the daughters, since on an average of families the number of the two sexes born is nearly equal. In most societies, it is the men who make new acquisitions: but this seldom or never happened with Spartan men, who disdained all money-getting occupations.

Xenophon, a warm panegyrist of Spartan manners, points with some pride to the tall and vigorous breed of citizens which the Lykurgic institutions had produced. The beauty of the Lacedæmonian women was notorious throughout Greece, and *Lampitô*, the Lacedæmonian woman introduced in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanês, is made to receive from the Athenian women the loudest compliments upon her fine shape and masculine vigor.<sup>2</sup> We may remark that, on this as well as on the other points, Xenophon emphatically insists on the peculiarity of Spartan institutions, contradicting thus the views of those who regard them merely as something a little Hyper-Dorian. Indeed, such peculiarity seems never to have been questioned in antiquity, either by the enemies or by the admirers of Sparta. And those who censured the public masculine exercises of the Spartan maidens, as well as the liberty tolerated in married women, allowed at the same time that the feelings of both were actively identified with the state to a degree hardly known in Greece; that the patriotism of the men greatly depended upon the sympathy of the other sex, which manifested itself publicly, in a

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 6; Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 4. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κατηκόους ὄντας αἰεὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλείον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων, ἢ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῖς, πολυπραγμονεῖν δίδοντας.

<sup>2</sup> Aristophan. *Lysistr.* 80.



manner not compatible with the recluse life of Grecian women generally, to the exaltation of the brave as well as to the abasement of the recreant; and that the dignified bearing of the Spartan matrons under private family loss seriously assisted the state in the task of bearing up against public reverses. "Return either with your shield or upon it," was their exhortation to their sons when departing for foreign service: and after the fatal day of Leuktra, those mothers who had to welcome home their surviving sons in dishonor and defeat, were the bitter sufferers; while those whose sons had perished, maintained a bearing comparatively cheerful.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the leading points of the memorable Spartan discipline, strengthened in its effect on the mind by the absence of communication with strangers. For no Spartan could go abroad without leave, nor were strangers permitted to stay at Sparta; they came thither, it seems, by a sort of sufferance, but the uncourteous process called *xenêlasy*<sup>2</sup> was always available to remove them, nor could there arise in Sparta that class of resident metics or aliens who constituted a large part of the population of Athens, and seem to have been found in most other Grecian towns. It is in this universal schooling, training, and drilling, imposed alike upon boys and men, youths and virgins, rich and poor, that the distinctive attribute of Sparta is to be sought,—not in her laws or political constitution.

Lykurgus (or the individual to whom this system is owing, whoever he was) is the founder of a warlike brotherhood rather than the lawgiver of a political community; his brethren live together like bees in a hive (to borrow a simile from Plutarch),

<sup>1</sup> See the remarkable account in Xenophon, *Hellen.* iv. 16; Plutarch, *Agésilas*, c. 29; one of the most striking incidents in Grecian history. Compare, also, the string of sayings ascribed to Lacedæmonian women, in Plutarch, *Lac. Apophth.* p. 241, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> How offensive the Lacedæmonian *xenêlasy* or expulsion of strangers appeared in Greece, we may see from the speeches of Periklês in Thucydides (i. 144; ii. 39). Compare Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* xiv. 4; Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 10; Lykurgus, c. 27; Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 348.

No Spartan left the country without permission: Isokratês, *Orat.* xi (Busiris), p. 225; Xenoph. *ut sup.*

Both these regulations became much relaxed after the close of the Peloponnesian war.

with all their feelings implicated in the commonwealth, and divorced from house and home.<sup>1</sup> Far from contemplating the society as a whole, with its multifarious wants and liabilities, he interdicts beforehand, by one of the three primitive Rhetoræ, all written laws, that is to say, all formal and premeditated enactments on any special subject. When disputes are to be settled or judicial interference is required, the magistrate is to decide from his own sense of equity; that the magistrate will not depart from the established customs and recognized purposes of the city, is presumed from the personal discipline which he and the select body to whom he belongs, have undergone. It is this select body, maintained by the labor of others, over whom Lykurgus exclusively watches, with the provident eye of a trainer, for the purpose of disciplining them into a state of regimental preparation,<sup>2</sup> single-minded obedience, and bodily efficiency and endurance, so that they may be always fit and ready for defence, for conquest and for dominion. The parallel of the Lykurgæan institutions is to be found in the Republic of Plato, who approves the Spartan principle of select guardians carefully trained and administering the community at discretion; with this momentous difference, indeed, that the Spartan character<sup>3</sup> formed by Lykur-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Lykurg. c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch observes justly about Sparta, under the discipline of Lykurgus, that it was "not the polity of a city, but the life of a trained and skilful man,"—*οὐ πόλις ἢ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα* (Plutarch, Lyk. c. 30).

About the perfect habit of obedience at Sparta, see Xenophon, Memorab. iii. 5, 9, 15—iv. 4, 15, the grand attributes of Sparta in the eyes of its admirers (Isokratēs, Panathen. Or. xii. pp. 256–278), *πειθαρχία—σωφροσύνη—τὰ γυμνάσια τάκει καθεστῶτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσκήσιν τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συνόλως τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίαν*.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. viii. 3, 3. *Οἱ Λάκωνες.....θηρίωδεις ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις*.

That the Spartans were absolutely ignorant of letters, and could not read, is expressly stated by Isokratēs (Panathen. Or. xii. p. 277). *οὔτοι δὲ τοσούτον ὑπολειπόμενοι τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἶσιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν*, etc.

The preference of rhetoric to accuracy, is so manifest in Isokratēs, that we ought to understand his expressions with some reserve; but in this case it is evident that he means literally what he says, for in another part of the same discourse, there is an expression dropped, almost unconsciously, which con-

gus is of a low type, rendered savage and fierce by exclusive and overdone bodily discipline,—destitute even of the elements of letters,—immersed in their own narrow specialities, and taught to despise all that lay beyond,—possessing all the qualities requisite to procure dominion, but none of those calculated to render dominion popular or salutary to the subject; while the habits and attributes of the guardians, as shadowed forth by Plato, are enlarged as well as philanthropic, qualifying them not simply to govern, but to govern for purposes protective, conciliatory, and exalted. Both Plato and Aristotle conceive as the perfection of society something of the Spartan type,—a select body of equally privileged citizens, disengaged from industrious pursuits, and subjected to public and uniform training. Both admit (with Lykurgus) that the citizen belongs neither to himself nor to his family, but to his city; both at the same time note with regret, that the Spartan training was turned only to one portion of human virtue,—that which is called forth in a state of war;<sup>1</sup> the citizens being converted into a sort of garrison, always under drill, and always ready to be called forth either against Helots at home or against enemies abroad. Such exclusive tendency will appear less astonishing if we consider the very early and insecure period at which the Lykurgian institutions arose, when none of those guarantees which afterwards maintained the peace of the Hellenic world had as yet become effective,—no constant habits of intercourse, no custom of meeting in Amphiktyony from the distant parts of Greece, no common or largely frequented festivals, no multiplication of proxenies (or standing tickets of hospitality) between the important cities, no pacific or industrious habits anywhere. When we contemplate the general insecurity of Grecian life in the ninth or eighth century before the Christian era, and especially the precarious condition of a small band of Dorian conquerors in Sparta and its district, with subdued Helots on their own lands and Achæans unsubdued all around them,—we shall not be surprised that the language

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firms it. "The most rational Spartans (he says) will appreciate this discourse, if they find any one to read it to them," — *ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα* (p. 285).

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22; vii. 13, 11; viii. 1, 3; viii. 3, 3. Plato, Legg. i. pp. 626–629. Plutarch, Solon, c. 22.

which Brasidas in the Peloponnesian war addresses to his army in reference to the original Spartan settlement, was still more powerfully present to the mind of Lykurgus four centuries earlier — “We are a few in the midst of many enemies; we can only maintain ourselves by fighting and conquering.”<sup>1</sup>

Under such circumstances, the exclusive aim which Lykurgus proposed to himself is easily understood; but what is truly surprising, is the violence of his means and the success of the result. He realized his project of creating, in the eight thousand or nine thousand Spartan citizens, unrivalled habits of obedience, hardihood, self-denial, and military aptitude, — complete subjection on the part of each individual to the local public opinion, and preference of death to the abandonment of Spartan maxims, intense ambition on the part of every one to distinguish himself within the prescribed sphere of duties, with little ambition for anything else. In what manner so rigorous a system of individual training can have been first brought to bear upon any community, mastering the course of the thoughts and actions from boyhood to old age, — a work far more difficult than any political revolution, — we are not permitted to discover. Nor does the influence of an earnest and energetic Herakleidman, — seconded by the still more powerful working of the Delphian god behind, upon the strong pious susceptibilities of the Spartan mind, — sufficiently explain a phenomenon so remarkable in the history of mankind, unless we suppose them aided by some combination of coöperating circumstances which history has not transmitted to us,<sup>2</sup> and preceded by disorders so exaggerated as to render the citizens glad to escape from them at any price.

Respecting the ante-Lykurgian Sparta we possess no positive information whatever. But although this unfortunate gap cannot be filled up, we may yet master the negative probabilities of the

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iv. 126. *Οἱ γε μὴδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τούτων ἦκετε, ἐν αἷς οὗ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσι, ἀλλὰ πλείονων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσουσ· οὐκ ἄλλῃ τιμὴ κτησόμενοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν.*

The most remarkable circumstance is, that these words are addressed by Brasidas to an army composed, in large proportion, of manumitted Helots (Thucyd. iv. 81).

<sup>2</sup> Plato treats of the system of Lykurgus, as emanating from the Delphian Apollo and Lykurgus as his missionary (Legg. i. p. 632).

case sufficiently to see that, in what Plutarch has told us (and from Plutarch the modern views have, until lately, been derived), there is indeed a basis of reality, but there is also a large superstructure of romance, — in not a few particulars essentially misleading. For example, Plutarch treats Lykurgus as introducing his reforms at a time when Sparta was mistress of Laconia, and distributing the whole of that territory among the Perioeci. Now we know that Laconia was not then in possession of Sparta, and that the partition of Lykurgus (assuming it to be real) could only have been applied to the land in the immediate vicinity of the latter. For even Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, were not conquered until the reign of Têlekus, posterior to any period which we can reasonably assign to Lykurgus: nor can any such distribution of Laconia have really occurred. Farther, we are told that Lykurgus banished from Sparta coined gold and silver, useless professions and frivolities, eager pursuit of gain, and ostentatious display. Without dwelling upon the improbability that any one of these anti-Spartan characteristics should have existed at so early a period as the ninth century before the Christian era, we may at least be certain that coined silver was not then to be found, since it was first introduced into Greece by Pheidon of Argos in the succeeding century, as has been stated in the preceding section.

But amongst all the points stated by Plutarch, the most suspicious by far, and the most misleading, because endless calculations have been built upon it, is the alleged redivision of landed property. He tells us that Lykurgus found fearful inequality in the landed possessions of the Spartans; nearly all the land in the hands of a few, and a great multitude without any land; that he rectified this evil by a redivision of the Spartan district into nine thousand equal lots, and the rest of Laconia into thirty thousand, giving to each citizen as much as would produce a given quota of barley, etc.; and that he wished, moreover, to have divided the movable property upon similar principles of equality, but was deterred by the difficulties of carrying his design into execution.

Now we shall find on consideration that this new and equal partition of lands by Lykurgus is still more at variance with

fact and probability than the two former alleged proceedings. All the historical evidences exhibit decided inequalities of property among the Spartans, — inequalities which tended constantly to increase; moreover, the earlier authors do not conceive this evil as having grown up by way of abuse out of a primeval system of perfect equality, nor do they know anything of the original equal redivision by Lykurgus. Even as early as the poet Alkæus (B. C. 600–580) we find bitter complaints of the oppressive ascendancy of wealth, and the degradation of the poor man, cited as having been pronounced by Aristodêmus at Sparta: “Wealth (said he) makes the man, — no poor person is either accounted good or honored.”<sup>1</sup> Next, the historian Hellanikus certainly knew nothing of the Lykurgian redivision, — for he ascribed the whole Spartan polity to Eurysthenês and Proklês, the original founders, and hardly noticed Lykurgus at all. Again, in the brief, but impressive description of the Spartan lawgiver by Herodotus, several other institutions are alluded to, but nothing is said about a redivision of the lands; and this latter point is in itself of such transcendent moment, and was so recognized among all Grecian thinkers, that the omission is almost a demonstration of ignorance. Thucydidês certainly could not have believed that equality of property was an original feature in the Lykurgian system; for he says that, at Lacedæmon, “the rich men assimilated themselves greatly in respect of clothing and general habits of life to the simplicity of the poor, and thus set an example which was partially followed in the rest of Greece:” a remark which both implies the existence of unequal property, and gives a just appreciation of the real working of Lykurgic institutions.<sup>2</sup> The like is the sentiment of Xenophon:<sup>3</sup> he observes that the rich at Sparta gained little by

<sup>1</sup> Alcæi Fragment. 41, p. 279, ed. Schneidewin:—

‘Ὡς γὰρ δὴ ποτ’ Ἀριστόδαμον φαισ’ οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτῃ λόγον  
Εἰπῆν — Χρῆμα τ’ ἀνὴρ πενιχρὸς δ’ οὐδεὶς πέλετ’ ἐσθλὸς οὐδὲ τίμιος.

Compare the Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. ii. 17, and Diogen. Laërt. i. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 6. μετρία δ’ αὐ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίατοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. See, also, Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lacon. p. 210, A. — F.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Republ. Laced. c. 7.

their wealth in point of superior comfort; but he never glances at any original measure carried into effect by Lykurgus for equalizing possessions. Plato too,<sup>1</sup> while he touches upon the great advantage possessed by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest of Peloponnesus, in being able to apportion land suitably to all,—never hints that this original distribution had degenerated into an abuse, and that an entire subsequent redistribution had been resorted to by Lykurgus: moreover, he is himself deeply sensible of the hazards of that formidable proceeding. Lastly, Aristotle clearly did not believe that Lykurgus had redivided the soil. For he informs us first, that, “both in Lacedæmon and in Krete,<sup>2</sup> the legislator had rendered the enjoyment of property common through the establishment of the Syssitia, or public mess.” Now this remark (if read in the chapter of which it forms a part, a refutation of the scheme of Communism for the select guardians in the Platonic Republic) will be seen to tell little for its point, if we assume that Lykurgus at the same time equalized all individual possessions. Had Aristotle known that fact, he could not have failed to notice it: nor could he have assimilated the legislators in Lacedæmon and Krete, seeing that in the latter no one pretends that any such equalization was ever brought about. Next, not only does Aristotle dwell upon the actual inequality of property at Sparta as a serious public evil, but he nowhere treats this as having grown out of a system of absolute equality once enacted by the law-giver as a part of the primitive constitution: he expressly notices inequality of property so far back as the second Messenian war. Moreover, in that valuable chapter of his Politics, where the scheme of equality of possessions is discussed, Phaleas of Chalkedôn is expressly mentioned as the first author of it, thus indirectly excluding Lykurgus.<sup>3</sup> The mere silence of Aristotle is in

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Legg. iii. p. 684.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotel. Politic. ii. 2, 10. ὡς περ τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ Κρήτῃ τοῖς σοσιταῖοις ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκοίνωσε.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Politic. ii. 4, 1, about Phaleas; and about Sparta and Krete, generally, the whole sixth and seventh chapters of the second book; also, v. 6, 2-7.

Theophrastus (apud Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 10) makes a similar observation, that the public mess, and the general simplicity of habits, tended to render

this discussion a negative argument of the greatest weight. Isokratês,<sup>1</sup> too, speaks much about Sparta for good and for evil,—mentions Lykurgus as having established a political constitution much like that of the earliest days of Athens,—praises the gymnasia and the discipline, and compliments the Spartans upon the many centuries which they have gone through without violent sedition, extinction of debts, and redivision of the land,—those “monstrous evils,” as he terms them. Had he conceived Lykurgus as being himself the author of a complete redivision of land, he could hardly have avoided some allusion to it.

It appears, then, that none of the authors down to Aristotle ascribe to Lykurgus a redivision of the lands, either of Sparta or of Laconia. The statement to this effect in Plutarch, given in great detail and with precise specification of number and produce, must have been borrowed from some author later than Aristotle; and I think we may trace the source of it, when we study Plutarch's biography of Lykurgus in conjunction with that of Agis and Kleomenês. The statement is taken from authors of the century after Aristotle, either in, or shortly before, the age when both those kings tried extreme measures to renovate the sinking state: the former by a thorough change of system and property, yet proposed and accepted according to constitutional forms; the latter by projects substantially similar, with violence to enforce them. The accumulation of landed property in few hands, the multiplication of poor, and the decline in the number of citizens, which are depicted as grave mischiefs by Aristotle, had become

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wealth of little service to the possessor: τὸν πλοῦτον ἀπλοῦτον ἀπεργάσασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δειπνῶν, καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν διαίταν εὐτελείᾳ. Compare Plutarch. Apophthegm. Lacon. p. 226 E. The wealth, therefore, was not formally done away with in the opinion of Theophrastus: there was no positive equality of possessions.

Both the Spartan kings dined at the public mess at the same pheidition (Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 30).

Herakleidês Ponticus mentions nothing, either about equality of Spartan lots or fresh partition of lands, by Lykurgus (ad calcem Cragii, De Spartanorum Repub. p. 504), though he speaks about the Spartan lots and law of succession as well as about Lykurgus.

<sup>1</sup> Isokratês, Panathen. Or. xii. pp. 266, 270, 278: οὐδὲ χρεὼν ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὰ γῆς ἀνάδαμυν οὐδ' ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν



greatly aggravated during the century between him and Agis. The number of citizens, reckoned by Herodotus in the time of the Persian invasion at eight thousand, had dwindled down in the time of Aristotle to one thousand, and in that of Agis to seven hundred, out of which latter number one hundred alone possessed most of the landed property of the state.<sup>1</sup> Now, by the ancient rule of Lykurgus, the qualification for citizenship was the ability to furnish the prescribed quota, incumbent on each individual, at the public mess: so soon as a citizen became too poor to answer to this requisition, he lost his franchise and his eligibility to offices.<sup>2</sup> The smaller lots of land, though it was held discreditable either to buy or sell them,<sup>3</sup> and though some have asserted

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Agis, c. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 21. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λακῶσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν. . . . Ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πατριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν, μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. So also Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. vii. ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας.

The existence of this rate-paying qualification, is the capital fact in the history of the Spartan constitution; especially when we couple it with the other fact, that no Spartan acquired anything by any kind of industry.

<sup>3</sup> Herakleides Ponticus, ad calcem Cragii De Repub. Laced. p. 504. Compare Cragius, iii. 2, p. 196.

Aristotle (ii. 6, 10) states that it was discreditable to buy or sell a lot of land, but that the lot might be either given or bequeathed at pleasure. He mentions nothing about the prohibition to divide, and even states what contradicts it,—that it was the practice to give a large dowry when a rich man's daughter married (ii. 6, 11). The sister of Agesilaus, Kyniska, was a person of large property, which apparently implies the division of his father's estate (Plutarch, Agesilaus, 30).

Whether there was ever any law prohibiting a father from dividing his lot among his children, may well be doubted. The Rhetra of the ephor Epitadeus (Plutarch, Agis, 5), granted unlimited power of testamentary disposition to the possessor, so that he might give away or bequeath his land to a stranger if he chose. To this law great effects are ascribed: but it is evident that the tendency to accumulate property in few hands, and the tendency to diminution in the number of qualified citizens, were powerfully manifested before the time of Epitadeus, who came after Lysander. Plutarch, in another place, notices Hesiod, Xenokrates, and Lykurgus, as having concurred with Plato, in thinking that it was proper to leave only one single heir (*ἓνα μόνον κληρόνομον καταλιπεῖν*) (*Ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἡσίοδον*, Fragm. vol. v. p. 777, Wytenb.). But Hesiod does not lay down this as a necessity

(without ground, I think) that it was forbidden to divide them;— became insufficient for numerous families, and seem to have been alienated in some indirect manner to the rich; while every industrious occupation being both interdicted to a Spartan citizen and really inconsistent with his rigorous personal discipline, no other means of furnishing his quota, except the lot of land, was open to him. The difficulty felt with regard to these smaller lots of land may be judged of from the fact stated by Polybius,<sup>1</sup> that three or four Spartan brothers had often one and the same wife, the paternal land being just sufficient to furnish contributions for all to the public mess, and thus to keep alive the citizen-rights of all the sons. The tendency to diminution in the number of Spartan citizens seems to have gone on uninterruptedly from the time of the Persian war, and must have been aggravated by the foundation of Messênê, with its independent territory around, after the battle of Leuktra, an event which robbed the Spartans of a large portion of their property. Apart from these special causes, moreover, it has been observed often as a statistical fact, that a close corporation of citizens, or any small number of families, inter-

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or as a universal rule; he only says, that a man is better off who has only one son (Opp. Di. 374). And if Plato had been able to cite Lykurgus as an authority for that system of an invariable number of separate *κλήροι*, or lots, which he sets forth in his treatise *De Legibus* (p. 740), it is highly probable that he would have done so. Still less can Aristotle have supposed that Lykurgus or the Spartan system either insured, or intended to insure, the maintenance of an unalterable number of distinct proprietary lots; for he expressly notices that scheme as a peculiarity of Philolaus the Corinthian, in his laws for the Thebans (Polit. ii. 9, 7).

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, *Fragm. ap. Maii. Collect. Vett. Scrip.* vol. ii. p. 384.

Perhaps, as O. Müller remarks, this may mean only, that none except the eldest brother could afford to marry; but the feelings of the Spartans in respect to marriage were, in many other points, so different from ours, that we are hardly authorized to reject the literal statement (*History of the Dorians*, iii. 10, 2),— which, indeed, is both illustrated and rendered credible by the permission granted in the laws of Solôn to an *ἐπίκληρος* who had been claimed in marriage by a relative in his old age,— *ὅν ὁ κρατὼν καὶ κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς μὴ δυνατὸς ἢ πλησιάζειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγγιστὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εἶσθαι* (Plutarch, Solon, c. 20).

I may observe that of O. Müller's statements, respecting the lots of land at Sparta, several are unsupported and some incorrect.

marrying habitually among one another, and not reinforced from without, have usually a tendency to diminish.

The present is not the occasion to enter at length into that combination of causes which partly sapped, partly overthrew, both the institutions of Lykurgus and the power of Sparta. But taking the condition of that city as it stood in the time of Agis the Third (say about 250 B. C.), we know that its citizens had become few in number, the bulk of them miserably poor, and all the land in a small number of hands. The old discipline and the public mess (as far as the rich were concerned) had degenerated into mere forms, — a numerous body of strangers or non-citizens (the old *xenêlasy*, or prohibition of resident strangers, being long discontinued) were domiciled in the town, forming a powerful moneyed interest; and lastly, the dignity and ascendancy of the state amongst its neighbors were altogether ruined. It was insupportable to a young enthusiast like king Agis, as well as to many ardent spirits among his contemporaries, to contrast this degradation with the previous glories of their country: nor did they see any other way of reconstructing the old Sparta except by again admitting the disfranchised poor citizens, redividing the lands, cancelling all debts, and restoring the public mess and military training in all their strictness. Agis endeavored to carry through these subversive measures, (such as no demagogue in the extreme democracy of Athens would ever have ventured to glance at,) with the consent of the senate and public assembly, and the acquiescence of the rich. His sincerity is attested by the fact, that his own property, and that of his female relatives, among the largest in the state, was cast as the first sacrifice into the common stock. But he became the dupe of unprincipled coadjutors, and perished in the unavailing attempt to realize his scheme by persuasion. His successor, Kleomenês, afterwards accomplished by violence a change substantially similar, though the intervention of foreign arms speedily overthrew both himself and his institutions.

Now it was under the state of public feeling which gave birth to these projects of Agis and Kleomênês at Sparta, that the historic fancy, unknown to Aristotle and his predecessors, first gained ground, of the absolute equality of property as a primitive institution of Lykurgus. How much such a belief would favor

the schemes of innovation is too obvious to require notice ; and without supposing any deliberate imposture, we cannot be astonished that the predispositions of enthusiastic patriots interpreted, according to their own partialities, an old unrecorded legislation from which they were separated by more than five centuries. The Lykurgæan discipline tended forcibly to suggest to men's minds the *idea* of equality among the citizens, — that is, the negation of all inequality not founded on some personal attribute, — inasmuch as it assimilated the habits, enjoyments, and capacities of the rich to those of the poor ; and the equality thus existing in idea and tendency, which seemed to proclaim the wish of the founder, was strained by the later reformers into a positive institution which he had at first realized, but from which his degenerate followers had receded. It was thus that the fancies, longings, and indirect suggestions of the present assumed the character of recollections out of the early, obscure, and extinct historical past. Perhaps the philosopher Sphærus of Borysthenês (friend and companion of Kleomenês,<sup>1</sup> disciple of Zeno the Stoic, and author of works now lost, both on Lykurgus and Socrates, and on the constitution of Sparta) may have been one of those who gave currency to such an hypothesis. And we shall readily believe that, if advanced, it would find easy and sincere credence, when we recollect how many similar delusions have obtained vogue in

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Kleomenês, cap. 2-11, with the note of Schömann, p. 175 ; also, Lycurg. cap. 8 ; Athenæ. iv. p. 141.

Phylarchus, also, described the proceedings of Kleomenês, seemingly with favor (Athenæ. ib.) ; compare Plutarch, Agis, c. 9.

Polybius believed, that Lykurgus had introduced equality of landed possession, both in the district of Sparta, and throughout Laconia : his opinion is, probably, borrowed from these same authors, of the third century before the Christian era. For he expresses his great surprise, how the best-informed ancient authors (*οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων*), Plato, Xenophon, Ephorus, Kallisthenês, can compare the Kretan polity to the old Lacedæmonian, the main features of the two being (as he says) so different, — equality of property at Sparta, great inequality of property in Krete, among other differences (Polyb. vi. 45-48).

This remark of Polybius, exhibits the difference of opinion of the earlier writers, as compared with those during the third century before the Christian era. The former compared Spartan and Kretan institutions, because they did not conceive equality of landed property as a feature in old Sparta.

modern times, far more favorable to historical accuracy,—how much false coloring has been attached by the political feeling of recent days to matters of ancient history, such as the Saxon Witenagemote, the Great Charter, the rise and growth of the English House of Commons, or even the Poor Law of Elizabeth.

When we read the division of lands really proposed by king Agis, it is found to be a very close copy of the original division ascribed to Lykurgus. He parcels the lands bounded by the four limits of Pellênê, Sellasia, Malea, and Taygetus, into four thousand five hundred lots, one to every Spartan; and the lands beyond these limits into fifteen thousand lots, one to each Perieckus; and he proposes to constitute in Sparta fifteen pheiditia, or public mess-tables, some including four hundred individuals, others two hundred,—thus providing a place for each of his four thousand five hundred Spartans. With respect to the division originally ascribed to Lykurgus, different accounts were given. Some considered it to have set out nine thousand lots for the district of Sparta, and thirty thousand for the rest of Laconia;<sup>1</sup> others affirmed that six thousand lots had been given by Lykurgus, and three thousand added afterwards by king Polydorus; a third tale was, that Lykurgus had assigned four thousand five hundred lots, and king Polydorus as many more. This last scheme is much the same as what was really proposed by Agis.

In the preceding argument respecting the redivision of land ascribed to Lykurgus, I have taken that measure as it is described by Plutarch. But there has been a tendency, in some able modern writers, while admitting the general fact of such redivision, to reject the account given by Plutarch in some of its main circumstances. That, for instance, which is the capital feature in Plutarch's narrative, and which gives soul and meaning to his picture of the lawgiver—the equality of partition—is now rejected by many as incorrect, and it is supposed that Lykurgus made some new agrarian regulations tending towards a general equality of landed property, but not an entirely new partition; that he may have resumed from the wealthy men lands which they had unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans, and thus

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Respecting Sphærus, see Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 8; Kleomen. c. 2; Athenæ v. p. 141; Diogen. Lært. vii. sect. 137.

provided allotments both for the poorer citizens and for the subject Laconians. Such is the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, who at the same time admits that the exact proportion of the Lykurgian distribution can hardly be ascertained.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot but take a different view of the statement made by Plutarch. The moment that we depart from that rule of equality, which stands so prominently marked in his biography of Lykur-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Greece, ch. viii. vol. i. pp. 344-347.

C. F. Hermann, on the contrary, considers the equal partition of Laconia into lots indivisible and inalienable, as "an essential condition" (*eine wesentliche Bedingung*) of the whole Lykurgian system (*Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, sect. 28).

Tittmann (*Griechische Staatsverfassungen*, pp. 588-596) states and seems to admit the equal partition as a fact, without any commentary.

Wachsmuth (*Hellenisch. Alterthumskunde*, v. 4, 42, p. 217) supposes "that the best land was already parcelled, before the time of Lykurgus, into lots of equal magnitude, corresponding to the number of Spartans, which number afterwards increased to nine thousand." For this assertion, I know no evidence: it departs from Plutarch, without substituting anything better authenticated or more plausible. Wachsmuth notices the partition of Laconia among the Perioeci in thirty thousand equal lots, without any comment, and seemingly as if there were no doubt of it (p. 218).

Manso, also, supposes that there had once been an equal division of land prior to Lykurgus, — that it had degenerated into abuse, — and that Lykurgus corrected it, restoring, not absolute equality, but something near to equality (*Manso, Sparta*, vol. i. pp. 110-121). This is the same gratuitous supposition as that of Wachsmuth.

O. Müller admits the division as stated by Plutarch, though he says that the whole number of nine thousand lots cannot have been set out before the Messenian war; and he adheres to the idea of equality as contained in Plutarch; but he says that the equality consisted in "equal estimate of average produce," — not in equal acreable dimensions. He goes so far as to tell us that "the lots of the Spartans, which supported twice as many men as the lots of the Perioeci, must, upon the whole, have been twice as extensive (*i. e.* in the aggregate): each lot must, therefore, have been seven times greater," (compare *History of the Dorians*, iii. 3, 6; iii. 10, 2.) He also supposes, that "similar partitions of land had been made from the time of the first occupation of Laconia by the Dorians." Whoever compares his various positions with the evidence brought to support them, will find a painful disproportion between the basis and the superstructure.

The views of Schömann, as far as I collect from expressions somewhat vague, seem to coincide with those of Dr. Thirlwall. He admits, however that the alleged Lykurgian equalization is at variance with the representations of Plato (*Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub.* iv. 1, 7, note 4 p. 116)

gus, we step into a boundless field of possibility, in which there is nothing to determine us to one point more than to another. The surmise started by Dr. Thirlwall, of lands unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans by wealthy Spartan proprietors, is altogether gratuitous; and granting it to be correct, we have still to explain how it happened that this correction of a partial injustice came to be transformed into the comprehensive and systematic measure which Plutarch describes; and to explain, farther, from whence it arose that none of the authors earlier than Plutarch take any notice of Lykurgus as an agrarian equalizer. These two difficulties will still remain, even if we overlook the gratuitous nature of Dr. Thirlwall's supposition, or of any other supposition which can be proposed respecting the real Lykurgian measure which Plutarch is affirmed to have misrepresented.

It appears to me that these difficulties are best obviated by adopting a different canon of historical interpretation. We cannot accept as real the Lykurgian land division described in the life of the lawgiver; but treating this account as a fiction, two modes of proceeding are open to us. We may either consider the fiction, as it now stands, to be the exaggeration and distortion of some small fact, and then try to guess, without any assistance, what the small fact was. Or we may regard it as fiction from first to last, the expression of some large idea and sentiment so powerful in its action on men's minds at a given time, as to induce them to make a place for it among the realities of the past. Now the latter supposition, applied to the times of Agis the Third, best meets the case before us. The eighth chapter of the life of Lykurgus by Plutarch, in recounting the partition of land, describes the dream of king Agis, whose mind is full of two sentiments, — grief and shame for the actual condition of his country, — together with reverence for its past glories, as well as for the lawgiver from whose institutions those glories had emanated. Absorbed with this double feeling, the reveries of Agis go back to the old ante-Lykurgian Sparta, as it stood more than five centuries before. He sees, in the spirit, the same mischiefs and disorders as those which afflict his waking eye, — gross inequalities of property, with a few insolent and luxurious rich, a crowd of mutinous and suffering poor, and nothing but fierce antipathy reigning between the two. Into the midst of this fro-

ward, lawless, and distempered community, steps the venerable missionary from Delphi, — breathes into men's minds new impulses, and an impatience to shake off the old social and political Adam, — and persuades the rich, voluntarily abnegating their temporal advantages, to welcome with satisfaction a new system, wherein no distinction shall be recognized, except that of good or evil desert.<sup>1</sup> Having thus regenerated the national mind, he parcels out the territory of Laconia into equal lots, leaving no superiority to any one. Fraternal harmony becomes the reigning sentiment, while the coming harvests present the gratifying spectacle of a paternal inheritance recently distributed, with the brotherhood contented, modest, and docile. Such is the picture with which "mischievous Oneirus" cheats the fancy of the patriotic Agis, whispering the treacherous message that the gods have promised *him* success in a similar attempt, and thus seducing him into that fatal revolutionary course, which is destined to bring himself, his wife, and his aged mother, to the dungeon and the hangman's rope.<sup>2</sup>

That the golden dream just described was dreamed by some Spartan patriots is certain, because it stands recorded in Plutarch; that it was not dreamed by the authors of centuries preceding Agis, I have already endeavored to show; that the earnest feelings, of sickness of the present and yearning for a better future under the colors of a restored past, which filled the soul of this king and his brother-reformers, — combined with the levelling tendency between rich and poor which really was inherent in the Lykurgian discipline, — were amply sufficient to beget such a dream, and to procure for it a place among the great deeds of the old lawgiver, so much venerated and so little known, — this too I hold to be unquestionable. Had there been any evidence that Lykurgus had interfered with private property, to the limited extent which Dr. Thirlwall and other able critics imagine, — that he had resumed certain lands unjustly taken by the

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Lykurg. c. 8. συνέπεισε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαντας, διαλείς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρῶτεον ἀρετῇ μετιόντας· ὥς ἄλλης ἐτέρῳ κρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ οὐσῆς διαφορᾶς, οὐδ' ἀνισότητος, πλὴν ὅσῃν ἀσχυρῶν ψόγῳς ὀρίζει καὶ καλῶν ἔπαινος. Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον, διένειμε, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Agis, c. 19-20.



rich from the Achæans, — I should have been glad to record it; but, finding no such evidence, I cannot think it necessary to presume the fact, simply in order to account for the story in Plutarch.<sup>1</sup>

The various items in that story all hang together, and must be understood as forming parts of the same comprehensive fact, or comprehensive fancy. The fixed total of nine thousand Spartan, and thirty thousand Laconian lots,<sup>2</sup> the equality between them,

<sup>1</sup> I read with much satisfaction, in M. Kopstadt's Dissertation, that the general conclusion which I have endeavored to establish respecting the alleged Lykurgæan redivision of property, appears to him successfully proved. (*Dissert. De Rerum Laconic. Const. sect. 18, p. 138.*)

He supposes, with perfect truth, that, at the time when the first edition of these volumes was published, I was ignorant of the fact, that Lachmann and Kortüm had both called in question the reality of the Lykurgæan redivision. In regard to Professor Kortüm, the fact was first brought to my knowledge, by his notice of these two volumes, in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1846, No. 41, p. 649.

Since the first edition, I have read the treatise of Lachmann (*Die Spartanische Staats Verfassung in ihrer Entwicklung und ihrem Verfall*, sect. 10, p. 170) wherein the redivision ascribed to Lykurgus is canvassed. He, too, attributes the origin of the tale, as a portion of history, to the social and political feelings current in the days of Agis the Third, and Kleomenés the Third. He notices, also, that it is in contradiction with Plato and Isokratés. But a large proportion of the arguments which he brings to disprove it, are connected with ideas of his own respecting the social and political constitution of Sparta, which I think either untrue or uncertified. Moreover, he believes in the inalienability as well as the indivisibility of the separate lots of land, — which I believe to be just as little correct as their supposed equality.

Kopstadt (p. 139) thinks that I have gone too far in rejecting every middle opinion. He thinks that Lykurgus must have done something, though much less than what is affirmed, tending to realize equality of individual property.

I shall not say that this is impossible. If we had ampler evidence, perhaps such facts might appear. But as the evidence stands now, there is nothing whatever to show it. Nor are we entitled (in my judgment) to presume that it was so, in the absence of evidence, simply in order to make out that the Lykurgæan mythe is only an exaggeration, and not entire fiction.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle (*Polit. ii. 6, 11*) remarks that the territory of the Spartans would maintain fifteen hundred horsemen and thirty thousand hoplites, while the number of citizens was, in point of fact, less than one thousand. Dr. Thirlwall seems to prefer the reading of Götting, — three thousand instead

and the rent accruing from each, represented by a given quantity of moist and dry produce, — all these particulars are alike true or alike uncertified. Upon the various numbers here given, many authors have raised calculations as to the population and produce of Laconia, which appear to me destitute of any trustworthy foundation. Those who accept the history, that Lykurgus constituted the above-mentioned numbers both of citizens and of lots of land, and that he contemplated the maintenance of both numbers in unchangeable proportion, — are perplexed to assign the means whereby this adjustment was kept undisturbed. Nor are they much assisted in the solution of this embarrassing problem by the statement of Plutarch, who tells us that the number remained fixed of itself, and that the succession ran on from father to son, without either consolidation or multiplication of parcels, down to the period when foreign wealth flowed into Sparta, as a consequence of the successful conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. Shortly after that period (he tells us) a citizen named Epitadeus became ephor, — a vindictive and malignant man, who, having had a quarrel with his son, and wishing to oust him from the succession, introduced and obtained sanction to a new Rhetra, whereby power was granted to every father of a family either to make over during life, or to bequeath after death, his house and his estate to any one whom he chose.<sup>1</sup> But it is plain that this story (whatever be the truth about the family quarrel of Epitadeus) does not help us out of the difficulty. From the time of Lykurgus to that of this disinheriting ephor, more than four centuries must be reckoned: now, had there been real causes at work sufficient to maintain inviolate the identical number of lots and families during this long period, we see no reason why his new law, simply permissive and nothing more, should have overthrown it. We are not told by Plutarch what was the law of succession prior to Epitadeus. If the whole estate went by law to one son in the family, what became of the other sons, to whom industrious acquisition in any shape was repulsive as well as interdicted? If, on the other hand, the estate was divided be-

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of thirty thousand; but the latter seems better supported by MSS., and most suitable.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 5.

tween the sons equally (as it was by the law of succession at Athens), how can we defend the maintenance of an unchanged aggregate number of parcels?

Dr. Thirlwall, after having admitted a modified interference with private property by Lykurgus, so as to exact from the wealthy a certain sacrifice in order to create lots for the poor, and to bring about something approaching to equi-producing lots for all, observes: "The average amount of the rent, paid by the cultivating Helots from each lot, seems to have been no more than was required for the frugal maintenance of a family with six persons. The right of transfer was as strictly confined as that of enjoyment; the patrimony was indivisible, inalienable, and descended to the eldest son; in default of a male heir, to the eldest daughter. The object seems to have been, after the number of the allotments became fixed, that each should be constantly represented by one head of a household. But the nature of the means employed for this end is one of the most obscure points of the Spartan system. . . . In the better times of the commonwealth, this seems to have been principally effected by adoptions and marriages with heiresses, which provided for the marriages of younger sons in families too numerous to be supported on their own hereditary property. It was then probably seldom necessary for the state to interfere, in order to direct the childless owner of an estate, or the father of a rich heiress, to a proper choice. But as all adoption required the sanction of the kings, and they had also the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses, there can be little doubt that the magistrate had the power of interposing on such occasions, even in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty and check the accumulation of wealth." (Hist. Gr. ch. 8, vol. i. p. 367).

I cannot concur in the view which Dr. Thirlwall here takes of the state of property, or the arrangements respecting its transmission, in ancient Sparta. Neither the equal modesty of possession which he supposes, nor the precautions for perpetuating it, can be shown to have ever existed among the pupils of Lykurgus. Our earliest information intimates the existence of rich men at Sparta: the story of king Aristo and Agêtus, in Herodotus, exhibits to us the latter as a man who cannot be supposed to have had only just "enough to maintain six persons frugally,"—

while his beautiful wife, whom Aristo coveted and entrapped from him, is expressly described as the daughter of opulent parents. Sperthiês and Bulis, the Talthybiads, are designated as belonging to a distinguished race, and among the wealthiest men in Sparta.<sup>1</sup> Demaratus was the only king of Sparta, in the days of Herodotus, who had ever gained a chariot-victory in the Olympic games; but we know by the case of Lichas, during the Peloponnesian war, Evagoras, and others, that private Spartans were equally successful;<sup>2</sup> and for one Spartan who won the prize, there must of course have been many who bred their horses and started their chariots unsuccessfully. It need hardly be remarked, that chariot-competition at Olympia was one of the most significant evidences of a wealthy house: nor were there wanting Spartans who kept horses and dogs without any exclusive view to the games. We know from Xenophon that, at the time of the battle of Leuktra, "the very rich Spartans" provided the horses to be mounted for the state-cavalry.<sup>3</sup> These and other proofs, of the existence of rich men at Sparta, are inconsistent with the idea of a body of citizens each possessing what was about enough for the frugal maintenance of six persons, and no more.

As we do not find that such was in practice the state of property in the Spartan community, so neither can we discover that the lawgiver ever tried either to make or to keep it so. What he did was to impose a rigorous public discipline, with simple clothing and fare, incumbent alike upon the rich and the poor (this was his special present to Greece, according to Thucydides,<sup>4</sup> and his great point of contact with democracy, according to Aristotle); but he took no pains either to restrain the enrichment of the former, or to prevent the impoverishment of the latter. He meddled little with the distribution of property, and such neglect is one of the capital deficiencies for which Aristotle censures him. That philosopher tells us, indeed, that the Spartan law had made it dishonorable (he does not say, peremptorily forbidden) to buy or sell landed property, but that there was the fullest liberty both

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 61. *οἱ ἀνθρώπων τε δολβίων θυγατέρα*, etc; vii. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vi. 70-103; Thucyd. v. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 11; Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. v. 3; Mōlpis ap. Athene. iv. p. 141; Aristot. Polit. ii. 2, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. i. 6; Aristot. Polit. iv. 7, 4, 5; viii. 1, 2.

of donation and bequest: and the same results, he justly observes, ensued from the practice tolerated as would have ensued from the practice discountenanced,—since it was easy to disguise a real sale under an ostensible donation. He notices pointedly the tendency of property at Sparta to concentrate itself in fewer hands, unopposed by any legal hindrances: the fathers married their daughters to whomsoever they chose, and gave dowries according to their own discretion, generally very large: the rich families, moreover, intermarried among one another habitually, and without restriction. Now all these are indicated by Aristotle as cases in which the law might have interfered, and ought to have interfered, but did not,—for the great purpose of disseminating the benefits of landed property as much as possible among the mass of the citizens. Again, he tells us that the law encouraged the multiplication of progeny, and granted exemptions to such citizens as had three or four children,—but took no thought how the numerous families of poorer citizens were to live, or to maintain their qualification at the public tables, most of the lands of the state being in the hands of the rich.<sup>1</sup> His notice, and condemnation, of that law, which made the franchise of the Spartan citizen dependent upon his continuing to furnish his quota to the public table,—has been already adverted to; as well as the potent love of money<sup>2</sup> which he notes in the Spartan character, and which must have tended continually to keep together the richer families among themselves: while amongst a community where industry was unknown, no poor citizen could ever become rich.

If we duly weigh these evidences, we shall see that equality of possessions neither existed in fact, nor ever entered into the scheme and tendencies of the lawgiver at Sparta. And the picture which Dr. Thirlwall<sup>3</sup> has drawn of a body of citizens each

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 10–13; v. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The panegyrist Xenophon acknowledges much the same respecting the Sparta which he witnessed; but he maintains that it had been better in former times (Repub. Lac. c. 14).

<sup>3</sup> The view of Dr. Thirlwall agrees, in the main, with that of Manso and O. Müller (Manso, Sparta, vol. i. pp. 118–128; and vol. ii. Beilage, 9, p. 129; and Müller, History of the Dorians, vol. ii. b. iii. c. 10, sect. 2, 3).

Both these authors maintain the proposition stated by Plutarch (Agia c

possessing a lot of land about adequate to the frugal maintenance of six persons, — of adoptions and marriages of heiresses arranged

5, in his reference to the ephor Epitadeus, and the new law carried by that ephor), that the number of Spartan lots, nearly equal and rigorously indivisible, remained with little or no change from the time of the original division, down to the return of Lysander, after his victorious close of the Peloponnesian war. Both acknowledge that they cannot understand by what regulations this long unalterability, so improbable in itself, was maintained: but both affirm the fact positively. The period will be more than four hundred years if the original division be referred to Lykurgus: more than three hundred years, if the nine thousand lots are understood to date from the Messenian war.

If this alleged fact be really a fact, it is something almost without a parallel in the history of mankind: and before we consent to believe it, we ought at least to be satisfied that there is considerable show of positive evidence in its favor, and not much against it. But on examining Manso and Müller, it will be seen that not only is there very slender evidence in its favor, — there is a decided balance of evidence against it.

The evidence produced to prove the indivisibility of the Spartan lot, is a passage of Herakleidēs Ponticus, c. 2 (ad. calc. Cragii, p. 504), *πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀσχυρὸν νενόμισται*, — *τῆς ἀρχαίας μοίρας ἀνανέμεσθαι* (or *νενεμῆσθαι*) *οὐδὲν ἔξεστι*. The first portion of this assertion is confirmed by, and probably borrowed from, Aristotle, who says the same thing, nearly in the same words: the second portion of the sentence ought, according to all reasonable rules of construction, to be understood with reference to the first part; that is, to the *sale* of the original lot. "To sell land, is held disgraceful among the Lacedæmonians, nor is it permitted to sever off any portion of the original lot," i. e. *for sale*. Herakleidēs is not here speaking of the law of *succession* to property at Lacedæmon, nor can we infer from his words that the whole lot was transmitted entire to one son. No evidence except this very irrelevant sentence is produced by Müller and Manso to justify their positive assertion, that the Spartan lot of land was indivisible in respect to inheritance.

Having thus determined the indivisible transmission of lots to one son of a family, Manso and Müller presume, without any proof, that that son must be the eldest: and Müller proceeds to state something equally unsupported by proof: "The extent of his rights, however, was perhaps no farther than that he was considered master of the house and property; while the other members of the family had an equal right to the enjoyment of it. . . . The master of the family was, therefore, obliged to contribute for all these to the *syssitia*, without which contribution no one was admitted." — pp. 199, 200.

All this is completely gratuitous, and will be found to produce as many difficulties in one way as it removes in another.

The next law as to the transmission of property, which Manso states to have prevailed, is, that all daughters were to marry without receiving any

with a deliberate view of providing for the younger children of numerous families, — of interference on the part of the kings to

dowry, — the case of a sole daughter is here excepted. For this proposition he cites Plutarch, *Apophtheg. Laconic.* p. 227; Justin, iii. 3; Ælian. V. H. vi. 6. These authors do certainly affirm, that there was such a regulation, and both Plutarch and Justin assign reasons for it, real or supposed. "Lykurgus, being asked why he directed that maidens should be married without dowry, answered, — In order that maidens of poor families might not remain unmarried, and that character and virtue might be exclusively attended to in the choice of a wife." The same general reason is given by Justin. Now the *reason* here given for the prohibition of dowry, goes, indirectly, to prove that there existed no such law of general succession, as that which had been before stated, namely, the sacred indivisibility of the primitive lot. For had this latter been recognized, the reason would have been obvious why daughters could receive no dowry; the father's whole landed property (and a Spartan could have little of any other property, since he never acquired anything by industry) was under the strictest entail to his eldest son. Plutarch and Justin, therefore, while in their statement as to the matter of fact, they warrant Manso in affirming the prohibition of dowry (about this matter of fact, more presently), do, by the reason which they give, discountenance his former supposition as to the indivisibility of the primitive family lots.

Thirdly, Manso understands Aristotle (*Polit.* ii. 6, 11), by the use of the adverb *νῦν*, to affirm something respecting his own time specially, and to imply at the same time that the ancient custom had been the reverse. I cannot think that the adverb, as Aristotle uses it in that passage, bears out such a construction: *νῦν δὲ*, there, does not signify present time as opposed to past, but the antithesis between the actual custom and that which Aristotle pronounces to be expedient. Aristotle gives no indication of being aware that any material change had taken place in the laws of succession at Sparta: this is one circumstance, for which both Manso and Müller, who both believe in the extraordinary revolution caused by the permissive law of the ephor Epitadeus, censure him.

Three other positions are laid down by Manso about the laws of property at Sparta. 1. A man might give away or bequeathe his land to whomsoever he pleased. 2. But none except childless persons could do this. 3. They could only give or bequeathe it to citizens who had no land of their own. Of these three regulations, the first is distinctly affirmed by Aristotle, and may be relied upon: the second is a restriction not noticed by Aristotle, and supported by no proof except that which arises out of the story of the ephor Epitadeus, who is said to have been unable to disinherit his son without causing a new law to be passed: the third is a pure fancy.

So much for the positive evidence, on the faith of which Manso and Müller affirm the startling fact, that the lots of land in Sparta remained distinct, indivisible, and unchanged in number, down to the close of the Peloponnesian war. I venture to say that such positive evidence is far too weak

insure this object, — of a fixed number of lots of land, each represented by one head of a household, — this picture is one, of which

to sustain an affirmation in itself so improbable, even if there were no evidence on the other side for contradiction. But in this case there is powerful contradictory evidence.

First, the assertions of these authors are distinctly in the teeth of Aristotle, whose authority they try to invalidate, by saying that he spoke altogether with reference to his own time at Sparta, and that he misconceived the primitive Lykurgian constitution. Now this might form a reasonable ground of presumption against the competency of Aristotle, if the witnesses produced on the other side were older than he. But it so happens, that *every one* of the witnesses produced by Manso and Müller, are *younger* than Aristotle: Herakleidés Ponticus, Plutarch, Justin, Ælian, etc. Nor is it shown that these authors copied from any source earlier than Aristotle, — for his testimony cannot be contradicted by any inferences drawn from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Isokratês, or Ephorus. None of these writers, anterior to, or contemporary with, Aristotle, countenance the fancy of equal, indivisible, perpetual lots, or prohibition of dowry.

The fact is, that Aristotle is not only our best witness, but also our oldest witness, respecting the laws of property in the Spartan commonwealth. I could have wished, indeed, that earlier testimonies had existed, and I admit that even the most sagacious observer of 340–330 B. C. is liable to mistake when he speaks of one or two centuries before. But if Aristotle is to be discredited on the ground of late date, what are we to say to Plutarch? To insist on the intellectual eminence of Aristotle would be superfluous: and on this subject he is a witness the more valuable, as he had made careful, laborious, and personal inquiries into the Grecian governments generally, and that of Sparta among them, — the great *point de mire* for ancient speculative politicians.

Now the statements of Aristotle, distinctly exclude the idea of equal, indivisible, inalienable, perpetual lots, — and prohibition of dowry. He particularly notices the habit of giving very large dowries, and the constant tendency of the lots of land to become consolidated in fewer and fewer hands. He tells us nothing upon the subject which is not perfectly consistent, intelligible, and uncontradicted by any known statements belonging to his own, or to earlier times. But the reason why men refuse to believe him, and either set aside or explain away his evidence, is, that they sit down to the study with their minds full of the division of landed property ascribed to Lykurgus by Plutarch. I willingly concede that, on this occasion, we have to choose between Plutarch and Aristotle. We cannot reconcile them except by arbitrary suppositions, every one of which breaks up the simplicity, beauty, and symmetry of Plutarch's agrarian idea, — and every one of which still leaves the perpetuity of the original lots unexplained. And I have no hesitation in preferring the authority of Aristotle (which is in perfect consonance with what we indirectly gather from other authors, his contemporaries



the reality must not be sought on the banks of the Eurotas. The "better times of the commonwealth," to which he refers,

and predecessors) as a better witness on every ground; rejecting the statement of Plutarch, and rejecting it altogether, with all its consequences.

But the authority of Aristotle is not the only argument which may be urged to refute this supposition that the distinct Spartan lots remained unaltered in number down to the time of Lysander. For if the number of distinct lots remained undiminished, the number of citizens cannot have greatly diminished. Now the conspiracy of Kinadôn falls during the life of Lysander, within the first ten years after the close of the Peloponnesian war: and in the account which Xenophon gives of that conspiracy, the paucity of the number of citizens is brought out in the clearest and most emphatic manner. And this must be before the time when the new law of Epitadeus is said to have passed, at least before that law can have had room to produce any sensible effects. If, then, the ancient nine thousand lots still remained all separate, without either consolidation or subdivision, how are we to account for the small number of citizens at the time of the conspiracy of Kinadôn?

This examination of the evidence, for the purpose of which I have been compelled to prolong the present note, shows — 1. That the hypothesis of indivisible, inalienable lots, maintained for a long period in undiminished number at Sparta, is not only sustained by the very minimum of affirmative evidence, but is contradicted by very good negative evidence. 2. That the hypothesis which represents dowries to daughters as being prohibited by law, is, indeed, affirmed by Plutarch, Ælian, and Justin, but is contradicted by the better authority of Aristotle.

The recent edition of Herakleidês Ponticus, published by Schneidewin, in 1847, since my first edition, presents an amended text, which completely bears out my interpretation. His text, derived from a fuller comparison of existing MSS., as well as from better critical judgment (see his Prolegg. c. iii. p. liv.), stands — Πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀσχυρὸν νενόμισται τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας μοίρας οὐδὲ ἐξεστίν (p. 7). It is plain that all this passage relates to sale of land, and not to testation, or succession, or division. Thus much negatively is certain, and Schneidewin remarks in his note (p. 53) that it contradicts Müller, Hermann, and Schömann, — adding, that the distinction drawn is, between land inherited from the original family lots, and land otherwise acquired, by donation, bequest, etc. Sale of the former was absolutely illegal: sale of the latter was discreditable, yet not absolutely illegal. Aristotle in the Politics (ii. 6, 10) takes no notice of any such distinction, between land inherited from the primitive lots, and land otherwise acquired. Nor was there, perhaps, any well-defined line of distinction, in a country of unwritten customs, like Sparta, between what was simply disgraceful and what was positively illegal. Schneidewin, in his note, however, assumes the original equality of the lots as certain in itself, and as being the cause of the prohibition: neither of which appears to me true.

may have existed in the glowing retrospect of Agis, but are not acknowledged in the sober appreciation of Aristotle. That the citizens were far more numerous in early times, the philosopher tells us, and that the community had in his day greatly declined in power, we also know: in this sense, the times of Sparta had doubtless once been better. We may even concede that during the three centuries succeeding Lykurgus, when they were continually acquiring new territory, and when Aristotle had been told that they had occasionally admitted new citizens, so that the aggregate number of citizens had once been ten thousand, — we may concede that in these previous centuries the distribution of land had been less unequal, so that the disproportion between the great size of the territory and the small number of citizens was not so marked as it had become at the period which the philosopher personally witnessed; for the causes tending to augmented inequality were constant and uninterrupted in their working. But this admission will still leave us far removed from the sketch drawn by Dr. Thirlwall, which depicts the Lykurgian Sparta as starting from a new agrarian scheme not far removed from equality of landed property, — the citizens as spontaneously disposed to uphold this equality, by giving to unprovided men the benefit of adoptions and heiress-marriages, — and the magistrate as interfering to enforce this latter purpose, even in cases where the citizens were themselves unwilling. All our evidence exhibits to us both decided inequality of possessions and inclinations on the part of rich men, the reverse of those which Dr. Thirlwall indicates; nor will the powers of interference which he

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I speak of this confused compilation still under the name of Herakleidēs Ponticus, by which it is commonly known: though Schneidewin, in the second chapter of his *Prolegomena*, has shown sufficient reason for believing that there is no authority for connecting it with the name of Herakleidēs. He tries to establish the work as consisting of Excerpts from the lost treatise of Aristotle's *περὶ Πολιτειῶν*: which is well made out with regard to some parts, but not enough to justify his inference as to the whole. The article, wherein Welcker vindicates the ascribing of the work to an Excerptor of Herakleidēs, is unsatisfactory (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 451).

Beyond this irrelevant passage of Herakleidēs Ponticus, no farther evidence is produced by Müller and Manso to justify their positive assertion, that the Spartan lot of land was indivisible in respect to inheritance.

scribes to the magistrate be found sustained by the chapter of Herodotus on which he seems to rest them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 57, in enumerating the privileges and perquisites of the kings — δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλῆας τόσαδε μόνον· πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγύησιν· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσίων περὶ· καὶ ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλῆων ἐνάντιον ποιέσθαι.

It seems curious that πατρούχος παρθένος should mean a damsel who has no father (literally, *lucus a non lucendo*): but I suppose that we must accept this upon the authority of Julius Pollux and Timæus. Proceeding on this interpretation, Valckenaer gives the meaning of the passage very justly: "Orbis uirtutis, necdum a patre desponsatæ, si plures sibi vindicarent, fieretque ἡ πικλήρος, ut Athenis loquebantur, ἐπίδεκος, Spartæ his ista dirimebatur a regibus solis."

Now the judicial function here described, is something very different from the language of Dr. Thirlwall, that "the kings had the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses in cases where the father had not signified his will." Such disposal would approach somewhat to that omnipotence which Aristophanes (Vesp. 585) makes old Philokleon claim for the Athenian dikasts (an exaggeration well calculated to serve the poet's purpose of making the dikasts appear monsters of caprice and injustice), and would be analogous to the power which English kings enjoyed three centuries ago as feudal guardians over wards. But the language of Herodotus is inconsistent with the idea that the kings chose a husband for the orphan heiress. She was claimed, as of right, by persons in certain degrees of relationship to her. Whether the law about ἀγχιστεία, affinity carrying legal rights, was the same as at Athens, we cannot tell; but the question submitted for adjudication at Sparta, to the kings, and at Athens to the dikasteries, was certainly the same, agreeably to the above note of Valckenaer, — namely, to whom, among the various claimants for the marriage, the best legal title really belonged. It is, indeed, probable enough, that the two royal descendants of Hēraklēs might abuse their judicial function, as there are various instances known in which they take bribes; but they were not likely to abuse it in favor of an unprovided youth.

Next, as to adoption: Herodotus tells us that the ceremony of adoption was performed before the kings: probably enough, there was some fee paid with it. But this affords no ground for presuming that they had any hand in determining whom the childless father was to adopt. According to the Attic law about adoption, there were conditions to be fulfilled, consents to be obtained, the absence of disqualifying circumstances verified, etc; and some authority before which this was to be done was indispensable (see Meier and Schömann, Attisch. Prozess, b. iii. ch. ii. p. 436). At Sparta, such authority was vested by ancient custom in the king: but we are not told, nor is it probable, "that he could interpose, in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty," as Dr. Thirlwall supposes.

To conceive correctly, then, the Lykurgæan system, as far as obscurity and want of evidence will permit, it seems to me that there are two current misconceptions which it is essential to discard. One of these is, that the system included a repartition of landed property, upon principles of exact or approximative equality (distinct from that appropriation which belonged to the Dorian conquest and settlement), and provisions for perpetuating the number of distinct and equal lots. The other is, that it was first brought to bear when the Spartans were masters of all Laconia. The illusions created by the old legend, — which depicts Laconia as all one country, and all conquered at one stroke, — yet survive after the legend itself has been set aside as bad evidence: we cannot conceive Sparta as subsisting by itself without dominion over Laconia; nor Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, as really and truly independent of Sparta. Yet, if these towns were independent in the time of Lykurgus, much more confidently may the same independence be affirmed of the portions of Laconia which lie lower than Amyklæ down the valley of the Eurotas, as well as of the eastern coast, which Herodotus expressly states to have been originally connected with Argos.

Discarding, then, these two suppositions, we have to consider the Lykurgæan system as brought to bear upon Sparta and its immediate circumjacent district, apart from the rest of Laconia, and as not meddling systematically with the partition of property, whatever that may have been, which the Dorian conquerors established at their original settlement. Lykurgus does not try to make the poor rich, nor the rich poor; but he imposes upon both the same subjugating drill,<sup>1</sup> — the same habits of life, gentlemanlike idleness, and unlettered strength, — the same fare, clothing, labors, privations, endurance, punishments, and subordination. It is a lesson instructive at least, however unsatisfactory, to political students, — that, with all this equality of dealing, he ends in creating a community in whom not merely the love of preëminence, but even the love of money, stands powerfully and specially developed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Σπάρτα δαμασίμβροτος, Simonidés, apud Plutarch. Agesilaus, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotel. Polit. ii. 6, 9, 19, 23. τὸ φιλότιμον — τὸ φιλοχρήματον.

How far the peculiar of the primitive Sparta extended we have no means of determining; but its limits down the valley of the Eurotas were certainly narrow, inasmuch as it did not reach so far as Amyklæ. Nor can we tell what principles the Dorian conquerors may have followed in the original allotment of lands within the limits of that peculiar. Equal apportionment is not probable, because all the individuals of a conquering band are seldom regarded as possessing equal claims; but whatever the original apportionment may have been, it remained without any general or avowed disturbance until the days of Agis the Third, and Kleomenês the Third. Here, then, we have the primitive Sparta, including Dorian warriors with their Helot subjects, but no Periœki. And it is upon these Spartans separately, perhaps after the period of aggravated disorder and lawlessness noticed by Herodotus and Thucydidês, that the painful but invigorating discipline, above sketched, must have been originally brought to bear.

The gradual conquest of Laconia, with the acquisition of additional lands and new Helots, and the formation of the order of Periœki, both of which were a consequence of it,—is to be considered as posterior to the introduction of the Lykurgæan system at Sparta, and as resulting partly from the increased force which that system imparted. The career of conquest went on, beginning from Tëleklus, for nearly three centuries,—with some interruptions, indeed, and in the case of the Messenian war, with a desperate and even precarious struggle,—so that in the time of Thucydidês, and for some time previously, the Spartans possessed two-fifths of Peloponnesus. And this series of new acquisitions and victories disguised the really weak point of the Spartan system, by rendering it possible either to plant the poorer citizens as Periœki in a conquered township, or to supply them with lots of land, of which they could receive the produce without leaving the city,—so that their numbers and their military strength were prevented from declining. It is even affirmed by Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> that during these early times they augmented the numbers of their citizens by fresh admissions, which of course implies the acquisition of additional lots of

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 12.

land. But successful war, to use an expression substantially borrowed from the same philosopher, was necessary to their salvation: the establishment of their ascendancy, and of their maximum of territory, was followed, after no very long interval, by symptoms of decline.<sup>1</sup> It will hereafter be seen that, at the period of the conspiracy of Kinadôn (395 B. C.), the full citizens (called Homoioi, or Peers) were considerably inferior in number to the Hypomeiōnes, or Spartans, who could no longer furnish their qualification, and had become disfranchised. And the loss thus sustained was very imperfectly repaired by the admitted practice, sometimes resorted to by rich men, of associating with their own children the children of poorer citizens, and paying the contribution for these latter to the public tables, so as to enable them to go through the prescribed course of education and discipline, — whereby they became (under the title or sobriquet of *Mothakes*<sup>2</sup>) citizens, with a certain taint of inferiority, yet were sometimes appointed to honorable commands.

Laconia, the state and territory of the Lacedæmonians, was affirmed, at the time of its greatest extension, to have comprehended a hundred cities,<sup>3</sup> — this after the conquest of Messenia;

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22. Τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλοντο δὲ ἀρξάντες, etc. Compare also vii. 13, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 8; Phylarch. ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271.

The strangers called *Τρόφιμοι*, and the illegitimate sons of Spartans, whom Xenophon mentions with eulogy, as "having partaken in the honorable training of the city," must probably have been introduced in this same way, by private support from the rich (Xenoph. Hellen. v. 3, 9). The *xenélasy* must have then become practically much relaxed, if not extinct.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 362; Steph. Byz. *Λακωνία*.

Construing the word *πόλεις* extensively, so as to include townships small as well as considerable, this estimate is probably inferior to the truth; since, even during the depressed times of modern Greece, a fraction of the ancient Laconia (including in that term Messenia) exhibited much more than one hundred *bourgs*.

In reference merely to the territory called *La Magne*, between Calamata in the Messenian gulf and Capo di Magna, the lower part of the peninsula of Tænarus, see a curious letter, addressed to the Duc de Nevers, in 1618, (on occasion of a projected movement to liberate the Morea from the Turks, and to insure to him the sovereignty of it, as descendant of the Palæologi,) by a confidential agent whom he despatched thither, — M. Chateaurenaud, —

so that it would include all the southern portion of Peloponnesus, from Thyrea, on the Argolic gulf, to the southern bank of the river Nedon, in its course into the Ionian sea. But Laconia, more strictly so called, was distinguished from Messenia, and was understood to designate the portion of the above-mentioned territory which lay to the east of Mount Taygetus. The conquest of Messenia by the Spartans we shall presently touch upon; but that of Laconia proper is very imperfectly narrated to us. Down to the reign of Tëleklus, as has been before remarked, Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, were still Achæan: in the reign of that prince they were first conquered, and the Achæans either expelled or subjugated. It cannot be doubted that Amyklæ had been previously a place of consequence: in point of heroic antiquity and memorials, this city, as well as Therapnæ, seems to have surpassed Sparta. And the war of the Spartans against it is represented as a struggle of some moment,—indeed, in those times, the capture of any walled city was tedious and difficult. Timomachus, an Ægeid from Thebes,

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who sends to him “une sorte de tableau statistique du Magne, ou sont énumérés 125 bourgs ou villages renfermans 4,913 feux, et pouvans fournir 10,000 combattans, dont 4,000 armés, et 6,000 sans armes (between Calamata and Capo di Magna).” (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. 1842, p. 329. *Mémoire de M. Berger Xivrey.*)

This estimate is not far removed from that of Colonel Leake, towards the beginning of the present century, who considers that there were then in Mani (the same territory) one hundred and thirty towns and villages; and this too in a state of society exceedingly disturbed and insecure,—where private feuds and private towers, or pyrgi, for defence, were universal, and in parts of which, Colonel Leake says, “I see men preparing the ground for cotton, with a dagger and pistols at their girdles. This, it seems, is the ordinary armor of the cultivator when there is no particular suspicion of danger: the shepherd is almost always armed with a musket.”.....“The Maniotes reckon their population at thirty thousand, and their muskets at ten thousand.” (Leake, *Travels in Morea*, vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 243, 263–266.)

Now, under the dominion of Sparta, all Laconia doubtless enjoyed complete internal security, so that the idea of the cultivator tilling his land in arms would be unheard of. Reasoning upon the basis of what has just been stated about the Maniote population and number of townships, one hundred πόλεις, for all Laconia, is a very moderate computation.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Λακων. Πολιτεία*, ap. Schol. Pindar. *Isthm.* vii. 18.

I agree with M. Boeckh, that Pindar himself identifies this march of the

at the head of a body of his countrymen, is said to have rendered essential service to the Spartans in the conquest of the Achæans of Amyklæ; and the brave resistance of the latter was commemorated by a monument erected to Zeus Tropæus, at Sparta, which was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> The Achæans of Pharis and Geronthræ, alarmed by the fate of Amyklæ, are said to have surrendered their towns with little or no resistance: after which the inhabitants of all the three cities, either wholly or in part, went into exile beyond sea, giving place to colonists from Sparta.<sup>2</sup> From this time forward, according to Pausanias, Amyklæ continued as a village.<sup>3</sup> But as the Amyklæan hoplites constituted a valuable portion of the Spartan army, it must have been numbered among the cities of the Perioeci, as one of the hundred;<sup>4</sup> the distinction between a dependent city and a village not being very strictly drawn. The festival of the Hyacinthia, celebrated at the great temple of the Amyklæan Apollo, was among the most solemn and venerated in the Spartan calendar.

It was in the time of Alkamenês, the son of Têleklos, that the Spartans conquered Helus, a maritime town on the left bank of the Eurotas, and reduced its inhabitants to bondage,—from whose name,<sup>5</sup> according to various authors, the general title *Helots*, belonging to all the serfs of Laconia, was derived. But of the conquest of the other towns of Laconia,—Gytheium, Akriæ, Therapnæ, etc.,—or of the eastern land on the coast of the Argolic gulf, including Brasîæ and Epidaurus Limêra, or the island of Kythêra, all which at one time belonged to the Argeian confederacy, we have no accounts.

Scanty as our information is, it just enables us to make out a progressive increase of force and dominion on the part of the Spartans, resulting from the organization of Lykurgus. Of this

Ægeids to Amyklæ with the original Herakleid conquest of Peloponnesus. (Notæ Criticæ ad Pindar. Pyth. v. 74, p. 479.)

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 12, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iii. 22, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. iii. 19, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 5, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. iii. 2, 7; iii. 20, 6. Strabo, viii. p. 363.

If it be true, as Pausanias states, that the Argeians aided Helus to resist, their assistance must probably have been given by sea; perhaps from Epidaurus Limêra, or Prasîæ, when they formed part of the Argeian federation.



progress, a farther manifestation is found, besides the conquest of the Achæans in the south by Téléklus and Alkamenês, in their successful opposition to the great power of Pheidôn the Argeian, related in a previous chapter. We now approach the long and arduous efforts by which they accomplished the subjugation of their brethren the Messenian Dorians.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### FIRST AND SECOND MESSENIAN WARS.

THAT there were two long contests between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, and that in both the former were completely victorious, is a fact sufficiently attested. And if we could trust the statements in Pausanias, — our chief and almost only authority on the subject, — we should be in a situation to recount the history of both these wars in considerable detail. But unfortunately, the incidents narrated in that writer have been gathered from sources which are, even by his own admission, undeserving of credit, — from Rhianus, the poet of Bêné in Krete, who had composed an epic poem on Aristomenês and the second Messenian war, about B. C. 220, — and from Myrôn of Priênê, a prose author whose date is not exactly known, but belonging to the Alexandrine age, and not earlier than the third century before the Christian era. From Rhianus, we have no right to expect trustworthy information, while the accuracy of Myrôn is much depreciated by Pausanias himself, — on some points even too much, as will presently be shown. But apart from the mental habits either of the prose writer or the poet, it does not seem that any good means of knowledge were open to either of them, except the poems of Tyrtæus, which we are by no means sure that they ever consulted. The account of the two wars, extracted from these two authors by Pausanias, is a string of *tableaux*, several of them, indeed, highly poetical, but destitute of historical coher-

ence or sufficiency: and O. Müller has justly observed, that "absolutely no reason is given in them for the subjection of Messenia."<sup>1</sup> They are accounts unworthy of being transcribed in detail into the pages of genuine history, nor can we pretend to do anything more than verify a few leading facts of the war.

The poet Tyrtæus was himself engaged on the side of the Spartans in the second war, and it is from him that we learn the few indisputable facts respecting both the first and the second. If the Messenians had never been reëstablished in Peloponnesus, we should probably never have heard any farther details respecting these early contests. That reëstablishment, together with the first foundation of the city called Messênê on Mount Ithomê, was among the capital wounds inflicted on Sparta by Epameinondas, in the year B. C. 369, — between three hundred and two hundred and fifty years after the conclusion of the second Messenian war. The descendants of the old Messenians, who had remained for so long a period without any fixed position in Greece, were incorporated in the new city, together with various Helots and miscellaneous settlers who had no claim to a similar genealogy. The gods and heroes of the Messenian race were reverentially invoked at this great ceremony, especially the great Hero Aristomenês;<sup>2</sup> and the site of Mount Ithomê, the ardor of the newly established citizens, the hatred and apprehension of Sparta, operating as a powerful stimulus to the creation and multiplication of what are called *traditions*, sufficed to expand the few facts known respecting the struggles of the old Messenians into a variety of details. In almost all these stories we discover a coloring unfavorable to Sparta, contrasting forcibly with the account given by Isokratês, in his Discourse called Archidamus, wherein we

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<sup>1</sup> History of the Dorians, i. 7, 10 (note).<sup>b</sup> It seems that Diodorus had given a history of the Messenian wars in considerable detail, if we may judge from a fragment of the last seventh book, containing the debate between Kleonnis and Aristomenês. Very probably it was taken from Ephorus, — though this we do not know.

For the statements of Pausanias respecting Myrôn and Rhiannus, see iv. 6. Besides Myrôn and Rhiannus, however, he seems to have received oral statements from contemporary Messenians and Lacedæmonians; at least on some occasions he states and contrasts the two contradictory stories (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iv. 27, 2-3; Diodor. xv. 77.

read the view which a Spartan might take of the ancient conquests of his forefathers. But a clear proof that these Messenian stories had no real basis of tradition, is shown in the contradictory statements respecting the principal Hero Aristomenês; for some place him in the first, others in the second, of the two wars. Diodôrus and Myrôn both placed him in the first; Rhianus, in the second. Though Pausanias gives it as his opinion that the account of the latter is preferable, and that Aristomenês really belongs to the second Messenian war, it appears to me that the one statement is as much worthy of belief as the other, and that there is no sufficient evidence for deciding between them,—a conclusion which is substantially the same with that of Wesseling, who thinks that there were two persons named Aristomenês, one in the first and one in the second war.<sup>1</sup> This inextricable confusion respecting the greatest name in Messenian antiquity, shows how little any genuine stream of tradition can here be recognized.

Pausanias states the first Messenian war as beginning in B. C. 743 and lasting till B. C. 724, — the second, as beginning in B. C. 685 and lasting till B. C. 668. Neither of these dates rest upon

<sup>1</sup> See Diodor. *Fragm. lib. viii. vol. iv. p. 30*: in his brief summary of Messenian events (xv. 66), he represents it as a matter on which authors differed, whether Aristomenes belonged to the first or second war. Clemens Alexand. (*Prot.* p. 36) places him in the *first*, the same as Myrôn, by mentioning him as having killed Theopompus.

Wesseling observes (*ad Diod. l. c.*), "Duo fuerunt Aristomenes, uterque in Messeniorum contra Spartanos bello illustrissimus, alter posteriore, priore alter bello."

Unless this duplication of homonymous persons can be shown to be probable, by some collateral evidence, I consider it only as tantamount to a confession, that the difficulty is insoluble.

Pausanias is reserved in his manner of giving judgment, — ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστομένης δόξῃ γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέμου (iv. 6). Müller (*Dorians*, i. 7, 9) goes much too far when he affirms that the statement of Myrôn was "in the teeth of all tradition." Müller states incorrectly the citation from Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 21 (see his *Note λ*). Plutarch there says nothing about *Tyrtæus*: he says that the Messenians affirmed that their hero Aristomenês had *killed* the Spartan king Theopompus, whereas the Lacedæmonians said, that he had only *wounded* the king. According to *both* accounts, then, it would appear that Aristomenês belonged to the *first* Messenian war, *not to the second*.

any assignable positive authority; but the time assigned to the first war seems probable, while that of the second is apparently too early. Tyrtaeus authenticates both the duration of the first war, twenty years, and the eminent services rendered in it by the Spartan king Theopompus.<sup>1</sup> He says, moreover, speaking during the second war, "the fathers of our fathers conquered Messenæ;" thus loosely indicating the relative dates of the two.

The Spartans (as we learn from Isokratēs, whose words date from a time when the city of Messenæ was only a recent foundation) professed to have seized the territory, partly in revenge for the impiety of the Messenians in killing their own king, the Herakleid Kresphontēs, whose relative had appealed to Sparta for aid, — partly by sentence of the Delphian oracle. Such were the causes which had induced them first to invade the country, and they had conquered it after a struggle of twenty years.<sup>2</sup> The Lacedæmonian explanations, as given in Pausanias, seem for the most part to be counter-statements arranged after the time when the Messenian version, evidently the interesting and popular account, had become circulated.

It has already been stated that the Lacedæmonians and Messenians had a joint border temple and sacrifice in honor of Artemis Lámniatā, dating from the earliest times of their establishment in Peloponnesus. The site of this temple, near the upper course of the river Nedon, in the mountainous territory north-east of Kalamata, but west of the highest ridge of Taygetus, has recently been exactly verified, — and it seems in these early days

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<sup>1</sup> Tyrtaeus, Fragm. 6, Gaisford. But Tyrtaeus ought not to be understood to affirm distinctly (as Pausanias, Mr. Clinton, and Müller, all think) that Theopompus survived and put a close to the war: his language might consist with the supposition that Theopompus had been slain in the war, — "Ὁν δία (Theopompus), Μεσσηνῇν εἰλομεν ἐπύχονον."

For we surely might be authorized in saying — "It was through Epameinondas that the Spartans were conquered and humbled; or it was through Lord Nelson that the French fleet was destroyed in the last war," though both of them perished in the accomplishment.

Tyrtaeus, therefore, does not contradict the assertion, that Theopompus was slain by Aristomenēs, nor can he be cited as a witness to prove that Aristomenēs did not live during the *first* Messenian war; which is the purpose for which Pausanias quotes him (iv. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Isokratēs (Archidamus), Or. vi. pp. 121-122.

to have belonged to Sparta. That the quarrel began at one of these border sacrifices was the statement of both parties, Lacedæmonians and Messenians. According to the latter, the Lacedæmonian king Têleklos laid a snare for the Messenians, by dressing up some youthful Spartans as virgins, and giving them daggers; whereupon a contest ensued, in which the Spartans were worsted and Têleklos slain. That Têleklos was slain at the temple by the Messenians, was also the account of the Spartans, — but they affirmed that he was slain in attempting to defend some young Lacedæmonian maidens, who were sacrificing at the temple, against outrageous violence from the Messenian youth.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the death of this king, however, the war did not actually break out

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo (vi. p. 257) gives a similar account of the sacrilege and murderous conduct of the Messenian youth at the temple of Artemis Limnatis. His version, substantially agreeing with that of the Lacedæmonians, seems to be borrowed from Antiochus, the contemporary of Thucydides, and is therefore earlier than the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas, from which event the philo-Messenian statements take their rise. Antiochus, writing during the plenitude of Lacedæmonian power, would naturally look upon the Messenians as irretrievably prostrate, and the impiety here narrated would in his mind be the natural cause why the divine judgments overtook them. Ephorus gives a similar account (ap. Strabo. vi. p. 280).

Compare Herakleides Ponticus (ad calcem Cragii De Rep. Laced. p. 526) and Justin, iii. 4.

The possession of this temple of Artemis Limnatis, — and of the Ager Denthelates, the district in which it was situated, — was a subject of constant dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians after the foundation of the city of Messênê, even down to the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. iv. 43). See Stephan. Byz. v. Δελφάτιοι; Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iv. 4, 2; iv. 31, 3. Strabo, viii. p. 362.

From the situation of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, and the description of the Ager Denthelates, see Professor Ross, *Reisen im Peloponnes*. i. pp. 5–11. He discovered two boundary-stones with inscriptions, dating from the time of the early Roman emperors, marking the confines of Lacedæmon and Messênê; both on the line of the highest ridge of Taygetus, where the waters separate east and west, and considerably to the eastward of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, so that at that time the Ager Denthelates was considered a part of Messenia.

I now find that Colonel Leake (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 181) regards these Inscriptions, discovered by Professor Ross, as not proving that the temple of Artemis Limnatis was situated near the spot where they were found. His authority weighs much with me on such a point, though the arguments which he here employs do not seem to me conclusive.

until some little time after, when Alkamenês and Theopompus were kings at Sparta, and Antiochus and Androklês, sons of Phintias, kings of Messenia. The immediate cause of it was a private altercation between the Messenian Polycharês (victor at the fourth Olympiad, B. C. 764) and the Spartan Euæphnus. Polycharês, having been grossly injured by Euæphnus, and his claim for redress having been rejected at Sparta, took revenge by aggressions upon other Lacedæmonians; the Messenians refused to give him up, though one of the two kings, Androklês, strongly insisted upon doing so, and maintained his opinion so earnestly against the opposite sense of the majority and of his brother Antiochus, that a tumult arose, and he was slain. The Lacedæmonians, now resolving upon war, struck the first blow without any formal declaration, by surprising the border town of Ampheia, and putting its defenders to the sword. They farther overran the Messenian territory, and attacked some other towns, but without success. Euphaês, who had now succeeded his father Antiochus as king of Messenia, summoned the forces of the country and carried on the war against them with energy and boldness. For the first four years of the war, the Lacedæmonians made no progress, and even incurred the ridicule of the old men of their nation as faint-hearted warriors: in the fifth year, however, they undertook a more vigorous invasion, under their two kings, Theopompus and Polydôrus, who were met by Euphaês with the full force of the Messenians. A desperate battle ensued, in which it does not seem that either side gained much advantage: nevertheless, the Messenians found themselves so much enfeebled by it, that they were forced to take refuge on the fortified mountain of Ithômê, abandoning the rest of the country. In their distress, they sent to solicit counsel and protection from Delphi, but their messenger brought back the appalling answer that a virgin, of the royal race of Æpytus, must be sacrificed for their salvation: in the tragic scene which ensues, Aristodêmus puts to death his own daughter, yet without satisfying the exigencies of the oracle. The war still continued, and in the thirteenth year of it another hard-fought battle took place, in which the brave Euphaês was slain, but the result was again indecisive. Aristodêmus, being elected king in his place, prosecuted the war strenuously: the fifth year of his reign is signalized by a third general battle, wherein the

Corinthians assist the Spartans, and the Arcadians and Sikyonians are on the side of Messenia; the victory is here decisive on the side of Aristodêmus, and the Lacedæmonians are driven back into their own territory.<sup>1</sup> It was now their turn to send envoys and ask advice from the Delphian oracle; while the remaining events of the war exhibit a series, partly of stratagems to fulfil the injunctions of the priestess,—partly of prodigies in which the divine wrath is manifested against the Messenians. The king Aristodêmus, agonized with the thought that he has slain his own daughter without saving his country, puts an end to his own life.<sup>2</sup> In the twentieth year of the war, the Messenians abandoned Ithômê, which the Lacedæmonians razed to the ground: the rest of the country being speedily conquered, such of the inhabitants as did not flee either to Arcadia or to Eleusis, were reduced to complete submission.

Such is the abridgment of what Pausanias<sup>3</sup> gives as the narrative of the first Messenian war. Most of his details bear the evident stamp of mere late romance; and it will easily be seen that the sequence of events presents no plausible explanation of that which is really indubitable,—the result. The twenty years' war, and the final abandonment of Ithômê, is attested by Tyrtæus beyond all doubt, as well as the harsh treatment of the conquered. "Like asses, worn down by heavy burdens,"<sup>4</sup> says the

<sup>1</sup> It is, perhaps, to this occasion that the story of the Epeunakti, in Theopompus, referred (ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271),—Helots adopted into the sleeping-place of their masters, who had been slain in the war, and who were subsequently enfranchised.

The story of the Partheniæ, obscure and unintelligible as it is, belongs to the foundation of the colony of Taras, or Tarentum (Strabo, vi. p. 279).

<sup>2</sup> See Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> See Pausan. iv. 6-14.

An elaborate discussion is to be seen in Manso's *Sparta*, on the authorities whom Pausanias has followed in his *History of the Messenian Wars*, 18<sup>te</sup> Beilage, tom. ii. p. 264.

"It would evidently be folly (he observes, p. 270), to suppose that in the history of the Messenian wars, as Pausanias lays them before us, we possess the *true* history of these events."

<sup>4</sup> Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* 5, 6 (Schneidewin).

C. F. Hermann conceives the treatment of the Messenians after the first war, as mild, in comparison with what it became after the second (*Lehrbuch*

Spartan poet, "they were compelled to make over to their masters an entire half of the produce of their fields, and to come in the garb of woe to Sparta, themselves and their wives, as mourners at the decease of the kings and principal persons." The revolt of their descendants, against a yoke so oppressive, goes by the name of the second Messenian war.

Had we possessed the account of the first Messenian war as given by Myrôn and Diodorus, it would evidently have been very different from the above, because they included Aristomenês in it, and to him the leading parts would be assigned. As the narrative now stands in Pausanias, we are not introduced to that great Messenian hero,—the Achilles of the epic of Rhianus,<sup>1</sup>—until the second war, in which his gigantic proportions stand prominently forward. He is the great champion of his country in the three battles which are represented as taking place during this war: the first, with indecisive result, at Deræ; the second, a signal victory on the part of the Messenians, at the Boar's Grave; the third, an equally signal defeat, in consequence of the traitorous flight of Aristokratês, king of the Arcadian Orchomenus, who, ostensibly embracing the alliance of the Messenians, had received bribes from Sparta. Thrice did Aristomenês sacrifice to Zeus Ithomatês the sacrifice called Hekatomphonia,<sup>2</sup> reserved for those who had slain with their own hands a hundred enemies in battle. At the head of a chosen band, he carried his incursions more than once into the heart of the Lacedæmonian territory, surprised Amyklæ and Pharis, and even penetrated by night into the unfortified precinct of Sparta itself, where he suspended his shield, as a token of defiance, in the temple of Athênê Chalkiœkus. Thrice was he taken prisoner, but on two occasions marvellously escaped before he could be conveyed to Sparta: the third occasion was more fatal, and he was cast by order of the Spartans into the Keadas, a deep, rocky cavity in Mount Taygetus, into which it was their habit to precipitate criminals. But even in this emergency the divine

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der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 31), a supposition which the emphatic words of Tyrtæus render inadmissible.

<sup>1</sup> This is the express comparison introduced by Pausanias, iv. 5, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Sept. Sapient. Convivium, p. 159.



and<sup>1</sup> was not withheld from him. While the fifty Messenians who shared his punishment, were all killed by the shock, he alone was both supported by the gods so as to reach the bottom unhurt, and enabled to find an unexpected means of escape. For when, abandoning all hope, he had wrapped himself up in his cloak to die, he perceived a fox creeping about among the dead bodies : waiting until the animal approached him, he grasped its tail, defending himself from its bites as well as he could by means of his cloak ; and being thus enabled to find the aperture by which the fox had entered, enlarged it sufficiently for crawling out himself. To the surprise both of friends and enemies, he again appeared, alive and vigorous, at Eira. That fortified mountain on the banks of the river Nedon, and near the Ionian sea, had been occupied by the Messenians, after the battle in which they had been betrayed by Aristokratês, the Arcadian ; it was there that they had concentrated their whole force, as in the former war at Ithômê, abandoning the rest of the country. Under the conduct of Aristomenês, assisted by the prophet Theoklus, they maintained this strong position for eleven years. At length, they were compelled to abandon it ; but, as in the case of Ithômê, the final determining circumstances are represented to have been, not any superiority of bravery or organization on the part of the Lacedæmonians, but treacherous betrayal and stratagem, seconding the fatal decree of the gods. Unable to maintain Eira longer, Aristomenês, with his sons, and a body of his countrymen, forced his way through the assailants, and quitted the country, — some of them retiring to Arcadia and Elis, and finally migrating to Rhegium. He himself passed the remainder of his days in Rhodes, where he dwelt along with his son-in-law, Damagêtus, the ancestor of the noble Rhodian family, called the Diagorids, celebrated for its numerous Olympic victories.

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 18, 4. Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἐξ τε τὰ ἄλλα θεῶν τις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφόλασεν.

Plutarch (De Herodot. Malignitat. p. 856) states that Herodotus had mentioned Aristomenês as having been made prisoner by the Lacedæmonians. but Plutarch must here have been deceived by his memory, for Herodotus does not mention Aristomenês.

Such are the main features of what Pausanias calls<sup>1</sup> the second Messenian war, or of what ought rather to be called the Aristomenês of the poet Rhianus. That after the foundation of Messênê, and the recall of the exiles by Epameinondas, favor and credence was found for many tales respecting the prowess of the ancient hero whom they invoked<sup>2</sup> in their libations, — tales well calculated to interest the fancy, to vivify the patriotism, and to inflame the anti-Spartan antipathies, of the new inhabitants, — there can be little doubt. And the Messenian maidens of that day may well have sung, in their public processional sacrifices,<sup>3</sup> how “Aristomenês pursued the flying Lacedæmonians down to the mid-plain of Stenyklêrus, and up to the very summit of the mountain.” From such stories, *traditions* they ought not to be denominated, Rhianus may doubtless have borrowed; but if proof were wanting to show how completely he looked at his materials from the point of view of the poet, and not from that of the historian, we should find it in the remarkable fact noticed by Pausanias. Rhianus represented Leotychides as having been king of Sparta during the second Messenian war; now Leotychides, as Pausanias observes, did not reign until near a century and a half afterwards, during the Persian invasion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The narrative in Pausanias, iv. 15–24.

According to an incidental notice in Herodotus, the Sarrhians affirmed that they had aided Lacedæmon in war against Messênê, — at what period we do not know (Herodot. iii. 56).

<sup>2</sup> Τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας (Pausan. ii. 14, 5). The practice still continued in his time.

Compare, also, Pausan. iv. 27, 3; iv. 32, 3–4.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias heard the song himself (iv. 16, 4) — Ἐπέλεγον φῶμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι φθόμενον: —

Ἐς τε μέσον πέδιον Στενυκλήριον ἐς τ' ὄρος ἄκρον  
Εἶπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

According to one story, the Lacedæmonians were said to have got possession of the person of Aristomenês, and killed him: they found in him a hairy heart (Steph. Byz. v. Ἀνδανία).

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. iv. 15, 1.

Perhaps Leotychides was king during the last revolt of the Helots, or Messenians, in 464 B. C., which is called the third Messenian war. He seems to have been then in exile, in consequence of his venality during the Thessalian expedition, — but not yet dead (Herodot. vi. 72). Of the reality of what

To the great champion of Messenia, during this war, we may oppose, on the side of Sparta, another remarkable person, less striking as a character of romance, but more interesting, in many ways, to the historian, — I mean, the poet Tyrtæus, a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, an inestimable ally of the Lacedæmonians during most part of this second struggle. According to a story, — which, however, has the air partly of a boast of the later Attic orators, — the Spartans, disheartened at the first successes of the Messenians, consulted the Delphian oracle, and were directed to ask for a leader from Athens. The Athenians complied by sending Tyrtæus, whom Pausanias and Justin represent as a lame man and a schoolmaster, despatched with a view of nominally obeying the oracle, and yet rendering no real assistance.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a coloring put upon the story by later writers, but the intervention of the Athenians in the matter, in any way, deserves little credit.<sup>2</sup> It seems more probable that the legendary connection of the Dioskuri with Aphidnæ, celebrated at or near that time by the poet Alkman, brought about, through the Delphian oracle, the presence of the Aphidnæan poet at Sparta. Respecting the lameness of Tyrtæus, we can say nothing: but that he was a schoolmaster (if we are constrained to employ an unsuitable term) is highly probable, — for in that day, minstrels, who composed and sung poems, were the only persons from whom the youth received any men-

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Mr. Clinton calls the *third* Messenian war, in 490 B. C., I see no adequate proof (see Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 257).

The poem of Rhianus was entitled *Μεσσηνιακά*. He also composed *Θεσσαλικά*, *Ἡλιακά*, *Ἀχαϊκά*. See the Fragments, — they are very few, — in Düntzer's Collection, pp. 67–77.

He seems to have mentioned Nikoteleia, the mother of Aristomenês (Fr. ii. p. 73): compare Pausan. iv. 14, 5.

I may remark, that Pausanias, throughout his account of the second Messenian war, names king Anaxander as leading the Lacedæmonian troops; but he has no authority for so doing, as we see by iv. 15, 1. It is a pure calculation of his own, from the *πατέρων πατέρες* of Tyrtæus.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 15, 3; Justin, iii. 5, 4. Compare Plato, Legg. ii. p. 630, Diodor. xv. 66; Lycurg. cont. Leokrat. p. 162. Philochorus and Kallisthenês also represented him as a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, which Strabo controverts upon slender grounds (viii. p. 362); Philochor. Fr. 56 (Didot).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Theseus, c. 33; Pausan. i. 41, 5; Welcker, Alkman. Fragment. p. 20.

tal training. Moreover, his sway over the youthful mind is particularly noted in the compliment paid to him, in after-days, by king Leonidas: "Tyrtæus was an adept in tickling the souls of youth."<sup>1</sup> We see enough to satisfy us that he was by birth a stranger, though he became a Spartan by the subsequent recompense of citizenship conferred upon him,—that he was sent through the Delphian oracle,—that he was an impressive and efficacious minstrel, and that he had, moreover, sagacity enough to employ his talents for present purposes and diverse needs; being able, not merely to reanimate the languishing courage of the baffled warrior, but also to soothe the discontents of the mutinous. That his strains, which long maintained undiminished popularity among the Spartans,<sup>2</sup> contributed much to determine the ultimate issue of this war, there is no reason to doubt; nor is his name the only one to attest the susceptibility of the Spartan mind in that day towards music and poetry. The first establishment of the Karneian festival, with its musical competition, at Sparta, falls during the period assigned by Pausanias to the second Messenian war: the Lesbian harper, Terpander, who gained the first recorded prize at this solemnity, is affirmed to have been sent for by the Spartans pursuant to a mandate from the Delphian oracle, and to have been the means of appeasing a sedition. In like manner, the Kretan Thalêtas was invited thither during a pestilence, which his art, as it is pretended, contributed to heal (about 620 B. C.); and Alkman, Xenokritus, Polymnastus, and Sakadas, all foreigners by birth, found favorable reception, and acquired popularity, by their music and poetry. With the exception of Sakadas, who is a little later, all these names fall in the same century as Tyrtæus, between 660 B. C.—610 B. C. The fashion which the Spartan music continued for a long time to maintain, is ascribed chiefly to the genius of Terpander.<sup>3</sup>

The training in which a Spartan passed his life consisted of exercises warlike, social, and religious, blended together. While the individual, strengthened by gymnastics, went through his

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 2. Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκᾶλλειν.

<sup>2</sup> Philochorus, Frag. 56, ed. Didot; Lycurgus cont. Leokrat. p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> See Plutarch, De Musica, pp. 1134, 1142, 1146.

painful lessons of fatigue, endurance, and aggression, — the citizens collectively were kept in the constant habit of simultaneous and regulated movement in the warlike march, in the religious dance, and in the social procession. Music and song, being constantly employed to direct the measure and keep alive the spirit<sup>1</sup> of these multitudinous movements, became associated with the most powerful feelings which the habitual self-suppression of a Spartan permitted to arise, and especially with those sympathies which are communicated at once to an assembled crowd; indeed, the musician and the minstrel were the only persons who ever addressed themselves to the feelings of a Lacedæmonian assembly. Moreover, the simple music of that early day, though destitute of artistical merit, and superseded afterwards by more complicated combinations, had, nevertheless, a pronounced ethical character; it wrought much more powerfully on the impulses and resolutions of the hearers, though it tickled the ear less gratefully, than the scientific compositions of after-days. Farther, each particular style of music had its own appropriate mental effect, — the Phrygian mode imparted a wild and maddening stimulus; the Dorian mode created a settled and deliberate resolution, exempt alike from the desponding and from the impetuous sentiments.<sup>2</sup> What is called the Dorian mode, seems to be in reality the old native Greek mode, as contradistinguished from the Phrygian and Lydian, — these being the three primitive modes, subdivided and combined only in later times, with which the first Grecian musicians became conversant. It probably acquired its title of Dorian from the musical celebrity of Sparta and Argos, during the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era; but it belonged as much to the Arcadians and Achæans as to the Spartans and Argeians. And the marked ethical effects, produced both by the Dorian and the Phrygian modes in ancient times, are facts perfectly well-attested, however difficult they may be to explain upon any general theory of music.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 69; Xenoph. Rep. Laced. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See the treatise of Plutarch, *De Musica*, passim, especially c. 17, p. 1136, etc.; 33, p. 1143. Plato, *Republ.* iii. p. 399; *Aristot. Polit.* viii. 6, 5–8.

The excellent treatise *De Metris Pindari*, prefixed by M. Boeckh to his edition of Pindar, is full of instruction upon this as well as upon all other points connected with the Grecian music (see lib. iii. c. 8, p. 238).

That the impression produced by Tyrtæus at Sparta, therefore, with his martial music, and emphatic exhortations to bravery in the field, as well as union at home, should have been very considerable, is perfectly consistent with the character both of the age and of the people; especially, as he is represented to have appeared pursuant to the injunction of the Delphian oracle. From the scanty fragments remaining to us of his elegies and anapæsts, however, we can satisfy ourselves only of two facts: first, that the war was long, obstinately contested, and dangerous to Sparta as well as to the Messenians; next, that other parties in Peloponnesus took part on both sides, especially on the side of the Messenians. So frequent and harassing were the aggressions of the latter upon the Spartan territory, that a large portion of the border land was left uncultivated: scarcity ensued, and the proprietors of the deserted farms, driven to despair, pressed for a re-division of the landed property in the state. It was in appeasing these discontents that the poem of Tyrtæus, called *Eunomia*, "Legal order," was found signally beneficial.<sup>1</sup> It seems certain that a considerable portion of the Arcadians, together with the Pisatæ and the Triphylians, took part with the Messenians; there are also some statements numbering the Eleians among their allies, but this appears not probable. The state of the case rather seems to have been, that the old quarrel between the Eleians and the Pisatæ, respecting the right to preside at the Olympic games, which had already burst forth during the preceding century, in the reign of the Argeian Pheidôn, still continued. Unwilling dependents of Elis, the Pisatæ and Triphylians took part with the subject Messenians, while the masters at Elis and Sparta made common cause, as they had before done against Pheidôn.<sup>2</sup> Pantaleôn, king of Pisa, revolting from Elis, acted as commander of his countrymen in coöperation with the Messenians; and he is farther noted for having, at the period of the 34th Olympiad (644 B. C.), marched a body of troops to Olympia, and thus dispossessed the Eleians, on that occasion, of the presidency: that particular festival, — as well as the 8th.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. v. 7, 1; Pausan. iv. 18, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. vi. 12, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 355, where the *Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι* mean the Pyliaus of Tryphylia.

Olympiad, in which Pheidôn interfered, — and the 104th Olympiad, in which the Arcadians marched in, — were always marked on the Eleian register as non-Olympiads, or informal celebrations. We may reasonably connect this temporary triumph of the Pisatans with the Messenian war, inasmuch as they were no match for the Eleians single-handed, while the fraternity of Sparta with Elis is in perfect harmony with the scheme of Peloponnesian politics which we have observed as prevalent even before and during the days of Pheidôn.<sup>1</sup> The second

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the position of the Eleians and Pisatæ during the second Messenian war, there is confusion in the different statements: as they cannot all be reconciled, we are compelled to make a choice.

That the Eleians were allies of Sparta, and the Pisatans of Messenia, and that the contests of Sparta and Messenia were mixed up with those of Elis and Pisa about the agonothesia of the Olympic games, is conformable to one distinct statement of Strabo (viii. pp. 355, 358), and to the passage in Phavorinus v. *Αβγείας*, and is, moreover, indirectly sustained by the view given in Pausanias respecting the relations between Elis and Pisa (vi. 22, 2), whereby it clearly appears that the agonothesia was a matter of standing dispute between the two, until the Pisatans were finally crushed by the Eleians in the time of Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleôn. Farther, this same view is really conformable to another passage in Strabo, which, as now printed, appears to contradict it, but which is recognized by Müller and others as needing correction, though the correction which they propose seems to me not the best. The passage (viii. p. 362) stands thus: Πλεονάκις δ' ἐπολέμησαν (Messenians and Lacedæmonians) διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. Τὴν γὰρ οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησὶ Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς γῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Πισατὰς ὑπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομένου βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγὸν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνα· ἥνικα φησιν αὐτὸς στρατηγήσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς λακεδαιμονίοις, etc. Here it is obvious that, in the enumeration of allies, the Arcadians ought to have been included; accordingly, both O. Müller and Mr. Clinton (ad annum 672 B.C.) agree in altering the passage thus: they insert the words καὶ Ἀρκάδας after the word Ἡλείους, so that both Eleians and Pisatans appear as allies of Messenia at once. I submit that this is improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the passage of Strabo previously noticed: the proper way of altering the passage is, in my judgment, to substitute the word Ἀρκάδας in place of the word Ἡλείους, which makes the two passages of Strabo consistent with each other, and hardly does greater violence to the text.

As opposed to the view here adopted, there is, undoubtedly, the passage of Pausanias (iv. 15, 4) which numbers the Eleians among the allies of Mes-

Messenian war will thus stand as beginning somewhere about the 33d Olympiad, or 648 B. C., between seventy and eighty years after the close of the first, and lasting, according to Pausanias, seventeen years; according to Plutarch, more than twenty years.<sup>1</sup>

senia, and takes no notice of the Pisatæ. The affirmation of Julius Africanus (ap. Eusebium Chronic. i. p. 145, that the Pisatæ revolted from Elis in the 30th Olympiad, and celebrated the Olympic games themselves until Ol. 52, for twenty-two successive ceremonies) is in contradiction, — first, with Pausanias (vi. 22, 2), which appears to me a clear and valuable statement, from its particular reference to the *three* non-Olympiads, — secondly, with Pausanias (v. 9, 4), when the Eleians in the 50th Olympiad determine the number of Hellanodikæ. I agree with Corsini (*Fasti Attici*, t. iii. p. 47) in setting aside the passage of Julius Africanus: Mr. Clinton (F. H. p. 253) is displeased with Corsini for this suspicion, but he himself virtually does the same thing; for, in order to reconcile Jul. Africanus with Pausanias, he introduces a supposition quite different from what is asserted by either of them; i. e. a joint agonothesia by Eleians and Pisatans together. This hypothesis of Mr. Clinton appears to me gratuitous and inadmissible: Africanus himself meant to state something quite different, and I imagine him to have been misled by an erroneous authority. See Mr. Clinton, F. H. ad. ann. 660 B. C. to 580 B. C.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *De Serâ Num.* Vind. p. 548; Pausan. iv. 15, 1; iv. 17, 3; iv. 23, 2.

The date of the second Messenian war, and the interval between the second and the first, are points respecting which also there is irreconcilable discrepancy of statement; we can only choose the most probable: see the passages collected and canvassed in O. Müller (*Dorians*, i. 7, 11, and in Mr. Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* vol. i. Appendix 2, p. 257).

According to Pausanias, the second war lasted from B. C. 685–668, and there was an interval between the first and the second war of thirty-nine years. Justin (iii. 5) reckons an interval of eighty years; Eusebius, an interval of ninety years. The main evidence is the passage of Tyrtaeus, wherein that poet, speaking during the second war, says, “The fathers of our fathers conquered Messênê.”

Mr. Clinton adheres very nearly to the view of Pausanias; he supposes that the real date is only six years lower (679–662). But I agree with Clavier (*Histoire des Premiers Temps de la Grèce*, t. ii. p. 233) and O. Müller (l. c.) in thinking that an interval of thirty-nine years is too short to suit the phrase of *fathers’ fathers*. Speaking in the present year (1846), it would not be held proper to say, “The fathers of our fathers carried on the war between 1793 and the peace of Amiens:” we should rather say, “The fathers of our fathers carried on the American war and the Seven Years’ war.” An age is marked by its mature and even elderly members, — by those between thirty-five and fifty-five years of age.



Many of the Messenians who abandoned their country after this second conquest are said to have found shelter and sympathy among the Arcadians, who admitted them to a new home and gave them their daughters in marriage; and who, moreover, punished severely the treason of Aristokratês, king of Orchomenus, in abandoning the Messenians at the battle of the Trench. That perfidious leader was put to death, and his race dethroned, while the crime as well as the punishment was farther commemorated by an inscription, which was to be seen near the altar of Zeus Lykæus, in Arcadia. The inscription doubtless existed in the days of Kallisthenês, in the generation after the restoration of Messênê. But whether it had any existence prior to that event, or what degree of truth there may be in the story of Aristokratês, we are unable to determine:<sup>1</sup> the son of Aristokratês, named Aristodêmus, is alleged in another authority to have reigned afterwards at Orchomenus.<sup>2</sup> That which stands strongly marked is, the sympathy of Arcadians and Messenians against Sparta, — a sentiment which was in its full vigor at the time of the restoration of Messênê.

The second Messenian war was thus terminated by the complete subjugation of the Messenians. Such of them as remained in the country were reduced to a servitude probably not less hard than that which Tyrtæus described them as having endured between the first war and the second. In after-times, the whole

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Agreeing as I do here with O. Müller, against Mr. Clinton, I also agree with him in thinking that the best mark which we possess of the date of the second Messenian war is the statement respecting Pantaleôn: the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleôn celebrated, probably fell within the time of the war; which would thus be brought down much later than the time assigned by Pausanias, yet not so far down as that named by Eusebius and Justin: the exact year of its commencement, however, we have no means of fixing.

Krebs, in his discussions on the Fragments of the lost Books of Diodorus, thinks that that historian placed the beginning of the second Messenian war in the 35th Olympiad (B. C. 640) (Krebs, *Lectiones Diodoræ*, pp. 254-260).

<sup>1</sup> Diodor. xv. 66; Polyb. iv. 33, who quotes Kallisthenês; Paus. viii. 5, 8. Neither the Inscription, as cited by Polybius, nor the allusion in Plutarch (*De Serâ Numin. Vindictâ*, p. 548), appear to fit the narrative of Pausanias, for both of them imply secret and long-concealed treason, tardily brought to light by the interposition of the gods; whereas, Pausanias describes the treason of Aristokratês, at the battle of the Trench, as palpable and flagrant.

<sup>2</sup> Herakleid. Pontic. ap. Diog. Laërt. i. 94.

territory which figures on the map as Messenia, — south of the river Nedon, and westward of the summit of Taygetus, — appears as subject to Sparta, and as forming the western portion of Laconia; distributed, in what proportion we know not, between Pericæic towns and Helot villages. By what steps, or after what degree of farther resistance, the Spartans conquered this country, we have no information; but we are told that they made over Asinê to the expelled Dryopes from the Argolic peninsula and Mothônê to the fugitives from Nauplia.<sup>1</sup> Nor do we hear of any serious revolt from Sparta in this territory until one hundred and fifty years afterwards,<sup>2</sup> subsequent to the Persian invasion, — a revolt which Sparta, after serious efforts, succeeded in crushing. So that the territory remained in her power until her defeat at Leuktra, which led to the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas. The fertility of the plains, — especially of the central portion near the river Pamisus, so much extolled by observers, modern as well as ancient, — rendered it an acquisition highly valuable. At some time or other, it must of course have been formally partitioned among the Spartans, but it is probable that different and successive allotments were made, according as the various portions of territory, both to the east and to the west of Taygetus, were conquered. Of all this we have no information.<sup>3</sup>

Imperfectly as these two Messenian wars are known to us, we may see enough to warrant us in making two remarks. Both were tedious, protracted, and painful, showing how slowly the results of war were then gathered, and adding one additional illustration to prove how much the rapid and instantaneous conquest of Laconia and Messenia by the Dorians, which the Herakleid legend sets forth, is contradicted by historical analogy. Both were characterized by a similar defensive proceeding on

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 34, 6; iv. 35, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias says, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Μεσσηνίαν, πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναιῶν, αὐτοὶ διελάγγχαναν, etc. (iv. 24, 2.)

In an apophthegm ascribed to king Polydorus, leader of the Spartans during the first Messenian war, he is asked, whether he is really taking arms against his brethren, to which he replies, "No; I am only marching to the unallotted portion of the territory." (Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lakonic. p. 231.) — ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον χώραν.

the part of the Messepians, — the occupation of a mountain difficult of access, and the fortification of it for the special purpose and resistance, — Ithômê (which is said to have had already a small town upon it) in the first war, Eira in the second. It is reasonable to infer from hence, that neither their principal town Stenyklêrus, nor any other town in their country, was strongly fortified, so as to be calculated to stand a siege; that there were no walled towns among them analogous to Mykenæ and Tiryns on the eastern portion of Peloponnesus; and that, perhaps, what were called towns were, like Sparta itself, clusters of unfortified villages. The subsequent state of Helotism into which they were reduced is in consistency with this dispersed village residence during their period of freedom.

The relations of Pisa and Elis form a suitable counterpart and sequel to those of Messenia and Sparta. Unwilling subjects themselves, the Pisatans had lent their aid to the Messenians, — and their king, Pantaleôn, one of the leaders of this combined force, had gained so great a temporary success, as to dispossess the Eleians of the agonothesia or administration of the games for one Olympic ceremony, in the 34th Olympiad. Though again reduced to their condition of subjects, they manifested dispositions to renew their revolt at the 48th Olympiad, under Damophôn, the son of Pantaleôn, and the Eleians marched into their country to put them down, but were persuaded to retire by protestations of submission. At length, shortly afterwards, under Pyrrhus, the brother of Damophôn, a serious revolt broke out. The inhabitants of Dyspontium, and the other villages in the Pisatid, assisted by those of Makistus, Skillus, and the other towns in Triphylia, took up arms to throw off the yoke of Elis; but their strength was inadequate to the undertaking. They were completely conquered; Dyspontium was dismantled, and the inhabitants of it obliged to flee the country, from whence most of them emigrated to the colonies of Epidamnus and Apollonia, in Epirus. The inhabitants of Makistus and Skillus were also chased from their abodes, while the territory became more thoroughly subject to Elis than it had been before. These incidents seem to have occurred about the 50th Olympiad, or B. C. 580; and the dominion of Elis over her Perioecic territory was thus as well assured as that

of Sparta.<sup>1</sup> The separate denominations both of Pisa and Triphylia became more and more merged in the sovereign name of Elis: the town of Lepreum alone, in Triphylia, seems to have maintained a separate name and a sort of half-autonomy down to the time of the Peloponnesian war, not without perpetual struggles against the Eleians.<sup>2</sup> But towards the period of the Peloponnesian war, the political interests of Lacedæmon had become considerably changed, and it was to her advantage to maintain the independence of the subordinate states against the superior: accordingly, we find her at that time upholding the autonomy of Lepreum. From what cause the devastation of the Triphylian towns by Elis, which Herodotus mentions as having happened in his time, arose, we do not know; the fact seems to indicate a continual yearning for their original independence, which was still commemorated, down to a much later period, by the ancient Amphiktyony, at Samikum, in Triphylia, in honor of Poseidôn, — a common religious festival frequented by all the Triphylian towns and celebrated by the inhabitants of Makistus, who sent round proclamation of a formal truce for the holy period.<sup>3</sup> The Lacedæmonians, after the close of the Peloponnesian war, had left them undisputed heads of Greece, formally upheld the independence of the Triphylian towns against Elis, and seem to have countenanced their endeavors to attach themselves to the Arcadian aggregate, which, however, was never fully accomplished. Their dependence on Elis became loose and uncertain, but was never wholly shaken off.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. vi. 22, 2; v. 6, 3; v. 10, 2; Strabo, viii. pp. 355–357.

The temple in honor of Zeus at Olympia, was first erected by the Eleians, out of the spoils of this expedition (Pausan. v. 10, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 31. Even Lepreum is characterized as Eleian, however (Aristoph. Aves, 149): compare also Steph. Byz. v. *Τριφυλία, ἡ Ἑλίας*.

Even in the 6th Olympiad, an inhabitant of Dyspontium is proclaimed as victor at the stadium, under the denomination of "*an Eleian from Dyspontium*;" proclaimed by the Eleians of course, — the like in the 27th Olympiad: see Stephan. Byz. v. *Δυσπόντιον*, which shows that the inhabitants of the Pisatid cannot have rendered themselves independent of Elis in the 26th Olympiad, as Strabo alleges (viii. p. 355).

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. iv. 149; Strabo, viii. p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. xiv. 17; xv. 77; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2, 23, 26.

It was about this period, probably, that the idea of the local eponymus, Triphylus, son of Arkas, was first introduced (Polyb. iv. 77).

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONQUESTS OF SPARTA TOWARDS ARCADIA AND ARGOLIS.

I HAVE described in the last two chapters, as far as our imperfect evidence permits, how Sparta came into possession both of the southern portion of Laconia along the coast of the Eurotas down to its mouth, and of the Messenian territory westward. Her progress towards Arcadia and Argolis is now to be sketched, so as to conduct her to that position which she occupied during the reign of Peisistratus at Athens, or about 560-540 B. C.,—a time when she had reached the maximum of her territorial possessions, and when she was confessedly the commanding state in Hellas.

The central region of Peloponnesus, called Arcadia, had never received any emigrants from without. Its indigenous inhabitants, — a strong and hardy race of mountaineers, the most numerous Hellenic tribe in the peninsula, and the constant hive for mercenary troops,<sup>1</sup> — were among the rudest and poorest of Greeks, retaining for the longest period their original subdivision into a number of petty hill-villages, each independent of the other; while the union of all who bore the Arcadian name, — though they had some common sacrifices, such as the festival of the Lykæan Zeus, of Despoina, daughter of Poseidôn and Dêmêtêr, and of Artemis Hymnia,<sup>2</sup> — was more loose and ineffective than that of Greeks generally, either in or out of Peloponnesus. The Arcadian villagers were usually denominated by the names

<sup>1</sup> Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. p. 27. 'Ἀνδράποδοι' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκადίας ἐπικουρούς. Also, Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1, 23. πλείστον δὲ φῶλον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἶη, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. viii. 6, 7; viii. 37, 6; viii. 38, 2. Xenias, one of the generals of Greek mercenaries in the service of Cyrus the younger, a native of the Parrhasian district in Arcadia, celebrates with great solemnity, during the march upward, the festival and games of the Lykæa (Xenoph. Anab. i. 2, 10; compare Pindar, Olymp. ix. 142).

Many of the forests in Arcadia contained not only wild boars, but bears, in the days of Pausanias (viii. 23, 4).

of regions, coincident with certain ethnical subdivisions, — the Azānes, the Parrhasii, the Mænalii (adjoining Mount Mænalus), the Eutrēsii, the Ægytæ, the Skiritæ, etc.<sup>1</sup> Some considerable towns, however, there were, — aggregations of villages or demes which had been once autonomous. Of these, the principal were Tegea and Mantinea, bordering on Laconia and Argolis, — Orchomenus, Pheneus, and Stymphalus, towards the north-east, bordering on Achaia and Phlius, — Kleitôr and Heræa, westward, where the country is divided from Elis and Triphylia by the woody mountains of Pholoë and Erymanthus, — and Phigaleia, on the south-western border near to Messenia. The most powerful of all were Tegea and Mantinea,<sup>2</sup> — conterminous towns, nearly equal in force, dividing between them the cold and high plain of Tripolitza, and separated by one of those capricious torrents which only escapes through katabothra. To regulate the efflux of this water was a difficult task, requiring friendly coöperation of both the towns: and when their frequent jealousies brought on a quarrel, the more aggressive of the two inundated the territory of its neighbor as one means of annoyance. The power of Tegea, which had grown up out of nine constituent townships, originally separate,<sup>3</sup> appears to have been more ancient than that of its rival; as we may judge from its splendid heroic pretensions connected with the name of Echemus, and from the post conceded to its hoplites in joint Peloponnesian

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 26, 5; Strabo, viii. p. 388.

Some geographers distributed the Arcadians into three subdivisions, Azanes, Parrhasii, and Trapezuntii. Azan passed for the son of Arcas, and his lot in the division of the paternal inheritance was said to have contained seventeen towns (*ὡς ἔλαχεν Ἀζην*). Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀζανία — Παρρασία. Kleitôr seems the chief place in Azania, as far as we can infer from genealogy (Pausan. viii. 4, 2, 3). Pæus, or Pæos, from whence the Azanian suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenês presented himself, was between Kleitôr and Psôphis (Herod. vi. 127; Paus. viii. 23, 6). A Delphian oracle, however, reckons the inhabitants of Phigaleia, in the south-western corner of Arcadia, among the Azanes (Paus. viii. 42, 3).

The burial-place of Arcas was supposed to be on Mount Mænalus (Paus. viii. 9, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 65. Compare the description of the ground in Professor Ross (*Reisen im Peloponnes*, iv. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 337.

armaments, which was second in distinction only to that of the Lacedæmonians.<sup>1</sup> If it be correct, as Strabo asserts,<sup>2</sup> that the incorporation of the town of Mantinea, out of its five separate demes, was brought about by the Argeians, we may conjecture that the latter adopted this proceeding as a means of providing some check upon their powerful neighbors of Tegea. The plain common to Tegea and Mantinea was bounded to the west by the wintry heights of Mænalus,<sup>3</sup> beyond which, as far as the boundaries of Laconia, Messenia, and Triphylia, there was nothing in Arcadia but small and unimportant townships, or villages, — without any considerable town, before the important step taken by Epameinondas in founding Megalopolis, a short time after the battle of Leuktra. The mountaineers of these regions, who joined Epameinondas before the battle of Mantinea, at a time when Mantinea and most of the towns of Arcadia were opposed to him, were so inferior to the other Greeks in equipment, that they still carried as their chief weapon, in place of the spear, nothing better than the ancient club.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ix. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, l. c. Mantinea is reckoned among the oldest cities of Arcadia (Polyb. ii. 54). Both Mantinea and Orchomenus had originally occupied very lofty hill-sites, and had been rebuilt on a larger scale, lower down, nearer to the plain (Pausan. viii. 8, 3; 12, 4; 13, 2).

In regard to the relations, during the early historical period, between Sparta, Argos, and Arcadia, there is a new fragment of Diodorus (among those recently published by Didot, out of the *Excerpta* in the Escorial library, Fragment. Historic. Græcor. vol. ii. p. viii.). The Argeians had espoused the cause of the Arcadians against Sparta; and at the expense of considerable loss and suffering, had regained such portions of Arcadia as she had conquered. The king of Argos restored this recovered territory to the Arcadians: but the Argeians generally were angry that he did not retain it and distribute it among them as a reward for their losses in the contest. They rose in insurrection against the king, who was forced to flee, and take refuge at Tegea.

We have nothing to illustrate this fragment, nor do we know to what king, date, or events, it relates.

<sup>3</sup> *Μαίναλη δυσχείμερος* (Delphian Oracle, ap. Paus. viii. 9, 2).

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon, in describing the ardor with which Epameinondas inspired his soldiers before this final battle, says (vii. 5, 20), *προθύμως μὲν ἑλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη, κελύοντος ἐκείνου· ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅπλα, ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες· πάντες δὲ φκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ ἐλαμπρόνοντο τὰς ἑσπίδας.*

Both Tegea and Mantinea held several of these smaller Arcadian townships near them in a sort of dependence, and were anxious to extend this empire over others: during the Peloponnesian war, we find the Mantineians establishing and garrisoning a fortress at Kypsela among the Parrhasii, near the site in which Megalopolis was afterwards built.<sup>1</sup> But at this period, Sparta, as the political chief of Hellas, — having a strong interest in keeping all the Grecian towns, small and great, as much isolated from each other as possible, and in checking all schemes for the formation of local confederacies, — stood forward as the protectress of the autonomy of these smaller Arcadians, and drove back the Mantineians within their own limits.<sup>2</sup> At a somewhat later period, during the acmé of her power, a few years before the battle of Leuktra, she even proceeded to the extreme length of breaking up the unity of Mantinea itself, causing the walls to be razed, and the inhabitants to be again parcelled into their five original demes, — a violent arrangement, which the turn of political events very soon reversed.<sup>3</sup> It was not until after the battle of Leuktra and the depression of Sparta that any measures were taken for the formation of an Arcadian political confederacy;<sup>4</sup> and even then, the jealousies of the separate cites rendered it incomplete and short-lived. The great permanent change, the establishment of Megalopolis, was accomplished

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It is hardly conceivable that these Arcadian clubmen should have possessed a shield and a full panoply. The language of Xenophon in calling them hoplites, and the term *ἐπεγράφοντο*, properly referring to the inscription on the shield, appear to be conceived in a spirit of contemptuous sneering, proceeding from Xenophon's miso-Theban tendencies: "The Arcadian hoplites, with their clubs, put themselves forward to be as good as the Thebans." That these tendencies of Xenophon show themselves in expressions very unbecoming to the dignity of history (though curious as evidences of the time), may be seen by vii. 5, 12, where he says of the Thebans, — *ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοῦς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλέονες*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 33, 47, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. l. c. Compare the instructive speech of Kleigenês, the envoy from Akanthus, addressed to the Lacedæmonians, B. C. 382 (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 15-16).

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 1-6; Diodor. xv. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 10-11; vii. 1, 23-25.



by the ascendancy of Epameinondas. Forty petty Arcadian townships, among those situated to the west of Mount Mænalus, were aggregated into the new city: the jealousies of Tegea, Mantinea, and Kleitôr, were for a while suspended; and œkists came from all of them, as well as from the districts of the Mænalii and Parrhasii, in order to impart to the new establishment a genuine Pan-Arcadian character.<sup>1</sup> It was thus there arose for the first time a powerful city on the borders of Laconia and Messenia, rescuing the Arcadian townships from their dependence on Sparta, and imparting to them political interests of their own, which rendered them, both a check upon their former chief and a support to the reëstablished Messenians.

It has been necessary thus to bring the attention of the reader for one moment to events long posterior in the order of time (Megalopolis was founded in 370 B. C.), in order that he may understand, by contrast, the general course of those incidents of the earlier time, where direct accounts are wanting. The northern boundary of the Spartan territory was formed by some of the many small Arcadian townships or districts, several of which were successively conquered by the Spartans and incorporated with their dominion, though at what precise time we are unable to say. We are told that Charilaus, the reputed nephew and ward of Lykurgus, took Ægys, and that he also invaded the territory of Tegea, but with singular ill-success, for he was defeated and taken prisoner:<sup>2</sup> we also hear that the Spartans took Phigaleia by surprise in the 30th Olympiad, but were driven out again by the neighboring Arcadian Oresthasians.<sup>3</sup> During the second Messenian war, the Arcadians are represented as cordially seconding the Messenians: and it may seem perhaps singular that, while neither Mantinea nor Tegea are mentioned

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 27, 5. No œkist is mentioned from Orchomenus, though three of the petty townships *contributing* (*συντελούντα*) to Orchomenus were embodied in the new city. The feud between the neighboring cities of Orchomenus and Mantinea was bitter (Xen. Hellen. vi. 5, 11-22). Orchomenus and Hêræa both opposed the political confederation of Arcadia.

The oration of Demosthenês, *ἐπὶ Μεγαλοπολεῖων*, strongly attests the importance of this city, especially c. 10, — *ἐὰν μὲν ἀναστρεφῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροῖς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐβ' ὅς ἐστιν εἶναι*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 7, 3; viii. 48, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. viii. 39, 2.

in this war, the more distant town of Orchomenus, with its king Aristokratēs, takes the lead. But the facts of the contest come before us with so poetical a coloring, that we cannot venture to draw any positive inference as to the times to which they are referred.

Cenus<sup>1</sup> and Karystus seem to have belonged to the Spartans in the days of Alkman: moreover, the district called Skiritis, bordering on the territory of Tegea, — as well as Belemina and Maleatis to the westward, and Karyæ to the eastward and south-eastward, of Skiritis, — forming altogether the entire northern frontier of Sparta, and all occupied by Arcadian inhabitants, — had been conquered and made part of the Spartan territory<sup>2</sup> before 600 B. C. And Herodotus tells us, that at this period the Spartan kings Leon and Hegesiklēs contemplated nothing less than the conquest of entire Arcadia, and sent to ask from the Delphian oracle a blessing on their enterprise.<sup>3</sup> The priestess dismissed their wishes as extravagant, in reference to the whole of Arcadia, but encouraged them, though with the usual equivocations of language, to try their fortune against Tegea. Flushed with their course of previous success, not less than by the favorable construction which they put upon the words of the oracle, the Lacedæmonians marched against Tegea with such entire confidence of success, as to carry with them chains for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> Alkman, Fr. 15, Welcker; Strabo, x. p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> That the Skiritæ were Arcadians is well known (Thuc. v. 47; Steph. Byz. v. Σκίρος); the possession of Belemina was disputed with Sparta, in the days of her comparative humiliation, by the Arcadians: see Plutarch, Kleomenēs, 4; Pausan. viii. 35, 4.

Respecting Karyæ (the border town of Sparta, where the *διαβατήρια* were sacrificed, Thuc. v. 55), see Photius *Καρυάτεια* — ἐορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδος· τὰς δὲ Καρύας Ἀρκάδων οὐσας ἀπετέμοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

The readiness with which Karyæ and the Maleates revolted against Sparta after the battle of Leuktra, even before the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, exhibits them apparently as conquered foreign dependencies of Sparta, without any kindred of race (Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 24–26; vii. 1, 28). Leuktron, in the Maleatis, seems to have formed a part of the territory of Megalopolis in the days of Kleomenēs the Third (Plutarch, Kleomenēs, 6); in the Peloponnesian war it was the frontier town of Sparta towards Mount Lykæum (Thuc. v. 53).

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 66. *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριάζοντε ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.*

of binding their expected prisoners. But the result was disappointment and defeat. They were repulsed with loss, and the prisoners whom they left behind, bound in the very chains which their own army had brought, were constrained to servile labor on the plain of Tegea, — the words of the oracle being thus literally fulfilled, though in a sense different from that in which the Lacedæmonians had first understood them.<sup>1</sup>

For one whole generation, we are told, they were constantly unsuccessful in their campaigns against the Tegeans, and this strenuous resistance probably prevented them from extending their conquests farther among the petty states of Arcadia.

At length, in the reign of Anaxandridēs and Aristō, the successors of Leon and Hegesiklēs (about 560 B. C.), the Delphian oracle, in reply to a question from the Spartans, — which of the gods they ought to propitiate in order to become victorious, — enjoined them to find and carry to Sparta the bones of Orestēs, son of Agamemnon. After a vain search, since they did not know where the body of Orestēs was to be found, they applied to the oracle for more specific directions, and were told that the son of Agamemnon was buried at Tegea itself, in a place “where two blasts were blowing under powerful constraint, — where there was stroke and counter-stroke, and destruction upon destruction.” These mysterious words were elucidated by a lucky accident. During a truce with Tegea, Lichas, one of the chiefs of the three hundred Spartan chosen youth, who acted as the movable police of the country under the ephors, visited the place, and entered the forge of a blacksmith, — who mentioned to him, in the course of conversation, that, in sinking a well in his outer court, he had recently discovered a coffin containing a body seven cubits long; astounded at the sight, he had left it there undisturbed. It struck Lichas that the gigantic relic of aforetime could be nothing else but the corpse of Orestēs, and he felt assured of this, when he reflected how accurately the indications of the oracle were verified; for there were the “two blasts blowing by constraint,” in the two bellows of the blacksmith: there

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 67; Pausan. iii. 3, 5; viii. 45, 2.

Herodotus saw the identical chains suspended in the temple of Athênē Alæa at Tegea.

was the "stroke and counter-stroke," in his hammer and anvil, as well as the "destruction upon destruction," in the murderous weapons which he was forging. Lichas said nothing, but returned to Sparta with his discovery, which he communicated to the authorities, who, by a concerted scheme, banished him under a pretended criminal accusation. He then returned again to Tegea, under the guise of an exile, prevailed upon the blacksmith to let to him the premises, and when he found himself in possession, dug up and carried off to Sparta the bones of the venerated hero.<sup>1</sup>

From and after this fortunate acquisition, the character of the contest was changed; the Spartans found themselves constantly victorious over the Tegeans. But it does not seem that these victories led to any positive result, though they might perhaps serve to enforce the practical conviction of Spartan superiority; for the territory of Tegea remained unimpaired, and its autonomy noway restrained. During the Persian invasion, Tegea appears as the willing ally of Lacedæmon, and as the second military power in the Peloponnesus;<sup>2</sup> and we may fairly presume that it was chiefly the strenuous resistance of the Tegeans which prevented the Lacedæmonians from extending their empire over the larger portion of the Arcadian communities. These latter always maintained their independence, though acknowledging Sparta as the presiding power in Peloponnesus, and obeying her orders implicitly as to the disposal of their military force. And the influence which Sparta thus possessed over all Arcadia was one main item in her power, never seriously shaken until the battle of Leuktra; which took away her previous means of insuring success and plunder to her minor followers.<sup>3</sup>

Having thus related the extension of the power of Sparta on her northern or Arcadian frontier, it remains to mention her acquisitions on the eastern and north-eastern side, towards Argos. Originally, as has been before stated, not merely the province of Kynuria and the Thyreatis, but also the whole coast down to the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ix. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 19. Ὡσπερ Ἀρκάδες, όταν μεθ' ἑμῶν ἴωσι, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσι, etc.

This was said to the Lacedæmonians about ten years before the battle of Leuktra.

promontory of Malea, had either been part of the territory of Argos or belonged to the Argeian confederacy. We learn from Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> that before the time when the embassy from Croesus, king of Lydia, came to solicit aid in Greece (about 547 B. C.), the whole of this territory had fallen into the power of Sparta; but how long before, or at what precise epoch, we have no information. A considerable victory is said to have been gained by the Argeians over the Spartans in the 27th Olympiad or 669 B. C., at Hysiaë, on the road between Argos and Tegea.<sup>2</sup> At that time it does not seem probable that Kynuria could have been in the possession of the Spartans, — so that we must refer the acquisition to some period in the following century; though Pausanias places it much earlier, during the reign of Theopompus,<sup>3</sup> — and Eusebius connects it with the first establishment of the festival called Gymnopædia, at Sparta, in 678 B. C.

About the year 547 B. C., the Argeians made an effort to reconquer Thyrea from Sparta, which led to a combat long memorable in the annals of Grecian heroism. It was agreed between the two powers that the possession of this territory should be determined by a combat of three hundred select champions on each side; the armies of both retiring, in order to leave the field clear. So undaunted and so equal was the valor of these two chosen companies, that the battle terminated by leaving only three of them alive, — Alkênôr and Chromius among the Argeians, Othryadês among the Spartans. The two Argeians warriors hastened home to report their victory, but Othryadês remained on the field, carried off the arms of the enemy's dead into the Spartan camp, and kept his position until he was joined by his countrymen the next morning. Both Argos and Sparta claimed the victory for their respective champions, and the dispute after all was decided by a general conflict, in which the Spartans were the conquerors, though not without much slaughter on both sides. The brave Othryadês, ashamed to return home as the single survivor of the three hundred, fell upon his own sword on the field of battle.<sup>4</sup>

This defeat decided the possession of Thyrea, which did not

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 25, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. iii. 7, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. i. 82; Strabo, viii. p. 376.

again pass, until a very late period of Grecian history, under the power of Argos. The preliminary duel of three hundred, with its uncertain issue, though well established as to the general fact, was represented by the Argeians in a manner totally different from the above story, which seems to have been current among the Lacedæmonians.<sup>1</sup> But the most remarkable circumstance is, that more than a century afterwards, — when the two powers were negotiating for a renewal of the then expiring truce, the Argeians, still hankering after this their ancient territory, desired the Lacedæmonians to submit the question to arbitration; which being refused, they next stipulated for the privilege of trying the point in dispute by a duel similar to the former, at any time except during the prevalence of war or of epidemic disease. The historian tells us that the Lacedæmonians acquiesced in this proposition, though they thought it absurd,<sup>2</sup> in consequence of their anxiety to keep their relations with Argos at that time smooth and pacific. But there is no reason to imagine that the real duel, in which Othryadês contended, was considered as absurd at the time when it took place, or during the age immediately succeeding. It fell in with a sort of chival-

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<sup>1</sup> The Argeians showed at Argos a statue of Perilaus, son of Alkênôr, killing Othryadês (Pausan. ii. 20, 6; ii. 38, 5: compare x. 9, 6, and the references in Larcher ad Herodot. i. 82). The narrative of Chrysermus, *ἐν τρίτῳ Πελοποννησιακῶν* (as given in Plutarch, *Parallel. Hellenic.* p. 306), is different in many respects.

Pausanias found the Thyreatis in possession of the Argeians (ii. 38, 5). They told him that they had recovered it by adjudication; when or by whom we do not know: it seems to have passed back to Argos before the close of the reign of Kleomenês the Third, at Sparta (220 æ. c.), Polyb. iv. 36.

Strabo even reckons Prasîæ as Argeian, to the south of Kynuria (viii. p. 368), though in his other passage (p. 374), seemingly cited from Ephorus, it is treated as Lacedæmonian. Compare Manso, *Sparta*, vol. ii. *Beilage i.* p. 48.

Eusebius, placing this duel at a much earlier period (Ol. 27, 3, 678 B. C.), ascribes the first foundation of the Gymnopsædia at Sparta to the desire of commemorating the event. Pausanias (iii. 7, 3) places it still farther back in the reign of Theopompus.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 41. *Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα (ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ πάντως τὸ Ἄργος φίλιον ἔχειν) ξυνεχώρησαν ὅς οἱ ἤξιον, καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο.*

rous pugnacity which is noticed among the attributes of the early Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and also with various legendary exploits, such as the single combat of Echemus and Hyllus, of Melanthus and Xanthus, of Menelaus and Paris, etc. Moreover, the heroism of Othryadês and his countrymen was a popular theme for poets, not only at the Spartan gymnopædia,<sup>2</sup> but also elsewhere, and appears to have been frequently celebrated. The absurdity attached to this proposition, then, during the Peloponnesian war, — in the minds even of the Spartans, the most old-fashioned and unchanging people in Greece, — is to be ascribed to a change in the Grecian political mind, at and after the Persian war. The habit of political calculation had made such decided progress among them, that the leading states especially had become familiarized with something like a statesmanlike view of their resources, their dangers, and their obligations. How lamentably deficient this sort of sagacity was during the Persian invasion, will appear when we come to describe that imminent crisis of Grecian independence: but the events of those days were well calculated to sharpen it for the future, and the Greeks of the Peloponnesian war had become far more refined political schemers than their forefathers. And thus it happened that the proposition to settle a territorial dispute by a duel of chosen champions, admissible and even becoming a century before, came afterwards to be derided as childish.

The inhabitants of Kynuria are stated by Herodotus to have been Ionians, but completely Dorized through their long subjection to Argos, by whom they were governed as Perioeki. Pausanias gives a different account of their race, which he traces to the eponymous hero Kynûrus, son of Perseus: but he does not connect them with the Kynurians whom he mentions in another place as a portion of the inhabitants of Arcadia.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that, even in the time of Herodotus, the traces of their primitive descent were nearly effaced. He says they were "Orneates and Perioeki" to Argos; and it appears that the

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 9. Compare the challenge which Herodotus alleges to have been proclaimed to the Spartans by Mardonius, through a herald, just before the battle of Plataea (ix. 48).

<sup>2</sup> Athenæ. xv. p. 678.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. viii. 73; Pausan. iii. 2, 2; viii. 27, 3.

inhabitants of Orneæ also, whom Argos had reduced to the same dependent condition, traced their eponymous hero to an Ionic stock, — Orneus was the son of the Attic Erechtheus.<sup>1</sup> Strabo seems to have conceived the Kynurians as occupying originally, not only the frontier district of Argolis and Laconia, wherein Thyrea is situated, but also the northwestern portion of Argolis, under the ridge called Lyrkeium, which separates the latter from the Arcadian territory of Stymphalia.<sup>2</sup> This ridge was near the town of Orneæ, which lay on the border of Argolis near the confines of Phlius; so that Strabo thus helps to confirm the statement of Herodotus, that the Orneates were a portion of Kynurians, held by Argos along with the other Kynurians in the condition of dependent allies and Perioeci, and very probably also of Ionian origin.

The conquest of Thyrea (a district valuable to the Lacedæmonians, as we may presume from the large booty which the Argians got from it during the Peloponnesian war)<sup>3</sup> was the last territorial acquisition made by Sparta. She was now possessed of a continuous dominion, comprising the whole southern portion of the Peloponnesus, from the southern bank of the river Nedon on the western coast, to the northern boundary of Thyreatis on the eastern coast. The area of her territory, including as it did both Laconia and Messenia, was equal to two-fifths of the entire peninsula, all governed from the single city, and for the exclusive purpose and benefit of the citizens of Sparta. Within all this wide area there was not a single community pretending to independent agency. The townships of the Perioeci, and the villages of the Helots, were each individually unimportant; nor do we hear of any one of them presuming to treat with a foreign

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 25, 5. Mannert (Geographie der Griechen und Römer Griechenland, book ii. ch. xix. p. 618) connects the Kynurians of Arcadia and Argolis, though Herodotus tells us that the latter were Ionians: he gives to this name much greater importance and extension than the evidence bears out.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 370 — δ Ἰναχος ἔχων τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ κατὰ Κυνουρίαν ὄρους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Coray and Grosskurd gain nothing here by the conjectural reading of Ἀργείας in place of Ἀρκαδίας, for the ridge of Lyrkeium ran between the two, and might, therefore, be connected with either without impropriety.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. vi. 95.



tate: both consider themselves as nothing else but subjects of the Spartan ephors and their subordinate officers. They are indeed discontented subjects, hating as well as fearing their masters, and not to be trusted if a favorable opportunity for secure revolt presents itself. But no individual township or district is strong enough to stand up for itself, while combinations among them are prevented by the habitual watchfulness and unscrupulous precautions of the ephors, especially by that jealous secret police called the Krypteia, to which allusion has already been made.

Not only, therefore, was the Spartan territory larger and its population more numerous than that of any other state in Hellas, but its government was also more completely centralized and more strictly obeyed. Its source of weakness was the discontent of its Perioeci and Helots, the latter of whom were not — like the slaves of other states — imported barbarians from different countries, and speaking a broken Greek, but genuine Hellens, — of one dialect and lineage, sympathizing with each other, and as much entitled to the protection of Zeus Hellanius as their masters, — from whom, indeed, they stood distinguished by no other line except the perfect training, individual and collective, which was peculiar to the Spartans. During the period on which we are at present dwelling, it does not seem that this discontent comes sensibly into operation; but we shall observe its manifestations very unequivocally after the Persian and during the Peloponnesian war.

To such auxiliary causes of Spartan predominance we must add another, — the excellent military position of Sparta, and the unassailable character of Laconia generally. On three sides that territory is washed by the sea,<sup>1</sup> with a coast remarkably dangerous and destitute of harbors; hence Sparta had nothing to apprehend from this quarter until the Persian invasion and its consequences, — one of the most remarkable of which was, the astonishing development of the Athenian naval force. The city of Sparta, far removed from the sea, was admirably defended by an almost impassable northern frontier, composed of those districts which we have observed above to have been conquered from

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 8, 7: φοβούμενος τὴν ἀλμυρότητα τῆς χώρας

**Arcadia.**—*Karyáia, Skirtá, Maléia, and Belminíá.* The difficulty as well as danger of marching into Laconia by these mountain passes, noticed by Eurípides, was keenly felt by every enemy of the Lacedæmonians, and has been powerfully stated by a first-rate modern observer, Colonel Leake:—No site could be better chosen for holding the key of all the penetrable passes than that of Sparta. This well-protected frontier was a substitute more than sufficient for fortifications to Sparta itself, which always maintained, down to the times of the despot Nabis, its

<sup>1</sup> *Xenoph. Hellen. v. 5. 10: Eurip. ap. Strabo. vii. p. 366: Leake. Travels in Morea, vol. iii. c. xxii. p. 25.*

<sup>2</sup> It is to the strength of the frontiers and the comparatively large extent of country involved within them, that we must trace the primary cause of the Lacedæmonian power. These enabled the people, when strengthened by a rigid military discipline, and put in motion by an ambitious spirit, first to triumph over their weaker neighbors of Messenia, by this additional strength to overawe the dissipated republics of Arcadia, and at length for centuries to hold an acknowledged military superiority over every other state in Greece.

<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that all the principal passes into Laconia lead to one point: this point is Sparta; a fact which shows at once how well the position of that city was chosen for the defence of the province, and how well it was adapted, especially as long as it continued to be unwalled, to maintain a perpetual vigilance and readiness for defence, which are the surest means of offensive success.

<sup>4</sup> The natural openings into the plain of Sparta are only two; one by the upper Eurotas, as the course of that river above Sparta may be termed; the other by its only large branch Œnus, now the Kelefsina, which, as I have already stated, joins the Eurotas opposite to the north-eastern extremity of Sparta. All the natural approaches to Sparta from the northward lead to one or the other of these two valleys. On the side of Messenia, the northerly prolongation of Mount Taygetum, which joins Mount Lyceum at the pass of Andania, now the pass of Makrypláí, furnishes a continued barrier of the loftiest kind, admitting only of routes easily defensible; and which,—whether from the Cromitis of Arcadia to the south-westward of the modern Londári, from the Stenykleric plain, from the plain of the Pamisus, or from Phæræ, now Kalamáta,—all descend into the valley of the upper Eurotas, and conduct to Sparta by Pellana. There was, indeed, a branch of the last-mentioned route, which descended into the Spartan plain at the modern Místra, and which must have been a very frequent communication between Sparta and the lower part of Messenia; but, like the other direct passes over Taygetum, it was much more difficult and defensible than those which I have called the natural entrances of the province."

primitive aspect of a group of adjacent hill-villages rather than a regular city.

When, along with such territorial advantages, we contemplate the personal training peculiar to the Spartan citizens, as yet undiminished in their numbers, — combined with the effect of that training upon Grecian sentiment, in inspiring awe and admiration, — we shall not be surprised to find that, during the half-century which elapsed between the year 600 B. C. and the final conquest of Thyreātis from Argos, Sparta had acquired and begun to exercise a recognized ascendancy over all the Grecian states. Her military force was at that time superior to that of any of the rest, in a degree much greater than it afterwards came to be; for other states had not yet attained their maximum, and Athens in particular was far short of the height which she afterwards reached. In respect to discipline as well as number, the Spartan military force had even at this early period reached a point which it did not subsequently surpass; while in Athens, Thebes, Argos, Arcadia, and even Elis (as will be hereafter shown), the military training in later days received greater attention, and improved considerably. The Spartans (observes Aristotle)<sup>1</sup> brought to perfection their gymnastic training and their military discipline, at a time when other Greeks neglected both the one and the other: their early superiority was that of the trained men over the untrained, and ceased in after-days, when other states came to subject their citizens to systematic exercises of analogous character or tendency. This fact, — the early period at which Sparta attained her maximum of discipline, power, and territory, — is important to bear in mind, when we are explaining the general acquiescence which her ascendancy met with in Greece, and which her subsequent acts would certainly not have enabled her to earn. That acquiescence first began, and became a habit of the Grecian mind, at a time when Sparta had no rival to come near her, — when she had complete-

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. viii. 3, 4. Ἐτι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ προσήδρευον ταῖς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων· νῦν δὲ, καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι, λειπομένους ἑτέρων· οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ νέου γυμνάζειν τὸν τρόπον τούτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ πρὸς ἀσκήν-τας ἀσκεῖν. . . . Ἀνταγωνιστὰς γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἶχον.

ly shot ahead of Argos, — and when the vigor of the Lykurgæan discipline had been manifested in a long series of conquests, made during the stationary period of other states, and ending only, to use the somewhat exaggerated phrase of Herodotus, when she had subdued the greater part of Peloponnesus.<sup>1</sup>

Our accounts of the memorable military organization of Sparta are scanty, and insufficient to place the details of it clearly before us. The arms of the Spartans, as to all material points, were not different from those of other Greek hoplites. But one grand peculiarity is observable from the beginning, as an item in the Lykurgæan institutions. That lawgiver established military divisions quite distinct from the civil divisions, whereas in the other states of Greece, until a period much later than that which we have now reached, the two were confounded, — the hoplites or horsemen of the same tribe or ward being marshalled together on the field of battle. Every Lacedæmonian was bound to military service from the age of twenty to sixty, and the ephors, when they sent forth an expedition, called to arms all the men within some given limit of age. Herodotus tells us that Lykurgus established both the *syssitia*, or public mess, and the *enômoties* and *triakads*, or the military subdivisions peculiar to Sparta.<sup>2</sup> The *triakads* are not mentioned elsewhere, nor can we distinctly make out what they were; but the *enômoty* was the special characteristic of the system, and the pivot upon which all its arrangements turned. It was a small company of men, the number of whom was variable, being given differently at twenty-five, thirty-two, or thirty-six men, — drilled and practised together in military evolutions, and bound to each other by a common oath.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. i. 68. *ἤδη δὲ σφί καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.*

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 67: compare Larcher's note.

Concerning the obscure and difficult subject of the military arrangements of Sparta, see Cragius, *Repub. Laced.* iv. 4; Manso, *Sparta*, ii. Beilage 18, p. 224; O. Müller, *Hist. Dorians*, iii. 12, Dr. Arnold's note on Thucydides, v. 68; and Dr. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. i. Appendix 3, p. 520.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, i. 10, 129. *Ἰδίως μέντοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐνωμοτία, καὶ μόρα*: compare Suidas and Hesych. v. *Ἐνωμοτία*; Xenoph. *Rep. Lacon.* c. 11; Thucyd. v. 67–68; Xenoph. *Hellen.* vi. 4, 12.

Suidas states the *enômoty* at twenty-five men: in the Lacedæmonian army which fought at the first battle of Mantinea (418 B. C.), it seems to

Each enômoty had a separate captain, or enomotarch, the strongest and ablest soldier of the company, who always occupied the front rank, and led the enômoty when it marched in single file, giving the order of march, as well as setting the example. If the enômoty was drawn up in three, or four, or six files, the enomotarch usually occupied the front post on the left, and care was taken that both the front-rank men and the rear-rank men, of each file, should be soldiers of particular merit.<sup>1</sup>

It was upon these small companies that the constant and severe Lacedæmonian drilling was brought to act. They were taught to march in concert, to change rapidly from line to file, to wheel right or left in such manner as that the enomotarch and the other protostates, or front-rank men, should always be the persons immediately opposed to the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Their step was

have consisted of about thirty-two men (Thuc. l. c.): at the battle of Leuktra of thirty-six men (Xen. Hellen. l. c.). But the language of Xenophon and Thucydides does not imply that the number of each enômoty was equal.

<sup>1</sup> O. Müller states that the enomotarch, after a *παράγωγη*, or deployment into phalanx, stood on the *right* hand, which is contrary to Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 11, 9. — "Ὅτε δὲ ὁ ἀρχὼν ἐβώνυμος γίνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν, — the ἀρχὼν was the first enomotarch of the lochus, the *πρωτοστάτης* (as appears from 11, 5), when the enômoty marched in single file. To put the *ἡγεμὼν* on the right flank, was done occasionally for special reason, — *ἦν δὲ ποτε ἐρεκατινὸς δοκῇ συμφέρειν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δέξιον κέρας ἔχειν*, etc. I understand Xenophon's description of the *παράγωγη*, or deployment, differently from Müller, — it rather seems that the enômoties which stood first made a side-movement to the left, so that the first enomotarch still maintained his place on the left, at the same time that the opportunity was created for the enômoties in the rear to come up and form equal front, *τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεγγῦνται εἰς μέτωπον παρ' ἄσπινδα καθίστασθαι*, — the words *παρ' ἄσπινδα* have reference, as I imagine, to the proceeding of the first enomotarch, who set the example of side-movement to the left-hand, as it is shown by the words which follow, — *καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὗτος ἐστ' ἐν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῆ*. The phalanx was constituted when all the *lochi* formed an equal and continuous front, whether the sixteen enômoties, of which each lochus was composed, might be each in one file, in three files, or in six files.

<sup>2</sup> See Xenoph. Anab. iv. 8, 10, upon the advantage of attacking the enemy with *δρῆτοι λόχοι*, in which case the strongest and best soldiers all came first into conflict. It is to be recollected, however, that the practice of the Cyreian troops cannot be safely quoted as authority for the practice at Sparta. Xenophon and his colleagues established *lochi*, *pentekosties*, and enômoties

regulated by the *fife*, which played in martial measures peculiar to Sparta, and was employed in actual battle as well as in military practice; and so perfectly were they habituated to the movements of the *enômoty*; that, if their order was deranged by any adverse accident, scattered soldiers could spontaneously form themselves into the same order, each man knowing perfectly the duties belonging to the place into which chance had thrown him.<sup>1</sup> Above the *enômoty* were several larger divisions, — the *pentekostys*, the *lochos*, and the *mora*,<sup>2</sup> of which latter there seem to

in the Cyreian army: the *lochos* consisted of one hundred men, but the numbers of the other two divisions are not stated (Anab. iii. 4, 21; iv. 3, 26: compare Arrian, *Tactic.* cap. 6).

<sup>1</sup> The words of Thucydides indicate the peculiar marshalling of the Lacedæmonians, as distinguished both from their enemies and from their allies at the battle of Mantinea, — *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ σπονδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἐαυτῶν*, "Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένον κατὰ νόμον: again, c. 68.

About the music of the flute or fife, Thucyd. v. 69; Xen. Rep. Lac. 13, 9; Plutarch, *Lycurg.* c. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Museidis*, Dr. Arnold, and Rachetti (*Della Milizia dei Greci Antichi*, Milan, 1807, p. 166) all think that *lochos* and *mora* were different names for the same division; but if this is to be reconciled with the statement of Xenophon in *Repub. Lac.* c. 11, we must suppose an actual change of nomenclature after the Peloponnesian war, which appears to be Dr. Arnold's opinion, — yet it is not easy to account for.

There is one point in Dr. Thirlwall's Appendix which is of some importance, and in which I cannot but dissent from his opinion. He says, after stating the nomenclature and classification of the Spartan military force as given by Xenophon, "Xenophon speaks only of Spartans, as appears by the epithet *πολιτικῶν*," p. 521: the words of Xenophon are, *Ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἓνα*, etc. (*Rep. Lac.* 11.)

It appears to me that Xenophon is here speaking of the aggregate Lacedæmonian heavy-armed force, including both Spartans and Periceki, — not of Spartans alone. The word *πολιτικῶν* does not mean Spartans as distinguished from Periceki, but Lacedæmonians as distinguished from allies. Thus, when Agesilans returns home from the blockade of Phlius, Xenophon tells us that *ταῦτα ποίσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικῶν οἰκάς ἀπήγαγε* (*Hellen.* v. 3, 25).

O. Müller, also, thinks that the whole number of five thousand seven hundred and forty men, who fought at the first battle of Mantinea, in the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, were furnished by the city of Sparta itself (*Hist. of Dorians*, iii. 12, 2): and to prove this, he refers to the very passage just cited from the *Hellenica* of Xenophon, which, as far as it proves

have been six in all. Respecting the number of each division, and the proportion of the larger to the smaller, we find statements altogether different, yet each resting upon good authority, — so that we are driven to suppose that there was no peremptory standard, and that the enômoty comprised twenty-five, thirty-two, or thirty-six men; the pentekostys, two or four enômoties; the lochus, two or four pentekosties, and the mora, four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, or nine hundred men, — at different times, or according to the limits of age which the ephors might prescribe for the men whom they called into the field.<sup>1</sup>

What remains fixed in the system is, first, the small number, though varying within certain limits, of the elementary company called enômoty, trained to act together, and composed of men nearly of the same age,<sup>2</sup> in which every man knew his place; secondly, the scale of divisions and the hierarchy of officers, each rising above the other, — the enômotarch, the pentekontêr, the lochage, and the polemarch, or commander of the mora, — each having the charge of their respective divisions. Orders were

anything, proves the contrary of his position. He gives no other evidence to support it, and I think it in the highest degree improbable. I have already remarked that he understands the expression πολιτικὴ χώρα (in Polybius, vi. 45) to mean the district of Sparta itself as contradistinguished from Laconia, — a construction which seems to me not warranted by the passage in Polybius.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Λακόνων Πολιτεία*, Fragm. 5-6, ed. Neumann: Photius v. Λόχος. Harpokration, *Μόρα*. Etymologic. Mag. *Μόρα*. The statement of Aristotle is transmitted so imperfectly that we cannot make out clearly what it was. Xenophon says that there were six moræ in all, comprehending all the citizens of military age (Rep. Lac. 11, 3). But Ephorus stated the mora at five hundred men, Kallisthenes at seven hundred, and Polybius at nine hundred (Plutarch, Pelopid. 17; Diodor. xv. 32). If all the citizens competent to bear arms were comprised in six moræ, the numbers of each mora must of course have varied. At the battle of Mantinea, there were seven Lacedæmonian lochi, each lochus containing four pentekosties, and each pentekosty containing four enômoties: Thucydides seems, as I before remarked, to make each enômoty thirty-two men. But Xenophon tells us that each mora had four lochi, each lochus two pentekosties, and each pentekosty two enômoties (Rep. Lac. 11, 4). The names of these divisions remained the same, but the numbers varied.

<sup>2</sup> This is implied in the fact, that the men under thirty or under thirty-five years of age, were often detached in a battle to pursue the light troops of the enemy (Xen. Hellen. iv. 5. 15-16).

transmitted from the king, as commander-in-chief, through the polemarchs to the lochages,—from the lochages to the pentekonteres, and then from the latter to the enômotarchs, each of whom caused them to be executed by his enômoty. As all these men had been previously trained to the duties of their respective stations, the Spartan infantry possessed the arrangements and aptitudes of a standing army. Originally, they seem to have had no cavalry at all,<sup>1</sup> and when cavalry was at length introduced into their system, it was of a very inferior character, no provision having been made for it in the Lykurgian training. But the military force of the other cities of Greece, even down to the close of the Peloponnesian war, enjoyed little or no special training, having neither any small company like the enômoty, consisting of particular men drilled to act together,—no fixed and disciplined officers,—nor triple scale of subordination and subdivision. Gymnastics, and the use of arms, made a part of education everywhere, and it is to be presumed that no Grecian hoplite was entirely without some practice of marching in line and military evolutions, inasmuch as the obligation to serve was universal and often enforced. But such practice was casual and unequal, nor had any individual of Argos or Athens a fixed military place and duty. The citizen took arms among his tribe, under a taxiarch, chosen from it for the occasion, and was placed in a rank or line wherein neither his place nor his immediate neighbors were predetermined. The tribe appears to have been the only military classification known to Athens,<sup>2</sup> and the taxi-

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<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. vi. 111; Thucyd. vi. 98; Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 2, 19.

The same marshalling of hoplites, according to the civil tribes to which they belonged, is seen in the inhabitants of Messênê in Sicily as well as of Syrakuse (Thucyd. iii. 90; vi. 100).

At Argos, there was a body of one thousand hoplites, who, during the Peloponnesian war, received training in military manœuvres at the cost of the city (Thucyd. v. 67), but there is reason to believe that this arrangement was not introduced until about the period of the peace of Nikias in the tenth or eleventh year of the Peloponnesian war, when the truce between Argos and Sparta was just expiring, and when the former began to entertain schemes of ambition. The Epariti in Arcadia began at a much later time, after the battle of Leuktra (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 33).

About the Athenian taxiarchs, one to each tribe, see Æschines de Fals



arch the only tribe officer for infantry, as the phylarch was for cavalry, under the general-in-chief. Moreover, orders from the general were proclaimed to the line collectively by a herald of loud voice, not communicated to the taxiarch so as to make him responsible for the proper execution of them by his division. With an arrangement thus perfunctory and unsystematized, we shall be surprised to find how well the military duties were often performed: but every Greek who contrasted it with the symmetrical structure of the Lacedæmonian armed force, and with the laborious preparation of every Spartan for his appropriate duty, felt an internal sentiment of inferiority, which made him willingly accept the headship of "these professional artists in the business of war,"<sup>1</sup> as they are often denominated.

It was through the concurrence of these various circumstances that the willing acknowledgment of Sparta as the leading state of Hellas became a part of Grecian habitual sentiment, during the interval between about 600 B. C. and 547 B. C. During this period too, chiefly, Greece and her colonies were ripening into a sort of recognized and active partnership. The common religious assemblies, which bound the parts together, not only acquired greater formality and more extended development, but also became more numerous and frequent, — while the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games were exalted into a national importance, approaching to that of the Olympic. The recognized superiority of Sparta thus formed part and parcel of the first historical aggregation of the Grecian states. It was about the year 547 B. C., that Croesus of Lydia, when pressed by Cyrus and the Persians, solicited aid from Greece, addressing himself

Leg. c. 53, p. 300 R.; Lysias, *pro Mantitheo*, Or. xvi. p. 147; Demosth. *adv. Boeotum pro nomine*, p. 999 R. *Philippic. i.* p. 47.

See the advice given by Xenophon (in his *Treatise De Officio Magistri Equitum*) for the remodelling of the Athenian cavalry, and for the introduction of small divisions, each with its special commander. The division into tribes is all that he finds recognized (*Off. M. E. C. ii.* 2-iv. 9); he strongly recommends giving orders, — *διὰ παραγγέλσεως*, and not *ἀπὸ κήρυκος*.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pelopid.* c. 23. Πάντων ἄκροι τεχνίται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιάται, etc. (*Xenoph. Rep. Lac.* c. 14) ἡγήσαίον, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Δακεδαίμονίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν. . . . Ὡστε τῶν δεομένων γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲ ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστιν.

to the Spartans as confessed presidents of the whole Hellenic body.<sup>1</sup> And the tendencies then at work, towards a certain degree of increased intercourse and coöperation among the dispersed members of the Hellenic name, were doubtless assisted by the existence of a state recognized by all as the first, — a state whose superiority was the more readily acquiesced in, because it was earned by a painful and laborious discipline, which all admired, but none chose to copy.<sup>2</sup>

Whether it be true, as O. Müller and other learned men conceive, that the Homeric mode of fighting was the general practice in Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece anterior to the invasion of the Dorians, and that the latter first introduced the habit of fighting with close ranks and protended spears, is a point which cannot be determined. Throughout all our historical knowledge of Greece, a close rank among the hoplites, charging with spears always in hand, is the prevailing practice; though there are cases of exception, in which the spear is hurled, when troops seem afraid of coming to close quarters.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it by any means certain, that the Homeric manner of fighting ever really prevailed in Peloponnesus, which is a country eminently inconvenient for the use of war-chariots. The descriptions of the bard may perhaps have been founded chiefly upon what he and his auditors witnessed on the coast of Asia Minor, where chariots

<sup>1</sup> Ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προέσταναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Herodot. i. 69): compare i. 152; v. 49; vi. 84, about Spartan hegemony.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. Repub. Lac. 10, 8. ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.

The magnificent funeral discourse, pronounced by Periklēs in the early part of the Peloponnesian war over the deceased Athenian warriors, includes a remarkable contrast of the unconstrained patriotism and bravery of the Athenians, with the austere, repulsive, and ostentatious drilling to which the Spartans were subject from their earliest youth; at the same time, it attests the powerful effect which that drilling produced upon the mind of Greece (Thucyd. ii. 37–39). πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐνψύχω· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν (the Spartans) ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, etc.

The impression of the light troops, when they first began to attack the Lacedæmonian hoplites in the island of Sphacteria, is strongly expressed by Thucydides (iv. 34), — τῇ γνώμῃ δεδογλωμένον· ὥς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4, 52: compare iii. 5, 20

were more employed, and where the country was much more favorable to them.<sup>1</sup> We have no historical knowledge of any military practice in Peloponnesus anterior to the hoplites with close ranks and protended spears.

One Peloponnesian state there was, and one alone, which disdained to acknowledge the superiority or headship of Lacedæmon. Argos never forgot that she had once been the chief power in the peninsula, and her feeling towards Sparta was that of a jealous, but impotent, competitor. By what steps the decline of her power had taken place, we are unable to make out, nor can we trace the succession of her kings subsequent to Pheidôn. It has been already stated that, about 669 B. C., the Argæians gained a victory over the Spartans at Hysiaë, and that they expelled from the port of Nauplia its preëxisting inhabitants, who found shelter, by favor of the Lacedæmonians, at the port of Mothônê, in Messenia.<sup>2</sup> Damokratidas was then king of Argos. Pausanias tells us that Meltas, the son of Lakidês, was the last descendant of Temenus who succeeded to this dignity; he being condemned and deposed by the people. Plutarch, however, states that the family of the Herakleids died out, and that another king, named Ægôn, was chosen by the people at the indication of the Delphian oracle.<sup>3</sup> Of this story, Pausanias appears to have known nothing. His language implies that the kingly dignity ceased with Meltas, — wherein he is undoubtedly mistaken, since the title existed, though probably with very limited functions, at the time of the Persian war. Moreover, there is some ground for presuming that the king of Argos was even at that time a Herakleid, — since the Spartans offered to him a third part of the command of the Hellenic force, conjointly with

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 4, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 35, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 19, 2; Plutarch (Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula, etc. c. 5, p. 396; De Fortunâ Alexandri, c. 8, p. 340). Lakidês, king of Argos, is also named by Plutarch as luxurious and effeminate (De capiendâ ab hostibus utilitate, c. 6, p. 89).

O. Müller (Hist. of Dorians, iii. 6, 10) identifies Lakidês, son of Meltas, named by Pausanias, with Leôkêdês son of Pheidôn, named by Herodotus as one of the suitors for the daughter of Kleisthenês the Sikyonian (vi. 127); and he thus infers that Meltas must have been deposed and succeeded by Ægôn, about 560 B. C. This conjecture seems to me not much to be trusted.

their own two kings.<sup>1</sup> The conquest of Thyreātis by the Spartans deprived the Argeians of a valuable portion of their Periceia, or dependent territory; but Orneæ, and the remaining portion of Kynuria,<sup>2</sup> still continued to belong to them; the plain round their city was very productive; and except Sparta, there was no other power in Peloponnesus superior to them. Mykenæ and Tiryns, nevertheless, seem both to have been independent states at the time of the Persian war, since both sent contingents to the battle of Plataea, at a time when Argos held aloof and rather favored the Persians. At what time Kleônæ became the ally, or dependent, of Argos, we cannot distinctly make out. During the Peloponnesian war, it is numbered in that character along with Orneæ;<sup>3</sup> but it seems not to have lost its autonomy about the year 470 B. C., at which period Pindar represents the Kleonæans as presiding and distributing prizes at the Nemean games.<sup>4</sup> The grove of Nemea was less than two miles from their town, and they were the original presidents of this great festival,—a function of which they were subsequently robbed by the Argeians, in the same manner as the Pisatans had been treated by the Eleians with reference to the Olympic Agôn. The extinction of the autonomy of Kleônæ and the acquisition of the presidency of the Nemean festival by Argos, were doubtless simultaneous, but we are unable to mark the exact time; for the statement of Eusebius, that the Argeians celebrated the Nemean festival as early as the 53d Olympiad, or 568 B. C., is contradicted by the more valuable evidence of Pindar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. vii. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. viii. 73.

Strabo distinguishes two places called Orneæ; one a village in the Argeian territory, the other a town between Corinth and Sikyôn: but I doubt whether there ever were two places so called: the town or village dependent on Argos seems the only place (Strabo, viii. p. 376).

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. v. 67—vi. 95.

The Kleônæans are also said to have aided the Argeians in the destruction of Mykenæ, conjointly with the Tegeatans: from hence, however, we cannot infer anything as to their dependence at that time (Strabo, viii. p. 377).

<sup>4</sup> Pindar, Nem. x. 42. Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τετράκις (compare Nem. iv. 17). Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See Corsini Dissertation. Agonistica, iii. 2.

The tenth Nemean Ode of Pindar is on this point peculiarly good evi-

Of Corinth and Sikyôn it will be more convenient to speak when we survey what is called the Age of the Tyrants, or Despots; and of the inhabitants of Achaia (who occupied the southern coast of the Corinthian gulf, westward of Sikyôn, as far as Cape Araxus, the north-western point of Peloponnesus), a few words exhaust our whole knowledge, down to the time at which we are arrived. These Achæans are given to us as representing the ante-Dorian inhabitants of Laconia, whom the legend affirms to have retired under Tisamenus to the northern parts of Peloponnesus, from whence they expelled the preëxisting Ionians and occupied the country. The race of their kings is said to have lasted from Tisamenus down to Ogygus,<sup>1</sup> — how long, we do not know. After the death of the latter, the Achæan towns formed each a separate republic, but with periodical festivals and sacrifice at the temple of Zeus Homarius, affording opportunity of settling differences and arranging their common concerns. Of these towns, twelve are known from Herodotus and Strabo, — Pellênê, Ægira, Ægæ, Bura, Helikê, Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, Pharæ, Olenus, Dymê, Tritæa.<sup>2</sup> But there must originally have been some other autonomous towns besides these twelve; for in the 23d Olympiad, Ikarus of Hyperêsia was proclaimed as victor, and there seems good reason to believe that Hyperêsia, an old town of the Homeric Catalogue, was in Achaia.<sup>3</sup> It is affirmed that, before the Achæan occupation of the country, the Ionians had dwelt in independent villages, several of which were

dence, inasmuch as it is composed for, and supposed to be sung by Theiæus, a native of Argos. Had there been any jealousy then subsisting between Argos and Kleônæ on the subject of the presidency of this festival, Pindar would never, on such an occasion, have mentioned expressly the Kleônæans as presidents.

The statements of the Scholia on Pindar, that the Corinthians at one time celebrated the Nemean games, or that they were of old celebrated at Sikyôn, seem unfounded (Schol. Pind. Arg. Nem., and Nem. x. 49).

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. ii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. i. 145; Strabo, viii. p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. iv. 15, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Homer, Iliad, ii. 573. Pausanias seems to have forgotten this statement, when he tells us that the name of Hyperêsia was exchanged for that of Ægeira, during the time of the Ionian occupation of the country (vii. 26, 1; Steph. Byz. copies him, v. Αἰγεῖρα). It is doubtful whether the two names designate the same place, nor does Strabo conceive that they did.

subsequently aggregated into towns; thus Patræ was formed by a coalescence of seven villages, Dymê from eight (one of which was named Teuthea), and Ægium also from seven or eight. But all these towns were small, and some of them underwent a farther junction one with the other; thus Ægæ was joined with Ægeira, and Olenus with Dymê.<sup>1</sup> All the authors seem disposed to recognize twelve cities, and no more, in Achaia; for Polybius, still adhering to that number, substitutes Leontium and Keryneia in place of Ægæ and Rhypes; Pausanias gives Keryneia in place of Patræ.<sup>2</sup> We hear of no facts respecting these Achæan towns until a short time before the Peloponnesian war, and even then their part was inconsiderable.

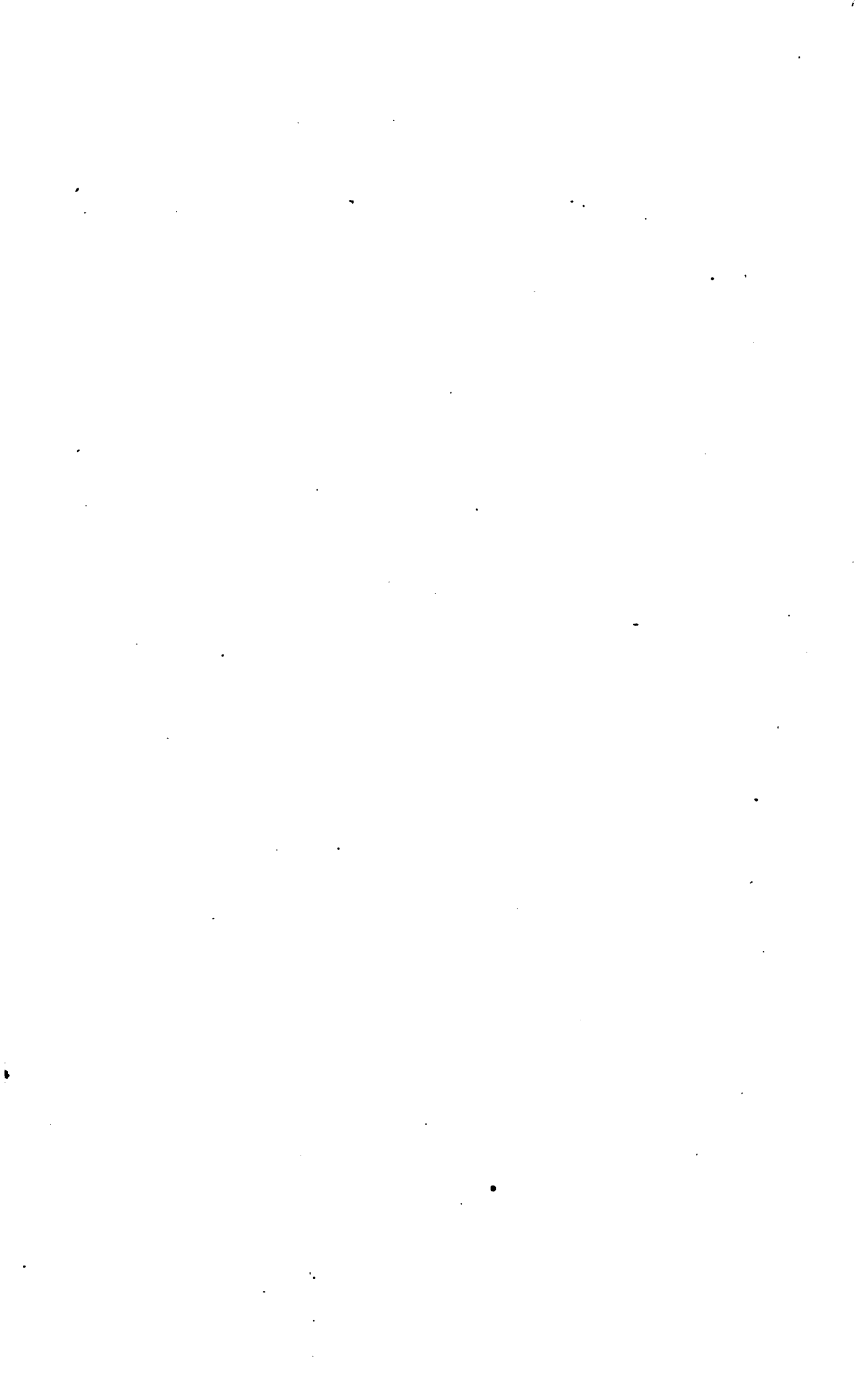
The greater portion of the territory comprised under the name of Achaia was mountain, forming the northern descent of those high ranges, passable only through very difficult gorges, which separate the country from Arcadia to the south, and which throw out various spurs approaching closely to the gulf of Corinth. A strip of flat land, with white clayey soil, often very fertile, between these mountains and the sea, formed *the plain* of each of the Achæan towns, which were situated for the most part upon steep outlying eminences overhanging it. From the mountains between Achaia and Arcadia, numerous streams flow into the Corinthian gulf, but few of them are perennial, and the whole length of coast is represented as harborless.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. pp. 337, 342, 386.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. ii. 41

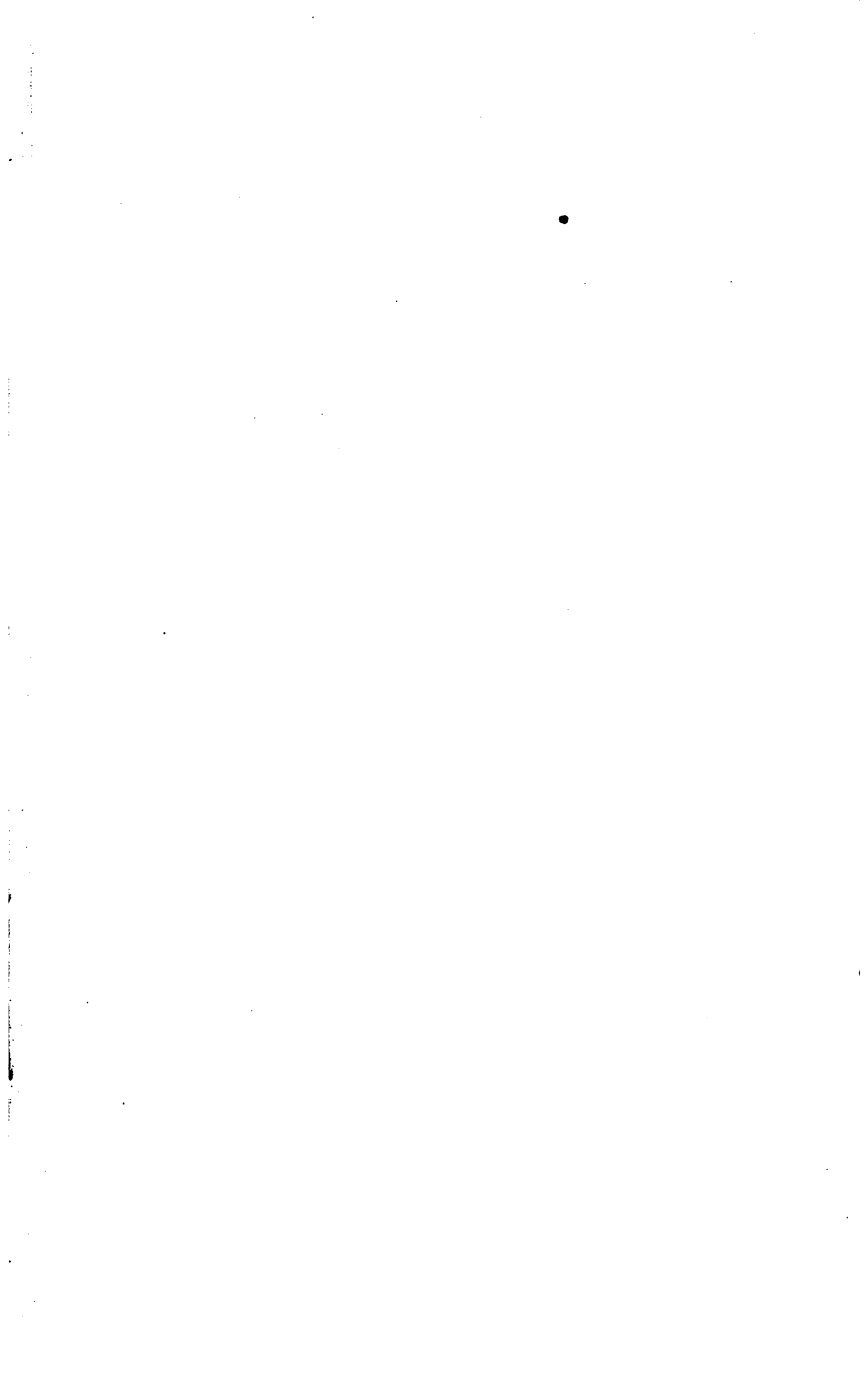
<sup>3</sup> See Leake's Travels in Morea. c. xxvii. and xxxi.

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